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The Victoria History of the
Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF
LINCOLNSHIRE

VOLUME II

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE
VOLUMES I AND II EDITED
BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.,
VOLUMES III, IV, AND V EDITED
BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A., AND
REV. W. O. MASSINGBERD, M.A.

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
LINCOLNSHIRE



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DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY



Lincoln

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
LINCOLN

EDITED BY
WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

VOLUME TWO



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EDITORIAL NOTE

The editor desires to express his great indebtedness to the Rev. W. O. Massingberd, M.A., for his constant advice and assistance while passing this volume through the press. From his great knowledge of local history much important material has been added and small errors which would have escaped the attention of anyone less skilled in the topography of Lincolnshire have been corrected. The editor has also to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. J. Horace Round, M.A., LL.D., who has kindly read some of the proofs and made many valuable suggestions, and of Mr. Maurice H. Footman, who has given notes regarding the Industries of the county.

A HISTORY OF
LINCOLNSHIRE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

THE conjecture that '*Adelfius episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinensium,*' summoned with the bishops of York and London to attend the Council of Arles in 314,¹ may be an error of the scribe for *Colonia Lindensium* has been held to indicate the existence of a bishop of Lincoln as far back as this remote period. There is nothing, however, beyond the mere surmise to connect this county with the Romano-British church and no proof that Christianity existed in Lincolnshire till the seventh century. Bede has described in graphic language the manner in which the conversion of Lindsey, or the northern and largest division of Lincolnshire, was brought about in the earlier part of that century.² On the marriage of Ethelburga of Kent, granddaughter of the royal convert of St. Augustine, in 625 to Edwin, the yet unconverted king of Northumbria, Paulinus, originally despatched by Pope Gregory in 601 to strengthen the earlier Kentish mission, was chosen to accompany the princess as chaplain and spiritual guide. Full of missionary zeal the bishop³ penetrated into outlying portions of the northern kingdom, and crossing the Humber came into Lindsey, then by virtue of conquest under Northumbrian sway. Advancing as far as the Roman town of Lincoln, he there gained as the first-fruits of the Church in this district Blaecca the governor, who himself was baptized with his whole house.⁴ Bede records that the 'stone church of beautiful workmanship' built by Paulinus in the town of Lincoln was still standing in his day though the roof had fallen.⁵ Nor was this the only visit paid by Paulinus to this district. According to the account of one

¹ Labbe, *Sacr. Concil.* ii, 477. Mr. Haverfield says with regard to this :—'Three British bishops are said to have attended the Council of Arles, Eborius, 'de civitate Eboracensi'; Restitutus, 'de civitate Londinensi'; Adelfius, 'de civitate colonia Londinensium'; also a 'Presbyter,' Sacerdos, and a 'Deacon,' Arminius. There is an obvious error in the third entry, 'Londinium' was not a 'colonia' (municipality), and 'Londinensium' merely repeats the preceding 'Londinensi.' The easiest emendation is to read 'Lindensium'; 'Lindun' or Lincoln was a 'colonia,' and was flourishing in the fourth century, and the confusion between 'Lindensium' and 'Londinensium' would not be difficult to a careless scribe. Another alternative would be to suppose 'Londinensium' an error for 'Camulodunensium,' the municipality or 'colonia' which is now Colchester. That is textually a more violent change, but makes equally good sense. On the other hand, the common view that we should read 'Legionensium' and suppose Caerleon to be meant is inadmissible. Caerleon was from first to last a fortress and not a 'colonia,' and its military character makes it a most unlikely centre for Christianity, about 314. So far as I know, all the MSS. read 'Londinensium' except one, which omits that word. If that were the right reading, namely 'de civitate colonia' simply, the reference would be to Colchester. The relative value of the different MSS. which contain this list of bishops is not, I believe, quite settled, but as far as is known at present, the inclusion of 'Londinensium' has the better authority.'

² The early ecclesiastical history of this district is rendered more complicated by the fact that it did not constitute a kingdom in itself, but occupied the position of a border province and bone of contention between the powerful kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia, falling under the sway, now of one, now of the other.

³ Bede, *Ecl. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. ix. Before starting he received consecration as bishop of the prospective Church in Northumbria at the hands of Justus of Canterbury. Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. cap. xvi.

⁵ In this same church, generally identified with that of St. Paul's-in-the-Bail, churches at that time being frequently named after their founders, Honorius was consecrated by Paulinus to Canterbury on the death of Justus. Ibid.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

Deda, abbot of Partney,¹ the apostle of Lindsey appeared at another time with his royal convert Edwin on the banks of the Trent and baptized a great multitude in its waters.² An ancient eye-witness of the scene who himself received baptism on this occasion thus describes the bishop, 'tall of stature, a little stooping, his hair black, his visage meagre, his nose very slender and aquiline, his aspect both venerable and majestic.' To Northumbria therefore Lindsey owes its conversion and its first Christian Church, and through the teaching of Paulinus is linked with the Roman school;³ yet in spite of political fluctuations which brought it into temporary subjection to the northern kingdom, the province recognized mainly Mercian rule, and from the date of the conversion of Mercia was placed under Mercian bishops, whose see was established at Lichfield and whose traditions were of the Irish or Scottish school.⁴

Of the work or influence in Lindsey of the earlier Mercian bishops nothing is recorded till the time of Ceadda, commonly known as St. Chad, 669 to 672.

The first mention of church organization in Lincolnshire occurs in connexion with King Wulphere, who gave to his new bishop the land of fifty families at a place called 'Ad Baruae' or 'at the wood' generally identified with Barrow on Humber;⁵ the object of the grant being to found a monastery and thus provide a mission centre on an outlying border of the vast diocese. Traces of this foundation still remained in Bede's time, but the house was swept away during the Danish ravages of the ninth century and never rebuilt.

The rule of Chad's successor Wynfrid was brief, as he was deposed by archbishop Theodore in 675 'for some disobedience,' his offence probably consisting in a refusal to allow his diocese to be sub-divided as had been suggested

¹ One of the first monastic establishments in Lindsey.

² Ibid. The place is given by Bede as 'near the city called in the English tongue Tiouulfingacaestir,' generally identified with Torksey, an important burgh in Domesday; the actual spot for the baptism has more recently been fixed in the parish of Marton and opposite to Littleborough, a little to the south of Gainsborough. See *Early Traces of Christianity in North Lincs.* *Linc. Arch. Soc.* xix, 320.

³ 'The conversion of England was accomplished principally, if not entirely, by monks either of the Roman or of the Irish school.' Stubbs, *Chron. and Mem. of Ric. I.* (Rolls Ser.), Introd. ii, xiii.

⁴ Strong evidence of the feeling of the inhabitants of Lindsey against their annexation to Northumbria is shown in the attitude of the monks of Bardney towards Oswald, king and martyr, who re-conquered this district after it had fallen to Mercia on the death of Edwin in 633. After the death of Oswald in battle fighting against the heathen power of Mercia (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. iii, cap. vii), his niece Osthryda, who by her marriage with Ethelred of Mercia for a time united the warring dynasties, desired to bestow on the monastery of Bardney, which she and her husband much loved, the remains of her sainted uncle, then regarded as a martyr to the cause of the faith. But the monks of Bardney refused to admit the waggon when it arrived before the gate of the monastery with its sacred burden, alleging that Oswald though a holy man had endeavoured to establish an alien yoke over them, and the relics were left outside in the open air with only the shelter of a tent to cover them. During the night, however, miraculous proof was afforded of the king's sanctity. A pillar of light reaching up to heaven, which was seen by all the inhabitants of Lindsey, stood over the waggon, and in the morning the monks, convinced, intreated that the holy relics might be deposited among them. They were accordingly washed and placed in a shrine, over which was suspended a banner of purple and gold symbolical of the royalty of the saint. (Ibid. iii, cap. xi.) Many were the miracles reported to be performed there, but during the Danish invasion, which swept away Christian evidences in the county, the relics were carried off and deposited at Gloucester. The murder of Queen Osthryda by the nobles of Lindsey (Ibid. lib. v, cap. xxiv. and *Floren. Wigorn.* i, 45) is another proof of the dislike in the district to Northumbrian rule. Ethelred, like many another Mercian prince, resigned his kingdom in 704 and retired to the abbey of Bardney, of which he died abbot in 716. Ibid. i, 46-9.

⁵ Local tradition here still preserves the name of St. Chad. In 971 King Edgar made a grant to Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, of land at Barrow on Humber to be assigned to the monastery of Peterborough, in his deed recalling that it had formerly been in the possession of St. Chad before it was wasted by the Danes. *Cart. Saxon*, iii, 566.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

by the council of 'Hereutford.' The bishop returned to his former home in the monastery at Barrow, where he died 'in all holy conversation.'¹

Saintliness of life and the study of sacred learning flourished in that halcyon period succeeding the conversion of England, the old dreamed dreams, the young saw visions. William of Malmesbury, contrasting the state of the nation in that primitive age with the period which succeeded before the Conquest, exclaims 'What shall I say then of bishops, hermits, abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its natives, that you can scarce pass through a village of any importance but you hear the name of some new saint? And of how many of them the memory has perished for want of record!'² Lincolnshire, however, still preserves the memory of many who have bequeathed their names to the county and whose fame has not yet departed: Etheldreda, the virgin queen of Northumbria, whose flight across Lincolnshire to her island home at Ely, legend has connected not only with the little church at West Halton, dedicated in her honour,³ but with the minster at Stow, which tradition presents to us as the mother church of Lindsey;⁴ St. Higbald or Hybald, whose name, not to be forgotten in the early annals of this district, though we know little of his history,⁵ is retained in the dedication of three churches in North Lincolnshire⁶ and in that of the church of Ashby-de-la-Launde, near Sleaford, while further south we have the great names of St. Botolph and St. Guthlac.

This southern district beyond Witham was originally held by that tribe of the northern Gyrvi which occupied north Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire. It is probable that from its geographical position and political affinities this part of Lincolnshire was at an early period more closely identified with the kingdom of the East Angles, with whom it embraced Christianity, than with Mercia under whose sway it eventually fell. Thus it has been noted that in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the foundation of the monastery at Icanho in 654 by St. Botolph⁷ is associated with the death in the same year of Anna, the devout king of East Anglia and the father of St. Etheldreda.

¹ Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* lib. iv, cap. vi.

² *Gesta Regum.* ii, 417.

³ The queen in her flight from Coldingham to evade the pursuit of her husband reached the northern shores of the Humber. Aided by favouring winds she crossed the channel and arrived safely at Winteringham, where the great north road touches the Humber. From this place, accompanied by her maidens, Sewara and Sewenna, she fled on to a village near, almost surrounded by marshes. Here, in return for the hospitality of the inhabitants among whom she sojourned for some days, she caused a rude church to be built, the site of which is said to be occupied by the present church of West Halton, dedicated to St. Etheldreda. Thomas of Ely, *Angl. Sacr.* i, 598.

⁴ Continuing her journey, the queen, so runs the story, being weary lay down with her companions to rest in a shady place. On awaking she found that to increase the shade the dried up ashen staff which she had planted in the ground at her head had clothed itself with fresh bark and pushed out leaves and branches eventually becoming the largest ash tree in Lindsey. A church being built in after days in honour of the Virgin Mary on the spot where the queen had rested, the former designation of St. Etheldreda Stow, or the resting place of St. Etheldreda, was changed to St. Mary Stow. *Ibid.* i, 599.

⁵ Bede speaks of Higbald as abbot of a religious house in Lindsey, 'a man of great holiness and self-restraint,' the tutor of Swidbert who accompanied Willibrod on his mission to the Frisians, and a friend of Egbert, the Irish monk, who described to him the manner of the passing of St. Chad from this world. *Ecc. Hist.* lib. iv, cap. iii, v, ix.

⁶ The three churches dedicated to him are Hibaldstow itself, Manton, and Scawby close by. His name remains in his 'stow,' probably his missionary station.

⁷ *Ang. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 51. According to the life given by Mabillon and attributed to Folcard, abbot of Thorney soon after the Conquest, Botolph was by birth an Englishman who was sent with his brother Adulph to receive religious training in Germany, where both became monks. Adulph is said to have become bishop of Utrecht, but Botolph returned to his native land and received the offer of a site for the establishment of a religious house.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

On its conversion the Mercian kingdom sprung immediately into the front rank of Christian powers with a well organized diocese of which the Fen country formed a border province. The connexion, however, between this district and East Anglia was not quickly lost and its almost inaccessible situation, buried deep in the marshes of the fens, presented many attractions to those royal and noble exiles, who sought refuge from the storms of state and perplexities of existence. Here in 699 came the princely youth Guthlac, type of the striving, wistful spirit of his age, attracting pilgrims of all degrees to his island sanctuary by the report of his piety and austerity. On the partition of the Mercian diocese¹ by Theodore in 680 this district came under the bishop whose see was established at Leicester, but the final separation from the mother diocese of Lichfield was not fully accomplished till the year 737.

The northern division of the county, to return to Lindsey, first obtained a bishop of its own in 678. In that year, Ecgfrid of Northumbria² proceeded by the advice of Archbishop Theodore to sub-divide the huge diocese presided over by Wilfrid of York, and having subdued Mercia, and driven out Wulphere, he set up a new and separate bishopric for the province of Lindsey, and caused Eadhed to be consecrated its first bishop.³ Bishop Saxulf retired from Lindsey, but retained Mercia and the Middle Angles under his superintendence. The rule of Eadhed was cut short in the following year when the Mercian king Ethelred again wrested Lindsey from Northumbria.⁴ North Lincolnshire nevertheless continued a succession of bishops of its own, and Ethelwin 'of the English nobility' was consecrated to the deserted see in 680.⁵ The bishop was of a family already well connected in these parts, his brother Aldwine being abbot of Partney, and his sister Æthelheld the venerable abbess of a neighbouring monastery.⁶ He fixed his see at 'Sidnacester'⁷ and 'long ruled the diocese worthily.'⁸

Bede records the names of Eadgar the third bishop, and of Cyneberht, who died in 732,⁹ and was succeeded by Alwig, consecrated by Archbishop Tatwin in 733.¹⁰ Alwig was present at the council of Clovesho in 747, and signed as *episcopus Lindissae provinciae*.¹¹ On his death in 750 he was followed by Eadulf, his deacon,¹² who in turn was succeeded in 767 by Ceolwulf, in whose time the see of Sidnacester was placed under the primacy established for a brief period at Lichfield by the council of Cealchyth in 787.¹³ His successor Eadulf, consecrated in 796, was present at the council of Clovesho in 803, which put an end to the Mercian archbishopric.¹⁴ Berhtred, conse-

¹ Stubbs considers it conclusively fixed that the northern fens came under the superintendence of Mercian bishops from the time of the conversion of Mercia by the fact that St. Guthlac received the rite of ordination from Bishop Headda of Lichfield. 'Foundation and Early Fasti of Peterborough' *Arch. Journ.* xviii, p. 197.

² The baffled husband of St. Etheldreda.

³ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. iv, cap. xii; *Vita Wilfridi*, *Hist. of Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), cap. xx.

⁴ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. iv, cap. xii.

⁵ *Ibid.* He is said to have received instruction while resident in Ireland, at that time the favourite resort of godliness and learning. *Ibid.* lib. iii, cap. xxvii.

⁶ This establishment at Skendleby appears to have been a double monastery, *i.e.* for men and women, presided over by an abbess, after the example of Whitby. On the occasion of one of her visits to Bardney, Queen Osthryda bestowed on her friend the abbess who came to visit her some of the sacred dust of St. Oswald enclosed in a casket. *Ibid.* lib. iii, cap. xi.

⁷ Generally, but without direct evidence, identified with Stow.

⁸ *Ibid.* lib. iii, cap. xxvii.

⁹ *Ibid.* lib. iv, cap. xii.

¹⁰ *Sim. Dunelm.* (Twysden), p. 100.

¹¹ Birch, *Cart. Saxon.* i, 250.

¹² *Sim. Dunelm.* (Twysden), p. 10.

¹³ Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 152.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 166, 167.

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crated by Archbishop Ceolnoth in 838,¹ is the last name that occurs before that dark and gloomy period of the Danish invasion sets in, during which the episcopal succession in Lindsey vanishes, to re-appear but for a time before it merges in that of the see of Dorchester, which had existed side by side with it for nearly 300 years. Established as the see of Leicester, in 680 as we have already seen, its first bishop Cuthwine was consecrated in the same year.² From 692 to 705 the diocese was administered by the exiled Wilfrid of York,³ and in the latter year was again united with the mother see of Lichfield under Bishop Headda.⁴ On the death of Bishop Aldwine in 737 it was finally separated from Lichfield, and presided over by a succession of prelates, beginning with Totta or Torthelm, Eadberht, Unwona, Werenberht, Hrethun, Aldred, Ceolred, Alheard, Ceolwulf, Winsige, Oskytel, translated to York in 958, and Leofwine, who filled up the gap in the episcopal succession of Lindsey by the union of the two sees.⁵ As bishop of Lindsey he signed acts in 953 and 965; his successor Sigeferth did the same in 997 and 1004,⁶ but only the bare title remained, all reality of episcopal rule in Lindsey had passed away even as the name was destined to do.⁷ Nor did Leicester itself long survive the sister see. Leofwine, having accomplished their union, was driven by ever-increasing pressure from the Danes to fall back on Dorchester, the original seat of the West-Saxon bishopric, now transferred to Winchester, and this place continued from that time to be the head of the diocese until it was transferred to Lincoln after the Conquest.

The Danish invasion was regarded by the thoughtful of that age as the punishment of Heaven incurred by the sins of a corrupt and enfeebled nation who having lost the fervour of their early faith, had laid themselves open to attack from without. In the primitive days of the church, says Roger of Wendover, 'religion shone with so bright a light that kings and queens, princes and dukes, earls, barons and churchmen alike inflamed with desire of the heavenly kingdom became monks, recluses, voluntary exiles, forsaking all to follow their Lord; but a time succeeded when virtue became so feeble among them that none could find their equal in treachery and fraud, nothing was unknown among them save piety and justice, wherefore as a punishment God sent upon them nations cruel and pagan who spared neither the sex of women nor the age of infancy.'⁸ To the Danes this district held out peculiar attractions in the prospect of rich plunder offered by the monasteries of the Fen country. Previous attacks, however, were but a prelude to the 'thorough' performance of 869-70, which desolated Lindsey, reduced the monastery of Bardney to ruins, and left its hundred monks slaughtered amid the ashes of their home. Kesteven next followed; the gallant stand made against the slaughtering army by Earl Algar and his little band of patriots proved but a temporary check, the enemy did not stay their hand till the work of ruin

¹ Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i, 79.

² Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 5.

³ *Floren. Wigorn.* i, 242.

⁴ Roger of Wendover, writing at the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, records the death of Eadulf I, bishop of Lindsey, and the succession of Ceowulf, adding, 'where these bishops had their episcopal seat is altogether unknown.' *Flores Hist.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), i, 237.

⁵ *Ibid.* 281. Learning, so marked a feature of an earlier century, had become so decayed that Alfred in his Preface to Gregory's Pastoral, states that few priests on this side the Humber could understand the Common Service of the Church, and he knew none south of the Thames who could turn an ordinary piece of Latin into English. Will. of Malmes. *Gesta Regum*, ii, 417.

² *Ibid.* i, 424; *Floren. Wigorn.* i, 242.

⁴ Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i, 427-8.

⁶ Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 28, 31.

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had been accomplished. Not a church was left standing, nor a religious house spared throughout the county. To the south at Crowland the only survivor was a lad who is said by tradition to have carried the tidings of the fate of his house.¹

After the peace concluded by Alfred in 888, this district, definitely ceded to the Danes, formed an important part of the Danelagh. The bishop's see retreated to Dorchester on Thames, for Lindsey, occupied by men of Danish origin, was now no place for a Christian bishop. The revival of monasticism under Edgar played but little part in Lincolnshire. Of those early foundations in this county destroyed by the Danes, Crowland was not rebuilt till 966; Bardney was a post-Conquest restoration; the history of Barrow as a religious house with its associations with St. Chad ceased from this time; of the rebuilding of Stow by Eadnoth, the 'good bishop' of Dorchester, more will be said later.² Under Canute, church life again sprang into existence, the parish churches in Lincolnshire, so numerous in the time of Domesday, were probably largely built during his reign, and that of Edward the Confessor. Canute, we are told, desired to raise commemorative churches on the scene of his former battle fields, but his thoughts turned chiefly, as was most natural, to the fen country with its great monasteries of Ely and Ramsey, where slept the brave who had fallen at Maldon and Assandun.³ Of the immediate successors of Bishop Leofwine of Dorchester we hear little beyond their connexion with Ramsey and Ely. Eadnoth, or Aelfnoth, appended his signature to the charter of the foundation of Ramsey by Edgar in 974,⁴ and the men of Kesteven, with Aescwige their bishop, were present at the consecration of the church in 991.⁵ Aelfhelm, consecrated in 1002, was succeeded in 1006 by Eadnoth, the first abbot of Ramsey,⁶ who, after the murder of Alphege by the Danes in 1012, with Alfhun of London received the body of the archbishop and gave it burial in St. Paul's, London.⁷ Four years later the bishop himself fell by the side of Edmund Ironside at Assandun, whither he had gone 'to pray for the English army.'⁸ His body was carried to Ely and buried in the church, the many miracles reported to be wrought there exciting envious comment from the rival establishment at Ramsey.⁹ Aethelric, consecrated in 1016, came also from Ramsey, and was buried before the high altar on his death in 1034.¹⁰ Through the favour of Canute he was able to procure many grants and privileges for his community, his gifts and good deeds being

¹ *Ingulph* (Gale), p. 22.

² 'Very few of the religious houses which perished during the Danish wars ever rose again from their ashes. The cathedral and city monasteries were almost the only exceptions'; Stubbs, *Chron. and Mem. of Ric. I.* (Rolls Ser.), Introd. i, xviii.

³ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i, 487-8.

⁴ *Chart. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 58.

⁵ *Chron. Abbat. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), 93.

⁶ *Ibid.* 115.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* 118; *Chart. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 172. Abbot Wulfius of Ramsey was another churchman who fell on that occasion in 1016.

⁹ The chronicler of Ramsey gives the story of the forcible detention of the body by the monks of Ely as it was being brought home for burial at Ramsey, the home of his boyhood, according to the bishop's own desire. The bearers tarried a night at Ely on the way, and being weary slept soundly, but, as they thought, safely. In the morning, however, the body was gone, and they were told that their hosts considered they had a greater claim to it, for Eadnoth was their bishop and they intended to keep him (*Chron. Rames.* [Rolls Ser.], 118-19). The Ely chronicle adds the edifying particular that that 'holy man' Aelfgar, bishop of Elmham, who had retired from his see to Ely, managed the trick by making the watchers drunk (*ibid. Preface*, p. xxxv). Such devices were not uncommon in those days, especially in such hard-drinking districts, and were regarded as meritorious rather than otherwise. Bishop Aethelric is said to have obtained the promise of a grant of land from a Dane when in his cups which he forced him to adhere to when sober.

¹⁰ *Chart. Abbat. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 173.

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acknowledged by the chronicler of Ramsey to have amply compensated for the bell which he helped to crack by his bad ringing when a scholar of the abbey.¹ Eadnoth III, known as 'the good bishop' of Dorchester, succeeded in 1034; like his predecessor he came from Ramsey, and was high in favour with Canute. Besides large grants to the abbey where he died in 1049, he restored the minster at Stow so long left in ruins. This may be noted as constituting the only mention we get of Lindsey during the rule of bishops, whose sphere of interest seems entirely confined to the southern district.

On the death of Eadnoth in 1050 'King Edward,' says the chronicler, 'gave the bishopric to Ulf, his priest, and ill bestowed it, for he performed nothing bishoplike therein, so that it shames us now to tell more.'² The new bishop owed his appointment to the blind partiality of the Confessor for Normans, and managed to retain it by bribes, for he showed himself so unfit for the post on being sent to Rome to receive confirmation 'that they were very near breaking his staff' and cancelling the appointment 'if he had not given the greater treasures.'³ This worthless occupant of the see held it but for a brief span; with Robert of Canterbury and other foreign favourites he took refuge in flight on the triumphant return of Earls Godwin and Harold in 1052.⁴ Wulfwig, a Saxon, after some delay was appointed to the deserted bishopric, and with Leofwine of Lichfield sought consecration over seas in consequence of well-founded scruples as to the canonical position of Stigand of Canterbury. During his rule he established a college of secular priests at Stow on the plan of St. Paul's Cathedral, being assisted in his scheme by the generous gifts and benefactions of the Lady Godiva, in conjunction with her husband Earl Leofric of Mercia.⁵ Wulfwig was the last bishop of Dorchester before the Conquest, and his death on 6 December, 1067, created the first gap in the ranks of the episcopacy since that great event.

The ecclesiastical configuration of the county in the eleventh century may fairly be gathered from a glance at the Domesday Survey of 1086. In Lincolnshire, already parcelled out under the parochial system into local areas, each with its parish church, and presumably its parish priest, the number of churches mentioned has been estimated at 222,⁶ and as a return of churches was not specifically within the scope of the Survey, this did not in all probability represent the total number in existence. The paucity of Lincolnshire religious foundations is explained by the fact that the monastic system swept away by the Danes did not fully revive till the days of Henry I and Stephen.⁷ Among the ninety-two tenants in chief, including the thegns, are recorded the names of six prelates: the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham, Bayeux, Salisbury and Coutances, as well as the bishop of Lincoln; of four

¹ *Chron. Rames* (Rolls Ser.), 126, 146.

² *A.S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 140-2.

³ *Ibid.* 143.

⁴ Archbishop and bishop, when the tidings came of the return of the exiles, mounted their horses and rode through the streets out of the east gate of London, hacking down all who barred their progress. Making their way to the coast at Walton-on-Naze they came on a 'crazy ship,' and so betook themselves over sea. *Ibid.* 132.

⁵ See copy of agreement between the bishop and the earl and his wife under Eynsham; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, No. iii, p. 14.

⁶ Sir H. Ellis, *Introd. to Domesday*, i, 286. The largest number returned for any county, except Norfolk with 243, and Suffolk with 364. *Ibid.* 287.

⁷ Till that time the few houses of Norman foundation appear to have been erected as cells to foreign houses.

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religious houses : the abbeys of Peterborough, Westminster, Ramsey and Crowland ; and of one ecclesiastic, Osbern the priest. Besides these tenants in chief other religious bodies are named as under-tenants : the abbey of St. Karileph in Maine, holding land under the bishop of Durham in Covenham and Skidbrook :¹ the canons of Lincoln holding in demesne of the manor of Welton under the bishop, and jointly with the bishop in Redbourne :² the abbot of St. Germain, Selby, holding in Crowle under Geoffrey de Wirce :³ the monks of St. Sever, Avranches,⁴ under-tenants of Hugh de Abrincis in Hougham. 'Thorold the abbot' held land in 'Hochtune' or Houghton in Spittlegate, Grantham, under Colegrim the Saxon thane.⁵

To the period immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest the diocese of Lincoln owes the enormous development and improvement in its organization and administration which, welding in a compact whole the disconnected elements that had hitherto composed its vast area, advanced it into the front rank as one of the best governed sees in England. On the death of Wulfwig, the Conqueror proceeded to fill up the vacancy thus created in the see of Dorchester with one of his own Norman ecclesiastics, his choice falling on

¹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 430. In the later Roll of Lindsey the monks of Covenham, a cell founded by the Conqueror at the instance of the bishop of Durham, are returned as tenants in chief in Covenham.

² Again in the later roll the canons have become tenants in chief of 14 carucates of land in Welton, Rischolme and Willingham.

³ The holdings recorded in 1086 may also be compared with the return of landowners in Lindsey made in the time of Henry I. The archbishop of York, besides his fief in Lindsey, amounting in the twelfth century roll to 35 carucates 4½ bovates (R. E. C. Waters, *Roll of Landowners in parts of Lindsey temp. Hen. I*, 10), held manors at Dowsby, Billingham, Horbling, North and South Witham, Billingham and Lavington in the Kesteven division of the county (*Dom. Bk.* [Rec. Com.], i, 339-40). The bishop of Durham, whose estates in Lindsey are returned in the roll as amounting to 56 carucates 4½ bovates (Waters, op. cit. p. 10), held manors also at Kirkby Green, Great Gonerby, Pickworth, Kelby in Haydor, and Evedon in Kesteven (*Dom. Bk.* [Rec. Com.], i, 340-1). The estates of the bishop of Bayeux were already in the king's hand at the time of the Survey (*ibid.* i, 342). The bishop of Salisbury had no holding in Lindsey, and is therefore not entered on the roll. The Conqueror bestowed on him lands at Grantham (which had previously been held by Queen Editha as a royal borough, and was thus claimed by the Conqueror) belonging to St. Wolfran's church there, with which he endowed two prebends in his own cathedral church of Salisbury. (See under Salisbury, Chart. of Foundation, Dugd. *Mon.* viii, 1294.) The estates of Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances lay in Canwick and Bracebridge, outside Lindsey (*Dom. Bk.* [Rec. Com.], i, 343 d.). He was implicated in the conspiracy of Bishop Odo in favour of Robert of Normandy, and died in 1094. The bishop of Lincoln, besides large estates in Lindsey, amounting in the roll to 130 carucates 6 bovates, (Waters, op. cit. p. 10), held manors in Dunsby, Ringstone in Rippingale, Carlby, Corby, Sleaford, Lobthorpe, Leasingham, Silk Willoughby and Hougham in Kesteven, Gosberton and Cheal near Gosberton, in Holland, with numerous other sokes and berewicks (*Dom. Bk.* [Rec. Com.], i, 344-5). The abbey of Peterborough's lands lay chiefly in North Lindsey, and the monks held manors besides at Thurlby near Bourne, Holywell, Osgodby and Walcot by Folkingham, Donnington and Witham on the Hill, with other sokes and berewicks (*Dom. Bk.* [Rec. Com.], i, 345-6). Westminster Abbey held the manor of Doddington near Lincoln with the berewick of Thorpe on the Hill (*ibid.* i, 346). The abbey of Ramsey held manors in Quarrington and Threckingham (*ibid.*), granted to them by one Jol in 1051, and confirmed by the Confessor (See under Ramsey, Nos. ii, ix, Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 555, 559). To the south of the county St. Guthlac's, Crowland, held 1 carucate of land with the manor of Holbeach and Whaplode, the berewick of Spalding, where the monks had forsaken their cell by reason of the cruel oppression of Ivo de Tallibois (*Ingulph* [Gale], 94), the manors of Langtoft and Baston, the manor of Dowdyke in Sutterton with berewicks in Drayton and Algarkirk, and 1 bovat in Burtoft (*Dom. Bk.* [Rec. Com.], i, 346 d.). At the time of the Survey the abbey held the Lindsey manor of Bucknall, but is not entered among Lindsey landowners in the later roll. Ingulph, in his chronicle, gives the interesting particular that his house obtained favour with the commissioners who completed the Survey, and they were induced not to set down the full value of its possessions (*Ingulph* [Gale], 79). The estate of Osbern the priest in the manors of Faldingworth and Binbrook (*Dom. Bk.* [Rec. Com.], i, 366 d.), had in the reign of Henry I descended to his son William de Torriant, who held the sheriff's office, like his father previously (Waters, op. cit. p. 14).

⁴ A house founded by Hugh, earl of Chester, about 1035.

⁵ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 370 d. In the Lindsey Roll of Henry I we also find mention of St. Mary's Abbey, York ; St. Katharine's, Lincoln, a Gilbertine house founded in the suburbs ; St. Mary's Cathedral, Lincoln ; Spalding Priory, which had then been granted by Ivo de Tallibois as a cell to St. Nicholas of Angiers ; Covenham Priory ; and Wighale or Werghale Priory in South Kelsey.

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Remigius or Remy, almoner of Fécamp. The wisdom of the selection was fully justified by results, but the circumstances said to have prompted the appointment have ever been regarded as a blot on the fame of one of Lincoln's greatest bishops.¹

Having firmly established his own position² Remigius proceeded to devise various schemes for the improvement of Dorchester as the episcopal seat, including the erection of a cathedral there,³ till the decision of the council held at Windsor in 1072 ordaining that bishops should fix their seats in cities and not in villages⁴ enabled him to take that momentous step in the removal of the see to Lincoln, which a preliminary trial of Dorchester, 'villa exilis et infrequens,' must have convinced him would be necessary for the efficient administration of the diocese. The actual date when this transference took place is much disputed,⁵ the Domesday Survey, which notes the fact of its accomplishment under Lincoln,⁶ omits all reference under Dorchester (Oxon) to the church so recently the head of the diocese. But whatever the date, here at Lincoln, a city at that time, says William of Malmesbury, 'emporium hominum terra marique venientium,' on the hill already occupied by the Conqueror's castle, having obtained by purchase the grant of a site already partly consecrated by the earlier church of St. Mary Magdalene,⁷ the bishop laid the foundations of the first cathedral of Lincoln, in the stately language of the chronicler, 'he built a church to the virgin of virgins, strong as the place was strong, beautiful as the place was beautiful, that it might be as pleasing to the servants of God, as according to the necessity of the time it should be invincible to their enemies.'⁸ Like more than one Norman bishop⁹ Remigius, though himself a monk, seems to have had a somewhat qualified regard for monasticism, and in connexion with his new cathedral, dedicated to

¹ William of Malmesbury says that he received the bishopric as the price of the help he afforded to William at the battle of Hastings (*Gesta Pontif.* [Rolls Ser.] 312). Eadmer states that he bought the see (*Hist. Nov.* [Rolls Ser.], p. 11). Giraldus says that he was elected, as nominally were all William's bishops, and offers no explanation of the statement of John de Schalby, from whom he derived most of his sources for the *Vita S. Remigii*, that it was obtained 'ob certam causam.' Girald. Cambr. vii, 14; App. E. p. 193.

² While on a visit to Rome in 1071 the bishop was suspended by the Pope on a double charge of having bought the appointment, and of having received consecration at the hands of Stigand. He was reinstated at the intercession of Lanfranc, to whom he then made profession of canonical obedience. Will. of Malmes. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 66; Cott. MS. Cleop. E. i.

³ Will. of Malmes. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), p. 312.

⁴ Ibid. *Gesta Regum.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 352.

⁵ Matt. Paris. *Hist. Minor.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, n. 3; Girald. Cambr. *Op.* (Rolls Ser.) vii, App. E. 194.

⁶ 'In qua nunc est episcopatus' *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 336. The authors of the *Diocesan Hist. of Linc.* (pp. 47-8), have placed it between 1072, when Remigius signed at the council of Windsor as bishop of Dorchester (Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 324), and 1075, when at the council of London he attested his signature as 'Lincolniensis episcopus' (Ibid. p. 364). As Lincoln is not mentioned at the later council among the sees yet to be transferred, the inference would be that the change had already taken place.

⁷ Hen. of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 212. The parishioners of St. Mary Magdalene had their church in the nave of the cathedral and were entitled to have their children baptized in the cathedral font, and their dead buried in the cemetery of the cathedral (Girald. Cambr. *Op.*, John de Schalby, App. E. vii, pp. 194-5), till two centuries later when Bishop Sutton built a chapel for them on a site which he had procured outside the cathedral. Ibid. p. 209.

⁸ Hen. of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 212. The royal charter of the Conqueror, confirming the transference of the see to Lincoln 'by the authority and counsel of Alexander the Pope, and Lanfranc the Archbishop,' bestowed on the church his two manors of Welton and Sleaford, the three churches of Kirton, Caister and Wellingore with their lands and tithes, and the two churches in Lincoln of St. Lawrence and St. Martin; the king further confirmed to the bishop the manor of Leicester, the gift of Earl Waltheof, and the manor of Woburn, which the king had bestowed with the pastoral staff, as well as the four churches of Bedford, Leighton, Buckingham, and Aylesbury, previously held by the bishops of Dorchester. Dugdale, *Mon.* under Lincoln, viii, No. iii, p. 1270.

⁹ Samson, bishop of Worcester (1096-1112), much displeased his own chapter and the monastic order generally by replacing secular canons at Westbury. Green, *Hist. and Antiq. of Worc.* p. 182.

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the Virgin Mary, 'virgini virginum,' he established a community of secular canons constituted after the model of the church of Rouen,¹ with twenty-one canonries, to each of which he allotted a share or prebend of the estates of the church as an endowment.² On the other hand he re-built the secular college at Stow, established by his predecessor Wulfwig and fallen to decay, and re-organized it as a house of Benedictine monks under the rule of Abbot Columbanus.³ The re-building of Bardney, which for two centuries had lain in ruins, has also been attributed to him, but was more properly the work of Gilbert de Gant between the years 1086 and 1089.⁴

The transfer of the see to a stronger base was not effected without difficulty and the encounter of strong opposition on the part of Thomas of York, who claimed Lindsey as subject to the northern primacy and regarded the step as a usurpation of his rights.⁵ The claim was abandoned temporarily in consequence of the decision in 1072 of the Council of Windsor to whom the question had been referred by the pope,⁶ but was not finally disposed of till the next reign. The bishop's other scheme for the better administration of the diocese was necessitated generally by the Conqueror's great measure separating the secular from the ecclesiastical courts, but he appears to have been the first prelate to inaugurate the new development. He divided the diocese up into districts, over each of which he placed an official, known before the Conquest as the bishop's deputy, his archdeacon or 'eye,'⁷ who now under the new order of things became a territorial officer with definite functions, holding courts and presiding over an area for which he was made personally responsible to the bishop. The seven archdeaconries thus created, corresponding roughly with the counties within the area of the diocese, were Lincoln, Buckingham, Bedford, Leicester, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Oxford.⁸ The archdeaconry of Stow was established later, and the date of its creation is very uncertain.⁹ The establishment of rural deaneries following the hundred is also assigned to this period, and mention is made of them in

¹ Girald. Cambr. Op. (Rolls Ser.), vii, 19.

² Ibid.

³ Will. of Malmes. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 312. See Dugdale, *Mon.* under Eynsham, iii, Nos. vii, viii, pp. 14, 15.

⁴ Ibid. The bishop's signature appears on the charter of its refoundation. Dugdale, *Mon.* under Bardney, No. ii, p. 629.

⁵ The claim so long put forward by York to the see of Lindsey was not without some shadow of reason. The bishopric of Lindsey was created at a time when the province by a political fluctuation formed part of the kingdom of Northumbria, and for this reason it might fairly be claimed as a see carved out of the Northumbrian diocese on its sub-division. The neighbouring county of Nottingham was until quite recent years included under the northern primacy. Giraldus speaks of the transfer to Lincoln as a step which practically secured the acquisition of this district to the see of Dorchester and the province of Canterbury. Girald. Cambr. Op. (Rolls Ser.), vii, cap. iv.

⁶ Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 324. The council definitely upheld the supremacy of Canterbury over York, and fixed the limits of the latter province to the district north of the Lichfield diocese on the west, and to the Humber on the east.

⁷ 'The first person who occurs as archdeacon,' says Stubbs, 'is Wulfred who became archbishop of Canterbury in 805, and who is so given in a charter of his predecessor. The office of the deacon or bishop's officer of Bede's period is purely ministerial.' *Const. Hist.* i, 267, note 3.

⁸ Hen. of Hunt. *De Contemptu Mundi* (Rolls Ser.), p. 312. Henry also gives the names of the various archdeacons, and of some of their successors. Richard was the first archdeacon of Lincoln, and after him came William of Bayeux, and Robert the Younger, 'of all the archdeacons in England he was the richest.'

⁹ The first mention of an archdeacon of the West Riding, as that part was then called in the Lindsey Roll temp. Hen. I, occurs in 1138. *Dioc. Hist. of Lincoln* (S.P.C.K.), p. 51.

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the councils of 1108, 1195, and 1200,¹ but the date when their territorial limits were fixed is uncertain.²

Nor did Remigius confine his attention only to schemes of organization and administration; he endeavoured by all means within his power to raise the moral tone of his flock, then at a very low ebb according to Giraldus,³ a very unreliable authority, however. He traversed the whole district, preaching and teaching 'from end to end,' penetrating into every quarter, and did not cease until he had as far as was possible eradicated the enormities of his flock and 'as a good pastor and not a hireling having uprooted vices had set virtues in their place.'⁴ The author of the *Vita S. Remigii* enlarges on his piety, humility, and above all his charity, and says that alone among the English bishops of that period he showed himself 'the defender of orphans, the sustainer of the afflicted.'⁵ In weighing the character of Remigius much depends on the point of view from which he is judged. The claims to sanctity preferred for him by later writers are based, as all modern critics seem agreed, on very insufficient grounds, but his claim to gratitude and respect as a warm-hearted and active prelate rests on a very sure foundation. He falls below the standard that humanity upholds ever for the saint, but rises in estimation as a statesman and organizer whenever the critical test is applied to his work. There is something of significance in the fate which obliged him to have recourse at the close of his career to the means he had employed at its outset. Being opposed⁶ in his desire to see the dedication of the great cathedral as the seal of his life work, Remigius obtained from the unworthy Rufus, at the price of a timely bribe, a mandate ordering the magnates and bishops of the kingdom to assemble for the ceremony.⁷ By bribery Remigius had secured the position which years of strenuous and devoted work had made good, and now by bribery he endeavoured, and more excusably, to secure the accomplishment of his last desire. The day for the ceremony to take place was fixed for 9 May, 1092, all preparations were completed, the guests had assembled,⁸ but he who should have been the centre figure on the occasion lay cold in death having passed away three days previously,⁹ leaving the

¹ London, 1108 (Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 388); York, 1195 (*ibid.* p. 502); and London, 1200 (*ibid.* p. 505).

² Many [rural] deans are mentioned in charters belonging to the cathedral, and dating about 1200, but in no case do they seem to have territorial designations except 'the deans of the city of Lincoln.' Sometimes, a little later, they are called deans of the place where they lived. Thus 'William the dean of Redbourne,' vicar of Redbourne, became vicar of Hibaldstow, 1223, and is still called 'William the dean.' See *Hist. Notes concerning the Deanery of Corringham*, by the Rev. C. Moor.

³ Girald. *Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 20. 'They would sell,' says Giraldus, 'their sons to slavery and their daughters to prostitution. Perjury, adultery, and incest they counted as little, promiscuity and illegitimacy even as nothing.'

⁴ *Ibid.* vii, p. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 15, 'He was short of stature,' says Henry of Huntingdon, commenting on the contrast afforded by his insignificant exterior and powerful personality, 'but great of heart, swarthy in complexion, but comely in deeds.' *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 212; Will. of Malmes. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 313.

⁶ By the archbishop of York, who still regarded Lincoln as standing within his jurisdiction.

⁷ *Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), i, 145.

⁸ Save one, Robert of Hereford, the friend of Wulfstan the saintly bishop of Worcester, who, convinced by a study of the stars that the dedication would not take place in the lifetime of Remigius, remained at home. Will. of Malmes. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 165.

⁹ Florence of Worcester, Simon of Durham, and Roger de Hoveden state that the consecration was fixed for 9 May, and that Remigius died two days before. Diceto says he died two days before the consecration which was fixed for 10 May. William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon state that he died one day before that fixed for the consecration, but do not give dates, and Giraldus says he died on 6 May, being Ascension Day, and also the day of St. John 'ante portam Latinam,' or four days before the consecration. Girald. *Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 21.

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concourse to bury him hastily and disperse, the cathedral to be consecrated by his successor. With many great and endearing qualities Remigius yet missed the grace of sanctity, as his cathedral spite of all his efforts lacked the glory of its dedication.

The twelfth-century bishops who succeeded Remigius bring before us men of secular aim and character, whose weight and ability left their mark on the history of the country but did little for the advancement of religious life within the diocese. Robert Bloet, chancellor of Rufus, was not appointed till his illness at Gloucester, in Lent, 1093, drove the rapacious king to fill up those vacant sees whose revenues he had been plundering;¹ even then the bishop's consecration was delayed for another year.² The unfavourable reports of Bloet circulated by later chroniclers, and mainly based on the earlier account of William de Malmesbury,³ can generally be traced back to the umbrage given by the bishop to various parties in the state. The removal of the monks from Stow to Eynsham and the annexation of the manor to the episcopal see⁴ roused the enmity of the monastic party, while the separation and erection of Ely into a new and independent diocese, offended a large section who regarded a bishop's see as a lay fee to be handed down intact to successors, though the change can hardly with fairness be charged to Bloet, as it appears to have been brought about 'by the will and violence of the king.'⁵ However unjustly earned, his reputation until recent years has found permanent record in the derisive effigy on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral known as the 'Swineherd of Stow.'⁶ Probably the most correct impression of Bloet may be gathered from the account of Henry of Huntingdon, his archdeacon, to whom we owe a vivid picture of the pomp and magnificence attending the court of one of the wealthiest prelates in England.⁷ The archdeacon gives us an anecdote which reveals unmistakably the mind and temper of one described as 'the father of the fatherless and the delight of his own friends,' who yet 'overmuch loved and cherished this world.'⁸ The bishop had resigned the chancellorship on his promotion to Lincoln, but was justiciar under Henry I, and in the later part of his life was much harassed by the machinations of a justiciar of inferior rank and standing and by fines imposed on him by the king. On one occasion, the archdeacon being seated by him at table, the bishop was observed to shed tears, and on inquiry being made as to the reason said, 'Formerly those waiting on me were wont to be dressed in rich apparel, but now, owing to the fines imposed by the king whose favour I have sought, they are

¹ *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 196. Lincoln on the death of Remigius had been handed over to Ralph Flambard, Rufus's evil genius. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 37.

² Owing to the continued opposition of Thomas of York, who now claimed the right to consecrate bishops of Lincoln as belonging to the northern primacy, recourse was had to the usual bribe and the king thereupon summoned Anselm to Hastings, where Bloet's consecration took place in the chapel of St. Mary within the castle, 12 February, 1094. The archbishop of York was eventually brought to relinquish his claim and to receive as compensation rights of patronage over the abbeys of St. Germain, Selby, and St. Oswald, of Gloucester. *Dugdale, Mon.* vi, 1271. Under Lincoln, No. v.

³ Considerably modified in a later edition of the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, but forming the basis of the attacks of Knighton and others.

⁴ Girald. *Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 32. Matters were not smoothed by the prominent part taken by Bloet in a petition to the king on the part of the bishops praying that a secular might be appointed to Canterbury, and not a regular clergy. *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 218.

⁵ Girald. *Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 32.

⁶ Represented blowing a horn. Dimock, *Girald. Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, *Pref.* xxvi.

⁷ *De Contemptu Mundi* (Rolls Ser.), 299.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 299-300.

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clad only in lambswool. To comfort and reassure him the archdeacon repeated words of praise that the king had applied to him in his absence. 'Ah,' sighed the other, 'the king praises no man unless he has first a mind to ruin him.'¹

On Bloet's death,² or, in the words of the author of *De Contemptu Mundi*, when he had 'left the dreams of this deceitful world and awakened to the true and everlasting verities,' a candidate for promotion stood ready to the king's hand, and the Eastertide following, 1123, Henry I, 'for love of the bishop,' bestowed the vacant see on the nephew of his justiciar the famous Roger of Salisbury.³

It is not surprising to find that Alexander the Magnificent⁴ presents no contrast to the prevailing type of mundane prelate of which his uncle Roger of Salisbury is so striking an example. The chief events of his episcopate occur in connexion with the civil wars of Stephen's reign, in which the city of Lincoln played so prominent a part. Notwithstanding his oath of fidelity to the empress, the bishop appears to have had no scruple in following the example of his uncle and transferring his allegiance to Stephen on the death of Henry.⁵ It was the king's hasty and ill-advised action against the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln which turned the scale of fortune against him. The crisis of affairs came in this manner: the Normans, and Norman ecclesiastics in particular, were great builders; Alexander shared the taste of his age to the full, but the passion, which in his predecessors had found an outlet in the erection and beautifying of the house of God, in him as in most of his contemporaries sought expression in the raising of military works and fortresses. 'Every powerful man made his castles,' says the chronicler, 'they filled the land full of castles.'⁶ And in the nineteen terrible years of Stephen's reign, when want and famine stalked through the land and oppression and extortion ruled the people, the part played by the bishops seems little better than that of other freebooting barons, for they built castles 'quod tamen non erat opus episcoporum,' stored them with arms and provisions, and filled them with soldiers and archers;⁷ 'devils' the Anglo-Saxon chronicler calls them,⁸ who tortured and cruelly entreated the people of the land.⁹ A check came at last in the growing jealousy of the lay barons and the suspicions they contrived to arouse in Stephen. At the Council of Oxford on 24 June, 1139, the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln were on some excuse seized and thrown into prison until they should have complied with the order to surrender their castles.¹⁰ Stephen, to hasten submission

¹ *De Contemptu Mundi* (Rolls Ser.), 300.

² 'It befel,' says the Anglo Saxon Chronicle (Rolls Ser. 217-18), 'on a Wednesday, January 10, 1093, that the king was riding in his deer-fold, and the Bishop Roger of Salisbury on one side of him and the Bishop Robert Bloet on the other; and they were there riding and talking. Then the bishop of Lincoln sank down and said to the king, "Lord king, I am dying." And the king alighted down from his horse and lifted him between his arms and caused him to be borne to his inn; and he was then forthwith dead.'

³ *Ibid.* 219.

⁴ Girald. Cambr. *Op.* (Rolls Ser.), 33. So named by the greedy officials of the Roman court on account of his profuse liberality. Hen. of Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 253.

⁵ *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 57; iii, 149; Hen. of Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 260.

⁶ *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 231.

⁷ The charge is specially made against the bishop of Salisbury and his two nephews, Alexander of Lincoln and Nigel of Ely. *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 46.

⁸ *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 231.

⁹ *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 101.

¹⁰ Their treatment was most villainous: Roger was thrust into a cow-house, and the bishop of Lincoln, who in addition was charged with inciting his men to an affray with the followers of the count of Brittany, was confined in a 'vile shed.' *Floren. Wigorn.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii, 107; Will. of Malmesbury, *Hist. Novell.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 548.

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and after securing the bishop of Salisbury's fortress, dragged the unfortunate Alexander to Newark-on-Trent, and promised him that he should not taste of food until the castle there had been placed in his hands. The castles of Sleaford and Banbury followed the fall of Newark,¹ and Alexander was left to reflect sorrowfully on the admonitions put forward by the council that bishops should devote themselves to the welfare of their flocks rather than to the building of castles.² As a set off, we are told, to these military erections the bishop founded the monasteries of Louth Park and Haverholme (Lincs.), Thame (Oxon.), and the house of Austin canons at Dorchester. The brief account of him given by Giraldus states, however, that he not only continued the gift of an annual mantle to the king begun by Bloet, but used the funds of his own church to build these monasteries, thus 'robbing one altar to clothe another.'³

For the remainder of his episcopate Alexander appears to have been content to remain quietly in the background. The next mention of him occurs on the eve of the battle of Lincoln, 2 January, 1141,⁴ from which Stephen in his turn was carried off a prisoner, the town sacked, and the citizens slaughtered.⁵ Towards the close of his life he began to restore the cathedral, which had been much mutilated in a previous fire. The work was carried out in such a manner as to render the church 'more beautiful than before and second to none in the realm.'⁶ In 1147 the bishop started again for foreign parts, and was honourably received by the pope at Auxerre, but during this visit he contracted the low fever which brought on his death after his return in 1148.⁷

It is impossible to review the period occupied by the episcopate of Alexander, and see the part played by this county in the events of Stephen's reign without being struck by that curious phenomenon, the revival of monasticism in the midst of that dark and troubled episode in English history. Yet the incongruity, strange as it may appear, was probably the natural outcome of that sad time; 'men said openly,' says the chronicler, 'that Christ and his saints slept,'⁸ but it is at such times that the devout raise their eyes in the expectation of a happier day for which they would even now prepare.

It may be recalled that the first mention of an archdeacon of the 'West Riding,' or Stow, occurs during the episcopate of Alexander, and it has been conjectured that he founded it.⁹

Robert de Chesney, 'cujus cognomen est de Quercito,'¹⁰ who succeeded to Alexander, is said to have been elected by the common voice of the church of Lincoln.¹¹ Though still a young man the new bishop as archdeacon of Leicester had acquired a reputation for virtues not universally attributed to youth, or characteristic of his predecessors, 'great humility and simplicity.'¹²

¹ *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 230; *Hen. of Hunt. Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 266.

² *Floren. Wigorn.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii, 116, 216.

³ *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 37; Girald. *Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 33. The annual charge with which Bloet saddled his church was finally redeemed by Bishop Hugh in 1194 by the payment of a large sum of money. *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Ser.), 183-7; Roger de Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 303.

⁴ *Hen. of Hunt. Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 271.

⁵ *Ord. Vital.* (Bohn Antiq. Lib.), iv, 2; Will. of Malmes. *Hist. Novell.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 570.

⁶ The walls were vaulted with a stone vault in a fashion hitherto unknown to England. *Hen. of Hunt. Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 278-9; Roger de Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 208.

⁷ *Hen. of Hunt. Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 250.

⁸ *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 231.

⁹ *Dioc. Hist. of Linc.* (S. P. C. K.), 51.

¹¹ Ralph de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 258.

¹⁰ *Hen. of Hunt. Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 281.

¹² *Ibid.*

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The great event of his rule, the ever memorable struggle between Henry I and Becket, served however to bring out his cardinal defects, a failure to grasp the importance of spiritual claims and the absence of a lofty conception of duty. Henry II, acting upon the advice given him early in the conflict by Ernulf of Lisieux to detach some of the bishops from the archbishop's party and thus break up the solid wall of support on which Becket was relying, summoned to him at Gloucester the three whom he considered most pliant, Roger of York, Robert of Hereford, and Chesney of Lincoln, and induced them to desert to his side.¹ The advice tendered by this 'man of simplicity and less discretion' at the Council of Northampton in October, 1164, shows an almost irritating lack of comprehension of the issues at stake. 'It is clear,' he remarked, 'that the life of this man and his blood are sought after, and it comes to this, that he must yield either the archbishopric or his life, and what use his archbishopric is to be to him if he lose his life I do not see.' During the interview which the king allowed the bishops to have with their metropolitan on the last day of the council in order that they might induce him to yield, Robert of Lincoln is said to have 'wept continuously.'² He was sent by the king to the Roman court to complain of Becket's conduct,³ but did not live to see the final tragedy; 'a man of great humility' he passed away to the Lord on 29 December, 1166.⁴

The death of Chesney was followed by an interval of nearly seventeen years in which the church of Lincoln was practically without a pastor.⁵ The appointment of Geoffrey Plantagenet, natural son of Henry II, in 1173, was merely a device to enable the king to retain the bishopric while apparently yielding to remonstrances from Rome.⁶ Geoffrey held the archdeaconry of Lincoln at the time of his 'election,' but was barely twenty years of age nor yet in priest's orders,⁷ and there seems to have been no intention that he should proceed to consecration or act the part of more than nominal head.⁸ This semblance however ended in 1181, for on being brought to the point either to be ordained or resign his office, Geoffrey to his credit chose the latter alternative and wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury declaring his intention of resigning, fearing 'to impose on my youth a burden too heavy even for those of elder years.' A similar letter to the canons of Lincoln, renouncing all rights of his election, followed, and the formal resignation of the see was publicly announced at Marlborough, on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1182.⁹

¹ *Materials for Life of Becket* (Rolls Ser.); *Will. of Cant.* i, 14; *Edw. Grim.* ii, 377; *Anonym.* iv, 30.

² *Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 183; *Materials for Life of Becket* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 327; iii, 65; iv, 314.

³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 381.

⁴ *Girald. Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii.

⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 33.

⁶ *Epist.* (*Materials for Life of Becket*), [Rolls Ser.], vi, 460.

⁷ *Girald. Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 363.

⁸ William de Newburgh rather unfairly charges the young man with being content to delay consecration as long as he could enjoy the fruits of his benefice, 'knowing not how to feed the Lord's sheep though apt at fleecing them.' *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 154.

⁹ *Bened. Abbas, Gesta Hen. Sec.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 271-2. Geoffrey's chief title to respect and consideration lies in the loyalty he manifested towards his father, in marked contrast to the behaviour of Henry's other children. On the rebellion of the sons abroad in 1172, followed by the rising of the disaffected barons in the north, Geoffrey rallied the men of Lincolnshire round him, and mustering his tenants seized the castle of Roger de Mowbray at Kinnardsferry in the isle of Axholme, joined forces with the archbishop of York, and forced the king of Scots to retire northwards. He then, the rebellion crushed, met his father at Huntingdon where he was greeted with words of grateful recognition from the king, 'base born have my other children showed themselves to me, this one alone has proved himself my very son.'

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The next occupant of the see spent so short a time at Lincoln that his connexion with the diocese can be described only as a brief episode. Walter de Coutances had been employed by Henry II in various embassies, and held at different times the offices of chancellor and seal-bearer (*archisigillarius*) to the king.¹ He was consecrated to Lincoln by the archbishop of Canterbury at Angers, 3 July, 1183, having previously received ordination as a priest at the hands of John, bishop of Evreux.² He did not visit his diocese till the following December, but was then received by the clergy and people '*cum hymnis et canticis*.' His advent indeed did much to allay the feeling of general uneasiness, which found expression in the prophecy that there should never again be a bishop of Lincoln, but his stay was of too short duration to effect much more. The bishop, promoted the following year to the archbishopric of Rouen,³ hesitated long, we are told, between the pre-eminence of Rouen and the wealth of Lincoln, but counsels of ambition finally prevailed.⁴ His connexion with this diocese ceased with his enthronement at Rouen, 24 May, 1185, after a rule lasting only one year, eleven weeks and five days.⁵ It is interesting to note how close up to this time was the connexion of the Church of England with the continent, so that no incongruity was observed in an exchange which gave a Walter de Coutances to Rouen and secured a St. Hugh of Grenoble to Lincoln.

With the next occupant of the see the diocese entered on a fresh phase and inaugurated a type of pastor hitherto almost unknown to it. Under the successors of Remigius, who had striven to emulate the power and magnificence of temporal princes, the see had become not merely one of the largest but one of the richest in England, but till we come to Hugh of Grenoble, there is little evidence of care on the part of bishops for the spiritual welfare of their flocks. The view taken by contemporary writers of the moral and religious condition of the church in the twelfth century is a very gloomy one, and as the severest strictures on the clergy of that period come from the pen of two writers,⁶ who had special means of local information as to this district, it may be inferred that this county was no exception to the general rule. The bishops at that time, characterized roundly by Giraldus as 'hirelings and not true shepherds,'⁷ are represented as unscrupulous in the extortion of fees, shameless in diverting to themselves all the secular offices they could lay their hands on, indifferent on whom they bestowed benefices, and, according to the archdeacon, directly responsible for the low state of the beneficed clergy by their neglect to examine candidates presented to them for ordination and to make inquiry into their general fitness.⁸ As for the archdeacons, so associated had they become with every sort of oppression and robbery that Giraldus remarks, the very name of archdeacon sounded like 'archdevil' in the

¹ Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 367 ; ii, 4, 14.

² Bened. Abbas, *Gesta Hen. Sec.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 299, 304-7.

³ Roger de Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 284.

⁴ *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 236.

⁵ Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 21, 33.

⁶ Giraldus Cambrensis, archdeacon of St. David's, who during the time spent in study at Lincoln towards the close of the century wrote the *Lives of the Bishops of Lincoln* and his famous treatise, '*Gemma Ecclesiastica*' giving a lively picture of the English as well as of the Welsh clergy to whom it was specifically addressed. Walter de Mapes, the well known satirist of the twelfth century, held at one time the office of precentor of the cathedral, and in 1196 was made archdeacon of Oxford. He addressed himself particularly to the vices of the monastic orders.

⁷ *Speculum Eccl. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 312.

⁸ *Gemma Eccl. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 294, 300, 334.

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popular ear.¹ The rural clergy and parish priests, harassed by the rapacity of greedy officials, resorted in like manner to the most doubtful expedients in order to supplement their scanty stipends and scrape up a living.² Examples of their dense ignorance and illiteracy furnish Giraldus with some of his most amusing anecdotes, while the practice of keeping 'focaria' if we are to believe him, and the later constitutions of Wells and Grosteste confirm the report, had become almost universal in spite of repeated canons enforcing the celibacy of the clergy.³

Such we may suppose was the general state of the diocese on whose direction Hugh entered in 1186.⁴ He lost no time in attacking some of its crying abuses, and in the very first year of his consecration published a set of synodal decrees which incidentally confirm many of the charges brought against the clergy.⁵ The biographer of the bishops of Lincoln, after setting forth St. Hugh's singular immunity from covetousness and simony, states that in his virtues he stood alone among the bishops.⁶ In spite of many outside demands, his activity concentrated itself mainly on the work of his huge diocese. It has been pointed out that he avoided when he could being mixed up in purely secular matters,⁷ and that the many stories related of him occur mostly 'while the bishop is riding hither and thither' engaged in the pastoral execution of his office.⁸ Two points to which he particularly directed his attention were the consecration of churches and the holding of confirmations. He endeavoured to restore the reverent administration of the latter rite by refusing to confirm from on horseback, as appears then to have been very general. Many instances are recorded of his unwearying devotion in the care of the sick and the reverent burial of the dead.⁹ With the object of restoring the ancient custom of the

¹ *Gemma Eccl. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 325.

² The archdeacon devotes much time to exposing many of their devices for the object of gain: the multiplication of Gospels, the sale of masses, the exaction of fees for obits, trading on the superstitious credulity of the ignorant by encouraging the multiplication of anniversaries and tricennaries, degrading the service of the Holy Eucharist into a source of pecuniary profit to themselves. *Gemma Eccl. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 130, 137, 281.

³ *Speculum Eccl. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 211. Marriage of the clergy is shown to have been common by many early Lincoln charters (cf. Mr. Massingberd's papers in *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.*). Henry I nullified all the efforts of the bishops to enforce the observance of the canon in 1129 by allowing the clergy to retain their wives on payment of a large sum of money on the plea that it was an ancient custom. The amount which he got for this exemption shows how common was the nature of the offence (Matt. Paris, *Hist. Minor* [Rolls Ser.], i, 242). During the interdict John vented his spite against the clergy by seizing their 'focaria' and holding them up to ransom (*ibid.* ii, 111). That it still lingered is shown by the fact that it was made the subject of a special inquiry by Bishop Grosteste. *Grosseteste Epist.* (Rolls Ser.), 317.

⁴ The contempt of the proud and wealthy canons of Lincoln on the king's nomination of an obscure individual like the prior of the Carthusian house of Witham (Somers.) was rapidly changed to astonishment when Hugh refused the honour they deemed too high for him on the ground that the election had been forced, and was therefore uncanonical. This objection they proceeded at once to remove by a second and unanimous choice, but even then Hugh declined to leave Witham until the consent of his superior, the prior of the Grande Chartreuse, had been obtained. Bened. Abbas, *Gesta Hen. Sec.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 345, 346; *Magna Vita S. Hugo.* (Rolls Ser.), 104.

⁵ That gifts should be neither offered nor received for the purpose of hastening or obtaining the process of justice. That priest-vicars should neither ask nor give anything for their offices. That archdeacons and their officials should not presume to suspend or excommunicate any church or ecclesiastical without due trial. That the celebration of masses should not be inflicted as a penance on any layman or any person not in holy orders. That anniversaries and tricennaries and fixed masses should not be celebrated for temporary gain. That no one should be admitted to the priestly office until proof had been offered that he was canonically ordained by the archbishop of Canterbury or one of his suffragans. That all holding ecclesiastical benefices should wear the tonsure and ecclesiastical crown. That no clerk should sue another clerk in a secular court for an ecclesiastical cause. Bened. Abbas, *Gesta Hen. Sec.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 357. From the absence of comment we may infer that Hugh made no violent stand against the 'clerici uxorati' of his day.

⁶ Girald. Cambr. *Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 42.

⁷ Dimock, Pref. to *Magna Vita* (Rolls Ser.), xxxii.

⁸ Pref. to Girald. Cambr. *Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, lxiv.

⁹ *Ibid.* vii, 98-9, 102, 107, 175.

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annual pentecostal visit of the faithful to Lincoln, as the mother-church of the diocese, he instructed his archdeacons to summon the rural deans and the clergy to recall to their parishioners the duty of sending a representative from every house to Lincoln to make their annual offerings.¹ He took pains to admit worthy men only to the benefices in his diocese² as well as to the stalls in his cathedral.³ It was a pleasant and thoughtful custom of his to invite the parish priest to dine with him wherever he might be stopping in the course of his travels.⁴

One can refer but briefly to the part played by Hugh in the political and ecclesiastical game of his day, strictly subordinated as it was to his immediate work in the diocese. If Henry II had expected by the promotion of a simple monk to gain a tool willing to adapt himself to his master's schemes, he was speedily undeceived. In Hugh, whose chief characteristic seems to have been a hatred of oppression and extortion rampant in all classes,⁵ the spiritual fervour and personal abnegation of the true ascetic were mixed with the keen worldly wisdom and happy tact of the trained man of the world. These qualities, somewhat rare in combination, were called into requisition not long after his promotion. For the bishop being brought up against the iniquitous game laws of the period proceeded to excommunicate no less a person than the king's chief forester for some act of oppression,⁶ indignantly declined to soothe the royal anger by acceding to a request for a vacant prebend to be given to a court favourite,⁷ and on being summoned to meet Henry at Woodstock managed to induce the angry monarch by good-humoured and fearless address to hear his reasons and finally approve his actions.⁸ This was not the only occasion in his career where ready wit and a fine courage preserved Hugh from what seemed to promise absolute destruction. As he had not feared to oppose the exactions of the father, he was fearless in withstanding the demands of the son. The daring declaration that the church of Lincoln was only bound to perform military service within the limits of the realm of England,⁹ with which Hugh stood

¹ Pref. to Girald. Cambr. Op. (Rolls Ser.), App. E, 200.

² *Magna Vita* (Rolls Ser.), 121-4, 246-7.

³ Girald. Cambr. Op. (Rolls Ser.), App. E, 200.

⁴ *Magna Vita* (Rolls Ser.), 242-3.

⁵ On the very day of his enthronement he refused to pay the archdeacon of Canterbury the perquisites he was accustomed to exact for installing a bishop. At the same time he was the reverse of mean in his orders for the entertainment to be supplied at his installation feast. Three hundred deer were to be taken from his park at Stow, and 'if that should not be sufficient take more' he added, the words becoming a standing joke at court (ibid. 114-15).

⁶ Ibid. lib. iii, cap. iv. The fact that this official, after receiving public chastisement for his offence, became one of the bishop's staunch friends, shows the charm that Hugh possessed with all his severity.

⁷ Ibid. 126.

⁸ Ibid. cap. x. On his arrival at Woodstock the bishop found Henry with his court seated in a woodland glade. By the king's orders no notice was taken of his approach, no one returned his salutation or offered to make place for him. Undaunted, however, Hugh laid his hand on the shoulder of the lord nearest the king, forced himself into the circle, and sat down silent as the rest. Henry, after a time, seeing that he could make nothing at a game of silence with a Carthusian, but with looks of evident displeasure, called for needle and thread and began to mend a finger-stall on a wounded finger. The bishop perceiving that speech was now possible, turned to the king and said pleasantly, 'Now, how like you are to your kinsfolk of Falaise!' Henry burst out laughing at this, to say the least, uncourtier-like reference to William the Conqueror's connexion through his mother with the thread-and-needle inhabitants of the Norman town, and then proceeded to explain the nature of the joke to the astonished court.

⁹ The proposals put forward at the Council of Oxford, December, 1197, were that the barons, among whom were included the bishops, should maintain a force of 300 knights to aid the king in his foreign wars. Roger de Hoveden (*Chron.* [Rolls Ser.], iv, 40) and Giraldus Cambrensis (*Op.* [Rolls Ser.], vii, 103), state erroneously that Hugh stood alone in opposing this demand which was supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, his example in refusing was followed by Herbert of Salisbury (*Magna Vita* [Rolls Ser.], lib. v, cap. v).

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out against the impositions of Richard I at Oxford, has been described as 'a landmark in constitutional history, the first clear case of refusal of a money grant demanded directly by the crown.'¹ As on a previous occasion the bishop's coolness and courage in the interview which followed with his sovereign brought the incident, as far as the direct issue was concerned, to a happy conclusion.²

A sketch of the bishop would be incomplete that did not touch on the more tender and intimate side of his character ;³ his love of children who also loved him ;⁴ his friendship with bird and beast, recalling familiar stories of saints of the Latin and Celtic races ;⁵ his care for the sick⁶ and compassion for the bereaved ;⁷ the Jews claimed him as a protector⁸ and criminals turned to him for succour.⁹ Himself an ascetic of restricted diet and simple habits, he yet clothed his household well, kept a good table,¹⁰ promoted mirth,

¹ Stubbs, *Pref. to Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), iv, xci.

² The bishop, on an order being issued for the confiscation of his property, crossed the sea and went straight to Richard whom he found hearing mass in his chapel at Roche d'Andeli. Hugh made his salutation to the king on entering, and receiving no response said, 'Kiss me, my lord king.' Richard turned his head away, his eyes blazing with fury, whereupon Hugh, seizing him by the vest and shaking him, said, 'You owe me a kiss, for I have come from far to see you.' The king, declining the embrace, said in a surly manner, 'No, you have not deserved that I should kiss you.' 'Nay, but I have deserved ; you must kiss me,' replied the bishop, shaking him more vigorously. Finding there was nothing else to be done Richard yielded, and the bishop addressed himself devoutly to his prayers. At the close of the service the king taking the pax from the archbishop presented it himself to Hugh. Before leaving the king on the occasion of this visit it was suggested that Hugh should be the bearer of letters to England demanding an aid from the barons. This mission he declined, and Richard in consequence refused to see him again, desiring him to return to his church with the blessing of God and give the king the benefit of his prayers (*Magna Vita* [Rolls Ser.], lib. v, cap. v, vi).

³ The universal respect for his judgement is shown in the number of times he was selected to arbitrate in delicate and difficult cases (Roger de Hoveden, *Chron.* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 279, 287, 305-6). The terror of his anathema was so great that it was regarded as amounting practically to a sentence of death (*Magna Vita* [Rolls Ser.], 251, 263). The instances given of death following his anathema include the parties palming off a supposititious child (ibid. 173, 176), a forester (ibid. 178), an adulterous bride of Oxford (ibid. 181), and the invaders of a Yorkshire benefice (ibid. 183).

⁴ Ibid. lib. iii, cap. xiv.

⁵ This friendship with the animal world was characteristic of Hugh throughout his career. At the Grande Chartreuse the little birds and squirrels he had tamed would come to his cell at the hour of supper and share his meal, getting up on the table and eating from the dish or his hand (Girald. Cambr. *Op.* [Rolls Ser.], vii, 92). A little bird called a 'burneta' was his special pet at Witham (ibid. 93). The story of the wild swan of Stow that appeared on the day of Hugh's enthronement at Lincoln, and made friends with him on his arrival at his manorial residence, is too well known to need repetition. The bird constituted itself the bishop's guardian when asleep, and would drive away all intruders who sought to approach him. The neighbours were warned beforehand of the bishop's arrival by the strange and expectant behaviour of his bird friend (ibid. 73-6). In nearly all pictorial representations of St. Hugh he is accompanied by his famous swan.

⁶ Hugh devoted special attention to the poor lepers in his diocese, not only in the bestowal of alms but in personal tendance. Rehearsing examples of our Lord's kindness to the wretched and afflicted he would visit them frequently and even take up a lodging with them. A story is told that his chancellor once remarked in reproof of his custom of kissing the lepers he met, 'Martin [referring to the saint] by his kiss healed the leper,' to which Hugh replied, 'Martin by his kiss indeed brought health to the leper in body, but the leper by his kiss to me restores health to my soul' (Girald. Cambr. *Op.* [Rolls Ser.], vii, 107-8 ; *Magna Vita* [Rolls Ser.], 162-5).

⁷ On one occasion he remitted to a poor woman the payment of the heriot on the death of her husband, saying, 'This poor woman had two who worked for her. Death has taken from her the one, and shall we deprive her of the other ?' Another time he forgave the son of a knight the relief that should have been paid on his father's death (Girald. Cambr. *Op.* [Rolls Ser.], vii, 96-7).

⁸ Perhaps the most touching tribute paid to Hugh was the grief displayed by the Jew community at his funeral ; weeping and wailing they followed their friend's body, 'declaring he indeed had been a great servant of the Lord.' *Magna Vita* (Rolls Ser.), 373.

⁹ As he was passing through the territory of the abbey of St. Albans on his way to Normandy in the spring of 1129, he met a thief on his way to the gallows who threw himself at the bishop's feet and implored his mercy. Hugh immediately released the man from the officers of justice declaring that a bishop could himself exercise the Church's right of sanctuary (ibid. 277-8).

¹⁰ Girald. Cambr. *Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 106. He was fond of saying to those about him, 'Eat well and drink well and serve God well.'

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and enjoyed a fair jest.¹ The current superstitions of the age found no sympathiser in him, indeed the attitude he displayed towards alleged miracles was singularly in advance of current thought and opinion.² In the midst of an active career he never lost his love of the monastic retirement he had quitted for a larger stage. It was his habit to retire once a year to Witham, where a cell was always reserved for him, and to remain there for a month or two at a time, laying aside all state and becoming again the simple monk, conforming to the rules of his order and undertaking its menial duties.³ In the last year of his life it was granted to him to revisit the scenes of his boyhood and earlier manhood. Having kept the Easter of 1200 at Stow,⁴ he crossed over in May to Normandy at John's special request to negotiate the ratification of a treaty with the king of France.⁵ An ardent desire for rest seems then to have seized on Hugh, but he was too valuable a man to be lightly laid aside and the pope was deaf to his entreaties to be allowed to lay down the burden of office;⁶ nevertheless the time was near at hand. His mission completed, he turned his face homewards to Grenoble, where he was received with deep reverence, and had the pleasure of greeting members of his own family;⁷ but the return journey was rendered painful through illness and low fever aggravated by weakening remedies. London was reached with difficulty, and on arriving at his house, the Old Temple, 18 September, he took to the bed from which he was not destined to rise.⁸ He lingered on, suffering intense pain and weakness, his last hours troubled by previsions of the evil coming upon the church and nation, until 17 November, when his prayer for rest was finally granted and the bishop yielded up his righteous soul.⁹ His body was conveyed by stages to Lincoln, where it was met by such a throng as had never before been seen in the city.¹⁰ Borne on the shoulders of the noblest in the realm, King John, who was present, not disdaining to aid, the corpse of the sainted bishop was carried into the choir of his cathedral and placed in view of the crowds who flocked to adore and make offerings.¹¹ The actual ceremony of the interment took place the following day, when Hugh was buried near the altar of St. John Baptist on the north side of the church.¹²

The death of Hugh was followed by a vacancy in the see which lasted more than two years in consequence of the refusal of the chapter to forego their right of free election and accept a nominee of John.¹³ The persistence of the canons at last gained the day, and they were permitted, in the summer of 1203, to elect William of Blois, who was accordingly consecrated on

¹ Girald. Cambr. Op. (Rolls Ser.), vii, 68; *Magna Vita* (Rolls Ser.), 138.

² Ibid. 97, 245, 248.

³ Ibid. 193-4, 199, 217-38. His fellow monks remarked that he seemed to take as much delight in the washing of pots and pans as in handling the sacred chalice.

⁴ Ibid. 120.

⁵ Ibid. 299.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. 311-19.

⁸ Ibid. 325-6.

⁹ Ibid. 331, 345.

¹⁰ There were present the king of England, three archbishops, nine bishops, and all the great lords of the kingdom (Girald. Cambr. Op. [Rolls Ser.], vii, 114-15).

¹¹ Ibid.; *Magna Vita* (Rolls Ser.), 371, 377-8.

¹² The worship of Hugh as a saint dates from the time of his death. In 1219 Honorius III ordered an inquiry to be made into the validity of the alleged miracles wrought by him, and as a result a bull for the canonization of 'the most blessed and glorious Hugh bishop of Lincoln,' was issued on 17 Feb. the following year.

¹³ John visited Lincoln in January, 1201, and made an unsuccessful attempt to force an appointment on the canons (Roger de Hoveden, *Chron.* [Rolls Ser.], iv. 156). The author of the *Magna Vita* (p. 234) incidentally reveals the name of the king's nominee, Roger bishop of St. Andrews, a brother of the earl of Leicester.

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St. Bartholomew's Day.¹ The new bishop was no stranger to the diocese, as he had held the office of precentor to the cathedral since 1196,² but his rule was brief, for he died on the vigil of the Ascension, May, 1206.³ Shortly before his death we are told the prior of Dunstable received an order to visit all the religious houses within the diocese with the exception of the Templars, Hospitallers, Cistercians, and Premonstratensians.⁴ One act of Bishop William's should not be forgotten, as it heralded the greater work of his successor: the ordination of a vicarage at Redbourne, 1203-6, the church of which was held by the abbey of Selby.⁵ It was probably one of the earliest vicarages established in Lincolnshire.⁶

Another vacancy of more than three years followed the bishop's death, while John plundered the revenues of the see.⁷ The promulgation of the pope's ban in 1208, following his dispute with the king, found the unfortunate diocese with no head to stand between it and John's fury, and taking advantage of the fact the king issued letters patent to the clergy and laity of the diocese of Lincoln stating that from the Monday before Easter next he had committed to William de Cornhill, archdeacon of Huntingdon, and to Gerard de Camville the lands and possessions of all abbots and priors, religious men, and all clerks, who should refuse to celebrate divine offices from that date, and they should be regardful to them as to the king's bailiffs.⁸

By promoting Hugh, archdeacon of Wells, the brother of Jocelin bishop of Bath and Wells,⁹ to Lincoln the following year John doubtless congratulated himself on gaining another adherent in the episcopal ranks, but his hopes proved illusory. The bishop obtained permission to receive consecration at the hands of the archbishop of Rouen, but no sooner got abroad than he went straight to Langton archbishop of Canterbury, and was consecrated by him at Melun, 20 December, 1209.¹⁰ This action of course cut him off from England; the king again seized on the temporalities which he had restored, and the bishop remained abroad till the royal charter of submission, dated 13 May, 1213, enabled him to return with the exiled primate, and promised him restitution to the amount of £750 for the wasted revenues of the see.¹¹ Eventually 15,000 marks were paid by way of compensation to the diocese¹² out of a large sum assessed on the royal revenue.

It was not till after his final return to England on the restoration of peace in 1217,¹³ that Bishop Hugh was able to carry into final execution the

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.) ii, 255; *Matt. Paris, Hist. Minor.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 100.

² *Girald. Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, App. E. 202 and note.

³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 257; iv, 394.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii, 29.

⁵ *Rev. C. Moor, Hist. of Redbourne*, p. 12.

⁶ The earliest in England is said to have been established by St. Hugh at Swinford (Leics.) in 1200. *Cutts, Hist. of Parishes.*

⁷ The patent rolls of this period show to what extent the king exercised his right to present to the cathedral prebends during a vacancy (Pat. 8 John, m. 4; 9 John, m. 2, 3, 5, 6; 10 John, m. 4, 5). Shortly after the bishop's death John issued letters patent addressed to all in the diocese exhorting those who had previously contributed towards the construction of the church of Lincoln to complete their good work by establishing a collection among themselves and forming a society on the lines of St. Mary's Guild organized by Bishop Hugh for the benefit of the fabric (*ibid.* 7 John, m. i).

⁸ *Ibid.* 9 John, m. 2.

⁹ One of the three bishops who remained steadfast to John's cause in the dispute.

¹⁰ *Wendover, Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 51, 54; *Matt. Paris, Chron. Magna*, (Rolls Ser.), ii, 520-8.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 342-3; *Wendover, Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 70-3.

¹² Pat. 15 John, m. 7.

¹³ Though Hugh sided with John at Runnymede, in gratitude it may be for various proofs of the king's restored favour after his first return in 1213, he became identified with the Barons' cause on John's death. He was abroad when the decisive battle of 'Lincoln Fair' put an end to the hopes of the French allies, but was compelled on his return to pay 1,000 marks *ad opus Domini Papae* in order to regain his see and 100 marks more to obtain favour of the legate. *Matt. Paris, Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 590; iii, 32.

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scheme which rendered his rule of such incalculable benefit to the diocese : the ordination of vicarages in connexion with those churches whose tithes had become alienated to monastic foundations. Preparations for the great work had been going quietly forward under the direction of his official, Reginald de Chester, during the enforced absence of the bishop in parts beyond the sea, and the ' *Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicararium* ' of Hugh de Wells, drawn up about the year 1218, records the establishment of nearly 300 vicarages in the whole diocese, more than half that number belonging to this county.¹ In order to appreciate fully the nature of this reform it is necessary to recall the changes that had taken place in the position of parish churches during the last century. Up to the Norman Conquest it had been the custom for the advowson of the church to accompany the possession of the manor, but the monastic revival which followed

¹ When we compare the 174 vicarages belonging to the episcopate of Hugh de Wells with the 200 returned in the *taxatio* of Pope Nicholas at the close of the thirteenth century, exclusive of the churches prebendal to the cathedral chapter, we see how largely this great work was due to the energy and perseverance of the predecessor of Grosteste.

The churches in the following list are grouped according to their appropriation to the different religious foundations, as recorded in the ' *Liber Antiquus* ' :—To the Ben. abbey of Crowland : Langtoft. To the Ben. abbey of Humberston : Humberston, Holton le Clay, Waithe. To the Ben. nunnery of Foss : Willingham-by-Stow. To the Ben. nunnery of Stainfield : Stainfield, Apley, Martin near Horncastle, Maidenwell, Waddingworth. To Belvoir, cell of St. Albans : Aubourn, Tallington. To Freiston, cell of St. Mary's, York : Freiston, Burton Penwardine, Butterwick, Claxby-by-Well. To the Cist. nunnery of Heyninges or Hevening : Upton. To the Cist. nunnery of Nuncotham : Burgh-on-Bain, moiety of Croxton, moiety of Keelby, Cuxwold. To the Cist. nunnery of Legbourne : Legbourne, Farlesthorne, moiety of Hallington, Somercotes St. Mary, moiety of Saltfleetby. To the Cist. nunnery of Greenfield : Greenfield, Aby. To the Cist. nunnery of Stixwold : Honington, Hundleby, Lenton, Thorpe. To the Premonstratensian abbey of Barlings : Scothorn. To the Prem. abbey of Newhouse or Newsham : moiety of Brocklesby, Glentworth, Habrough, East Halton, Killingholme, Kirmington, Saxilby-cum-Ingleby. To the Prem. abbey of Topholme : moiety of Brocklesby, ' Burreth,' Market Stainton, Middle Rasen, Ranby. To the Gilb. priory of Sempringham : Sempringham, Marton, Newton-upon-Trent, Kirkby-la-Thorpe, Billingborough, Birthorpe. To the Gilb. priory of Alvingham : Cawthorpe, Cockerington St. Mary with Alvingham, Cockerington St. Leonard, Keddington, Stainton-le-Vale. To the Gilb. priory of Bullington : Bullington, Burgh le Marsh, Friskney, moiety of Hackthorn, Langton by Wragby, West Torrington, Winthorpe. To the Gilb. priory of Catley : Billingham, Digby. To the Gilb. priory of Haverholme : portion of Anwick, moiety of Dorrington. To the Gilb. priory of Nunormsby : North Ormsby, Fotherby, Grimoldby, Little Grimsby, Utterby, South Elkington. To the Gilb. priory of Sixhills : Sixle (Sixhills), Cadeby, Ludford Magna, Market or South Rasen, Saleby, Tealby, North Willingham, South Wykeham, West Wykeham. To the Gilb. priory of St. Katharine extra Lincoln : Alford, Bracebridge, Canwick. To the Austin Canons of the abbey of Grimsby or Wellow : Grimsby St. James, Cabourne, Clee, Tetney. To the Austin Canons of the abbey of Bourn : Bourn, Barholm, Morton, Stow-in-Ness, Bitchfield. To the Austin Canons of the priory of Elsham : Elsham, Kirkby-cum-Osgodby. To the Austin Canons of the priory of South Kyme : Croft, Calceby, Metherringham, Osbournby, Swarby, Thorpe. To the Austin Canons of the priory of Markby : Bilsby, Huttoft, Markby. To the Austin Canons of the priory of Nocton : Cawkwell. To the Austin Canons of the abbey of Thornton : Thornton Curtis, Barrow, Grasby, Ulceby, Worlaby. To the Austin Canons of the priory of Thornholme : Appleby, Cadney, South Ferriby, Messingham, Orby, Raventhorpe, Risby. To the Austin Canons of the priory of Torksey : Torksey St. Mary, Reston. To the Knights Templars : Ashby de la Launde, Eagle, Gainsborough All Saints, Goulceby, Rowston, Swinderby, Thorpe-in-the-Fallows, moiety of Willoughton.

Appropriated to religious bodies outside the county :—To the abbey of Selby (Yorks) : Crowle, Redbourne, To the nunnery of St. Michael, Stamford (Northants) : Stamford All Saints, Stamford St. Martin, Corby, Thurlby. To the abbey of Welbeck (Notts.) : Coates-by-Stow. To the priory of Malton (Yorks) : Ancaster, Winterton. To the priory of Bridlington (Yorks) : Baumber, Eden, Witham. To the priory of Butley (Suffolk) : Bicker. To the priory of Drax (Yorks) : Swinstead. To the priory of Norton (Cheshire) : Burton Stather. To the priory of Royston or de Cruce Roesiae (Herts) : Owersby. To the priory of Shelford (Notts.) : Rauceby, Leasingham. To the priory of Thurgarton (Notts.) : Kirkby East, Scopwick, Timberland. To the abbey of Waltham (Essex) : Wrangle. To the abbey of ' Thorre ' : Burwell, ' Richabroc.'

The following were appropriated to foreign houses :—To the abbey of St. Nich. Angiers, moiety of Willoughton. To the abbey of Beauport, Brittany : West Ravendale. To the abbey of Blanchland : Cammeringham. To the abbey of St. Evroult : Marston. To the abbey of St. Fromond, France : Bonby. To the alien priory of Minting (cell to Lyre, Norm.) : Minting. To the alien priory of Hough (cell to St. Mary's, Cherburgh) : Hough-on-the-Hill. To the alien priory of Spalding (cell to the abbey of Angiers, Norm.) : Spalding, Alkborough.

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the coming of the Normans introduced a practice whereby lay patrons bestowed the presentation and alienated the tithes of churches to monastic bodies, and as a consequence incumbents, who in Saxon times enjoyed the position of 'rectors,' sank in the twelfth century to the position of curates, removable at the pleasure of the monastery, and forced to accept whatever remuneration the monks might choose to allow. Not only may much of the clerical poverty in that century be traced back to this cause, but it had frequently the pernicious effect of withdrawing a church out of the bishop's control, and of leaving the parishioners at the mercy of rectors who might or might not remember the paramount importance of the spiritual needs of the people. Various attempts had been made to remedy this evil,¹ which was not finally abolished till the Council of Westminster in 1200 directed that every vicar should be instituted by the bishop, to whom he should be responsible for the care of the people, and that he should be provided with a sufficient competence out of the issues of the church. The average amount of the vicar's income was fixed by Hugh de Wells at about a third of the total profits, made up of the small tithes and the altarage of the church, in addition to a competent manse. The rector usually took the great tithe, i.e. the tithe of corn; and the burdens incidental to an ecclesiastical benefice, such as synodals and the archdeacon's fees, were designed to be borne by rector and vicar in proportion to their respective portions.² The Council of Oxford in 1222 decreed that the stipend of a vicar should be no less than five marks, except in Wales,³ and thus laid down the principle of providing a sufficient income apart from the actual value of the benefice.

The religious bodies deeply resented the bishop's action, and the monkish chroniclers of the day refer to him as 'the persecutor of monks, the hammer (*malleus*) of canons and all the religious'; but, while he carried out his scheme of reform in the teeth of opposition,⁴ instances occur of his upholding the rights of the monks against outside invasion. In 1228 he excommunicated the burgesses of Dunstable for withdrawing their offerings from the priory,⁵ and in the following year interfered on behalf of Spalding, cell to the Norman abbey of Angiers, annulling the appointment of a prior by the earl of Chester and Lincoln, the patron, and upholding the election of the sub-prior and monks.⁶ The bishops of Lincoln showed themselves at all times wisely alive to the source of evil arising from foreign cells within the diocese lying outside their jurisdiction, and independent of all but the very lax control of the parent house

¹ The Council of Westminster (or London) held under Anselm in 1102, decreed that monks should not accept churches without the sanction of the bishop, or take so large a share of the profits as to impoverish the priests ministering therein (Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 383). The Lateran Council of 1179 forbade the religious to receive tithes from the laity without the consent of the ordinary and empowered bishops to make proper provision for vicars, who should not be removable at or their stipends dependent on the will of the monastic rectors. Labbé, *Sacr. Concil.* xxii, 455.

² The Council of Westminster likewise decreed that the archbishop in visiting should not exceed a train of forty or fifty horses, the bishop twenty or thirty, the archdeacon should be content with five or seven, and rural deans should not exceed two. Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 505.

³ Ibid. 587.

⁴ The prior of Bridlington was cited to appear before the bishop to exhibit his title to the church of Edenham, and to show what exemption he could claim that vicarages should not be ordained in his churches *R. of Hugh de Wells* (Cant. and York. Soc.), pt. ii, 116); in 1220 the monks of Dunstable were forced to establish vicarages in connexion with five churches held by them '*in proprios usus*.' *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 59.

⁵ Ibid. iii, 110.

⁶ Inst. of Hugh de Wells, anno 21.

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abroad.¹ The temperate letter of Bishop Grosteste to the abbot and convent of Fleury acquainting them with the fact that he had dismissed from their cell at Minting two monks guilty of grave immorality, and given to secular amusements, hunting, archery, and the like, sets forth the evil of sending persons of unproved character to a foreign cell away from strict supervision and control.²

The articles of inquiry issued by Wells on the occasion of a visitation of the whole of the diocese are probably the first ever published by a mediaeval bishop, and throw considerable light on the condition of the parochial clergy at that time.³

The special difficulty with which Hugh and his successors were confronted was the indifference of all patrons alike as to the character and fitness of the candidates they presented for ordination. The institutions of this period record instances of the bishop's refusal to admit persons of notorious ignorance and unfitness to benefices, and illustrate a practice then very general, for a chaplain or substitute to be appointed immediately on the admission of an incumbent who held the living in name only and had been granted leave of absence for the purpose of study, &c. Hugh de Scalby and Richard de Farlesthorne presented respectively to the churches of Cold Hanworth and Bilsby were wholly rejected on account of their illiteracy;⁴ Robert Malebise was admitted on the presentation of his father to the charge of the church of Mavis Enderby, subject to being examined in letters at the octave of Easter next, and then instituted if found sufficient, otherwise the patron must make another presentation.⁵ A chaplain was appointed in 1219 to act for five years as *custos* of the church of Langton, to which Eustace, a clerk, 'who is under age,' had been presented,⁶ while Richard, a sub-deacon, presented by his father, Ralph Fitz-Simon, to the church of Ketsby in 1223, was sent immediately on his institution to the schools to study Latin.⁷

¹ Houses of the Cluniac order are an instance of this. Lincolnshire, curiously enough, had no foundations of this order, certainly the most unpopular in England, but in Northamptonshire complaints were constantly made of interference on the part of the bishop of Lincoln in their affairs. In 1231 Gregory IX ordered certain judges to investigate the complaint of the prior and convent of La Charité of 'grievous injuries' on the part of the bishop of Lincoln in endeavouring to impose his authority on the priory of Coventry against that claimed by the prior of La Charité (*Cal. of Papal L.* 1-126). The same complaint was lodged against Bishop Grosteste in 1248 in regard to the priory of Newport Pagnel (*ibid.* 257), and in 1290 against Bishop Sutton for attempting to visit the same house (*ibid.* 521). Houses of the Cluniac order were always tempting to an energetic ordinary for, except in the case of nuns, his jurisdiction though limited and always disputed was never actually defined.

² *Epist. R. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 166, 319.

³ The points raised by these inquiries, fifty in number, relate briefly to the 'enormous illiteracy' of the clergy, their moral condition, the prevalence of marriage or concubinage among parish priests, the hereditary succession of priests' sons to their fathers' benefices, poverty among the clergy, whether adequate sustentation is provided for the vicar of an appropriated church by the rector, whether any church has been pulled down in obedience to the Council of Oxford which decreed that no church should be used that had not been consecrated, the abuse of the multiplication of masses, the celebration of anniversaries and tricennaries for pecuniary profit, the commutation of penances for money, the holding of secular offices by ecclesiastical persons, want of reverence for sacred places, as shown by games and sports held in churchyards, markets and plays in the church, the removal of superaltars to grind colours on, the scot-ales and drinking bouts mentioned by Giraldus as a frequent cause of stumbling to the clergy (*Op.* [Rolls Ser.], ii, Dist. ii, cap. xix), were also forbidden. One curious inquiry may be specially noted, 'Does any priest use vinegar in the celebration of the Eucharist?' An interesting reference is made by the way to the sports and relaxations of the people, their jousts with large wooden battering rams raised on wheels in imitation of the tournaments of the knights, the annual Whitsuntide procession to the mother church, when each parish made a point of contending for precedence with the banner, and brawls, resulting not infrequently in bloodshed, and even death, ensued. Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 627-8.

⁴ *R. of Hugh de Wells* (Cant. and York Soc.), pt. ii, 81, 101.

⁶ *R. of Inst. Wells.*

⁵ *Ibid.* pt. i, 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*

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A letter, written by Grosteste soon after his election, describes his indignation when a monk presented to the bishop for institution a candidate dressed in scarlet and ornamented with jewels, 'with the habit and bearing of a layman, or rather a soldier,' who on examination proved himself wholly illiterate, and showed himself in Grosteste's own words 'more fitted to be the slayer of souls than their keeper.'¹ On another occasion the bishop excused himself for refusing to admit to a benefice a boy still in his Ovid (*adhuc ad ovidium epistolarum palmam porrigens*),² while in the case of Thomas, a son of Lord Ferrers, presented by his father to the living of Rand though much too young and not in holy orders, Grosteste wrote to the legate begging him to use his influence that another presentation might be made, or if the young man were appointed that a vicar might be provided, provision being made for Thomas out of the issues of the benefice.³

The choice of the chapter on the death of Wells, February, 1235,⁴ secured to the church of Lincoln the honour of association with one of the greatest names in the annals of the English Church. The rule of Robert Grosteste, 1235 to 1253, happened at a most critical period in the Church's history, and focuses in a remarkable manner that revulsion of feeling, that growing attitude of revolt against the exactions and oppressions of the papacy which we find reflected in the pages of Matthew of Paris. Starting his career with the most exalted idea of the reverence due to the pope as head of the church, asking to be allowed to do some bodily task as proof of his devotion,⁵ welcoming the papal legate, collecting the pope's tallages,⁶ vindicating to the king his supreme claim and striving to renew in Henry's mind that glow of early gratitude which had prompted former professions of affection to the Roman see,⁷ the loyalty of Grosteste which survived the 'shameful convention' of 1240⁸ only broke down when he could ignore proofs of the venality of Rome no longer. It was characteristic of the man that he did not hesitate once the scales were torn from his eyes, once he was convinced that gold could indeed do everything at the Roman court,⁹ to denounce its abuses, to raise his voice to proclaim the scandal and degradation of its methods.¹⁰ The great servant of the papacy returned to England in 1250 to spend the remaining years of his life in determined opposition to mandates from Rome, which culminated in a flat refusal to admit the pope's nephew and nominee, Frederick de Lavagna, to a canonry of Lincoln and established his fame for ever as the

¹ *Epist. R. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 440.

² *Ibid.* 63.

³ *Ibid.* 1, 31.

⁴ The bishop in his will dated Stow Park, June, 1233, bequeathed 100 marks to the fabric of the cathedral, as well as 100 marks towards his funeral expenses and for the altar near his burial place. To his successor he bequeathed all the hewn timber on the episcopal estate, with liberty to redeem the same for the sum of 50 marks. Among the religious houses to whom he left bequests it is noticeable that those of the Austin Canons figure largely, none of the Gilbertines are mentioned, and of the Cistercians only the abbey of Louth Park. See the will of Hugh de Wells, *Girald. Camb. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), App. G. 223-31.

⁵ *Epist. R. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), xxxv.

⁶ *Ibid.* cxix.

⁷ *Ibid.* cxvii.

⁸ The pope in accordance with an arrangement to give English benefices to Romans in return for their support in his struggle with the emperor wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury in 1240, desiring them to keep the 300 benefices which should next become vacant open for these foreigners. *Matt. Paris, Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 32.

⁹ The exclamation let fall by Grosteste in 1250, on finding that the gold offered by the religious orders had won over the pope to their side was 'O pecunia, pecunia, quantum potes praecepue in curia Romana.' *Ibid.* v, 97.

¹⁰ In the sermon delivered by him before the Papal court. Brown, *Fasciculus*, ii, 250.

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champion of the rights of the national church.¹ And as later he set himself against papal encroachments, so early in his career we find him opposing royal infringements of the rights of the church, protesting soon after his consecration against the appointment of ecclesiastics to secular offices and the arraignment of clerks before secular courts,² begging the legate to interfere in the appointment of the abbot of Crowland as an itinerant judge,³ and refusing to admit Robert Passelewe, the forest judge, to the church of St. Peter's, Northampton.⁴ In 1252 he took the lead in resisting the king's demand for a clerical subsidy, which had been backed by a papal mandate, urging that now was the time to refuse before a precedent had been established, since 'twice makes a custom.'⁵

The ceaseless activity and untiring energy which characterize Grosteste are abundantly displayed in his efforts for the reform of his huge diocese. His experience as archdeacon⁶ must have warned him of the necessity of adopting newer methods as well as of acquiring additional assistance in the carrying out of his plans. It was to the new religious orders within the church, whose advent in England had been so speedily followed by their appearance within the diocese,⁷ that he turned for help and co-operation, and whose example he trusted might rouse the clergy to a renewed sense of their responsibilities.⁸ We have his own account of how he set about the business of what he called his new and unaccustomed proceedings:

I, as soon as I was made bishop, considered myself to be the overseer and pastor of souls, and therefore I held it necessary, lest the blood of the sheep should be required at my hand in the strict Judgment, to visit the sheep committed to me with diligence as the Scripture orders and commands. Wherefore, at the commencement of my episcopate, I began to go round through the several archdeaconries, and in the archdeaconries through the several rural deaneries, causing the clergy to be called together on a certain day and place, and the people to be warned that in the same day and place they should be present with the children to be confirmed, and in order to hear the Word of God and to confess. When clergy and people were assembled I myself was accustomed to preach the Word of God to the clergy, and some friar, either Preacher or Minorite, to the people; at the same time four friars were employed in hearing confessions and enjoining penances; and when the children had been confirmed,

¹ Luard in discussing the tradition that the bishop died excommunicate dismisses the authorities as more than doubtful. *Epist. R. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), Pref. lxxxi, note 1. Matthew describes the animosity of the pope as so bitter that he gave orders for the body of the bishop to be cast out of the church. *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 429.

² *Epist. R. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), lxxii, 205.

³ *Ibid.* 262.

⁴ *Ibid.* cxxiv, 348. In his letter to the king Grosteste defines his ideal of the sacerdotal and kingly powers.

⁵ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 325-6.

⁶ He held the archdeaconry of Wilts 1214 and 1220, the archdeaconry of Northampton with the prebend of Empingham in 1221, and subsequently exchanged this for the archdeaconry of Leicester and rectory of St. Margaret's in 1225. Eventually, after a severe illness, he resigned all his preferments except his prebend in Lincoln. *Epist. R. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 45.

⁷ The Dominicans or Friars Preachers arriving in England in 1221 established their first house in this country at Oxford, and other houses at Lincoln, Stamford and Boston (Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1486-7). The Franciscans or Minorites reached this country three years later and quickly made their way to Oxford where they settled themselves before the Feast of All Saints, 1224, receiving a cordial welcome from the Dominicans who had preceded them. From here they spread to Northampton and Lincoln, eventually establishing houses at Stamford, Grantham, Boston and Grimsby. Grosteste in 1224 was appointed their first rector at Oxford. *De Adventu Minorum* (Rolls Ser.), i, 36.

⁸ The bishop wrote immediately on his consecration to the Provincial of the Friars Preachers asking that Friar John de St. Giles and Geoffrey de Clive might be allowed to stay with him, they were 'to sustain his infirmity, to bear his weakness, to uphold him when wavering, to encourage him when in despair, to correct that which is evil in himself and his people, to confirm that which is good.' Similarly he wrote to beg the assistance of the friars minors urging the need of his vast diocese, which he described as 'the widest and most densely populated in England.' *Epist. R. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 60, 134.

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on that and the following day, I and my clerks gave our attention to inquiries, corrections and reformations, such as belong to the office of inquiry. In my first circuit of this sort, some came to me to find fault with these proceedings, saying, 'My lord, you are doing a new and unaccustomed thing.' To whom I answered, 'Every new thing which instructs and advances a man is a blessed new thing.'¹

The bishop in the course of this visitation, which was resumed at intervals throughout the whole of his rule, wrote to his archdeacons prohibiting abuses, such as the sale of goods within consecrated ground, drinking bouts, the excesses attending vigils and funeral feasts, the performance of plays, games, or sports in churches or churchyards, the unseemly proceedings frequently attending parish processions, the celebration of private marriages, the extortion of fees for the sacraments. The dean and chapter of Lincoln were ordered to put a stop to the celebration of the Feast of Fools on the Feast of the Circumcision; and quaintly intermixed with these general directions is an order to the clergy bidding them warn mothers and nurses against taking small children into bed with them, a practice then, as now, constantly attended with loss of infant life.²

There were few abuses current at that time which Grosteste did not set himself to reform, and the result of his inquiries bears out the complaints of Adam de Marisco of the degeneracy and corruption of the times (*hiis diebus damnatissimis*), and of the difficulty of finding fit clergy.³ The bishop in his efforts to enforce the canon against married clergy was constantly baffled by the slackness and supineness of his officials, if not by their actual connivance; in a letter to his archdeacons, commenting severely on the parish clergy for their non-observance of canonical hours and their absorption in more than doubtful pleasures, he refers to the practice then evidently general of keeping 'focaria,' adding that, though unknown to him when he caused special inquiry to be made, yet that it must have been within the knowledge of his officials whose duty it was by their deans and beadles (*bedellos*) to exercise constant vigilance.⁴ The 'Constitutions' which Grosteste circulated throughout his diocese in obedience to the council held in London, 1237, ordered the removal of all married clergy from their benefices,⁵ and the Annals of Dunstable tell us that the bishop in the course of his visitation suspended many rectors, admitted others to purgation, and from others took bonds that they should in future observe continency or forfeit rank and benefice.⁶ Up to the last the bishop continued his fight against these irregularities, and in 1251 Matthew Paris describes him as removing from their benefices those whom he found incontinent or of bad reputation,⁷ but laxity in this matter died hard if it died out at all. In 1239 Richard de Beckingham was presented to a moiety of the church at East Keal which Roger, a married clerk, had held, saving to the said Roger the annual sum of three marks,⁸ and in 1377 the revenues of the church of Thorpe-on-the-Hill were ordered to be sequestered on account of the marriage of the rector, who appears to have had the ceremony publicly performed in the church of Sleaford.⁹ A document of the time of Edward I proves that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries four

¹ Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* ii, 347, trans. by G. G. Perry; *Life and Times of Grosseteste*, 87.

² *Epist. R. Grossetete* (Rolls Ser.), 71, 72, 118.

⁴ *Epist. R. Grossetete* (Rolls Ser.), cvii, 317.

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 147.

⁸ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Grosseteste*.

³ *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 144.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 237.

⁹ *Ibid.* Memo. of Bokyngham.

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successive rectors of Leake and Leverton were married and being in possession of the advowson handed on in every case but the last the living to their sons.¹ That the clergy merely accepted the general standard in these matters is evident from the consternation roused by the bishop's investigation into the morals of all within his diocese both high and low, the matter creating so grave a scandal that the king's authority was invoked to put a stop to it.²

Over the monasteries in his diocese also Grosteste exercised a very severe measure of vigilance, forcing on the monks the ordination of vicarages in all benefices within their possession and opposing the practice of letting livings to farm.³ The dread of his visitation was so intense that guilty members fled before his approach, nor did he hesitate, as we have observed, to return profligate brethren of alien cells to their parent houses, requesting superiors to send only men of approved character to outlying dependencies. If his treatment of the nunneries appears rather more than drastic, yet we have to recollect that the account of his submitting nuns to the indignity of personal examination comes from a monk, and a monk of St. Albans,⁴ while the after reputation of nuns within the diocese suggests that severity was not uncalled for.

The long and bitter dispute with the chapter of Lincoln touching the bishop's right to visit them broke out in 1239; its continuance occasioned much scandal at the time, even in the minds of Grosteste's own friends, and the method of its termination did not redound to the entire credit of either side.⁵ It seems rather a curious anomaly to find Grosteste, who suffered no exemption from his authority as diocesan, foremost in opposing the archbishop's claim to hold a visitation in his diocese as metropolitan⁶; other instances, however, are not wanting of a similar refusal on the part of suffragans.⁷ Returning in the autumn of 1245 from the Council of Lyons, where he sat as one of the representatives of the English hierarchy, the bishop proceeded early the following year to take advantage of the powers conferred on him by his victory to initiate a visitation of the chapter wherein he encountered no further serious opposition. The various other disputes in which the bishop engaged, though they added to his prestige and illustrate the position held by him at this time, do not, with one exception,⁸ directly concern this county.

The events leading up to Grosteste's memorable rupture with Innocent IV. occurred early in 1250. Finding that many benefices and ecclesiastical possessions had come into the hands of the religious by fraudulent means, the bishop cited all monastic holders of benefices to appear before him first at Stamford, secondly at Leicester, and thirdly at Oxford, bringing with them

¹ *Linc. Dioc. Mag.* Jan. 1902.

² Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 579.

³ This was a device whereby an absentee rector contracted with a third party, mostly a religious body, to perform the spiritual part of the work in connexion with a living for as cheap a rate as he could contrive to get. The chronicler of Dunstable complains of the difficulty the monks had to get the bishop to allow them to keep the churches they held at farm. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 148.

⁴ Matt. Paris *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.) v, 227.

⁵ Luard, *Epist. R. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), *Pref.* lxii.

⁶ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 225.

⁷ Giffard of Worcester is a case in point. He was energetic in claiming the right to visit all houses within his diocese, and equally determined in opposing the metropolitan visitation of Peckham. *Worc. Epis. Reg. Giffard* (Worc. Hist. Soc.), p. 540.

⁸ The exception was his quarrel with the monastery of Bardney which embroiled him with the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, and resulted in his excommunication by that body. Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 245-8.

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the charters of their founders, papal privileges, &c., papal letters having been secured for the purpose of revoking all usurpations the title to which could not be proved.¹ An outcry was naturally raised, and the Templars, Hospitallers and others appealed immediately to the pope claiming exemption. Grosteste started at once for Lyons, to find that he had been forestalled, the gold of the Templars, which, according to Matthew Paris, furnished an argument the papal curia could least resist, having wrested judgement against him.² He lingered on at Lyons, delivered his final word in the famous sermon before the papal court, and then returned to battle for the remainder of his life with those whom he had come to regard as the enemies of the church. The concession of Innocent IV, authorizing him to ordain vicarages in the parish churches held by the religious, and to increase the stipends of the vicars, failed to win back his allegiance.³ In 1251 he was temporarily suspended for refusing to admit an Italian to a rich benefice in his diocese on the score of his ignorance of the language;⁴ Matthew Paris states that at this time the bishop hated papal nominees 'as the poison of serpents,' and said that if he delivered the cure of souls to them he 'should be even as Satan.'⁵ An inquiry instituted by him into the incomes of alien clerks beneficed in England reported that these amounted to 70,000 marks, or more than three times the amount of the royal revenue.⁶ In the last year of his life the bishop attended Parliament held in London in April, and took part in the excommunication of all violaters of Magna Charta.⁷ It seems a fitting close to the life of so eminent an upholder of national liberty, and the friend of the patriotic earl of Leicester,⁸ that one of his last acts should be an order for the excommunication of all the enemies of this liberty, to be repeated in every church throughout his diocese.⁹ As he lay dying at Buckden words of burning denunciation and exhortation fell from the bishop's lips and thrilled his hearers;¹⁰ he passed away on 9 October, 1253, leaving behind him an imperishable record of abiding honour.

To the influence of Grosteste in the century following his death may be attributed the prominent part taken by this county in putting forward plans of reform, and in opposing the extortionate demands of king and pope. The freedom of election enjoyed by the cathedral chapter during the whole of the thirteenth century is revealed in the fact that from William of Blois, in 1203, to John Dalderby, in 1300, every bishop of Lincoln at the time of his election held some appointment or office in the cathedral. On the death of Grosteste the chapter foiled an attempt on the part of the king to induce them to accept that clerical swindler of his order, the bishop of Hereford,¹¹ and proceeded to elect their dean, Henry de Lexington, to the vacant post. In 1255 the beneficed clergy of the archdeaconry of Lincoln made bold to

¹ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 96.

² Ibid. 98.

³ A previous attempt made by him to induce all beneficed persons to take priests' orders failed through the intervention of the pope. Ibid. v, 279.

⁴ Ibid. v, 237. Grosteste's objection to these papal nominees was based, however, on higher grounds than that of their ignorance of the language, and he stated clearly on another occasion that he objected to the pope's nephews because all they sought was temporal promotion. *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 64.

⁵ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 257.

⁶ Ibid. 355.

⁷ Ibid. 343.

⁸ The sons of Simon de Montfort were placed under the charge of Grosteste. *Monum. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 63, 110.

⁹ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 372, 395, 400.

¹⁰ Ibid. 400-7.

¹¹ Peter d'Aigueblanche.

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protest against being taxed without their consent having been obtained;¹ the grievances presented at the convocation held at Merton in 1258 to consider the evil condition of the church were based on a report drawn up by the late bishop, with a summary of the privileges of the clergy compiled by his instructions.² On the outbreak of hostilities in 1260 Bishop Gravesend threw himself on the popular side, suffering suspension and exile in the cause of freedom and reform after the defeat of Evesham.³ Bishop Sutton, in 1296, supported the clergy in their refusal to pay the subsidy demanded by the king, and with Archbishop Winchelsea was condemned to confiscation of goods and property.⁴ John Dalderby, still upholding the tradition of active resistance to oppressive measures, ordered his archdeacons in 1302 to threaten with excommunication the collectors of the tax imposed by Edward I in the course of the Parliament held at Lincoln in the previous year, and pronounced sentence of ecclesiastical censure against such of the clergy as should comply.⁵ All these instances of a consistent policy on the part of successive bishops of Lincoln may be traced back to the lasting effect of Grosteste's struggle.

The rule of Henry Lexington (1254-8) was short and uneventful, save for the remarkable incident of little St. Hugh in 1258.⁶ Modern criticism has sufficiently disposed of the charge against the Jews of the murder of a little Christian boy, and the story is too well known to require repetition.⁷ It gave, however, at the time the rein to that fanatical hatred of which the Jews were so frequently the victims, and from which the saintly Hugh of Grenoble on one occasion rescued them.⁸ It is to be regretted that the successors of Hugh and Grosteste, who in the midst of their preoccupation had found time to devote care and attention to the proper treatment of the alien community,⁹ showed none of their spirit, and that the voice of the bishop was on this occasion conspicuous only by its absence.

Richard Gravesend, who succeeded to Lexington in 1258, would probably in less troublous times have left more mark on the diocese. 'No one,' says the chronicler, 'could regard him as a nonentity or useless person,'¹⁰ but the barons' wars, which occupied much of his rule, left him with scant leisure for the care of the diocese.¹¹ Nevertheless he followed the footsteps of Grosteste so far as to summon all religious bodies within his diocese to produce evidence of their title to ecclesiastical property,¹² and early in 1267, between the date of his suspension for siding with the disaffected barons,¹³ and

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 360. Representation of the lower clergy now for the first time appearing in convocation.

² *Ibid.* 422-5.

³ *Ibid.* iii, 240; iv, 181.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii, 407. His friends, we are told, came forward and arranged that the sheriff of Lincoln should make a levy on a fifth of his property. *Hemingburgh* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), i-54, 109.

⁵ Those who complied through fear he soon after absolved. *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby.*

⁶ *Matt. Paris, Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 516-19, 546, 552; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 340, 348; ii, 346.

⁷ J. Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, 193-224.

⁸ This was the occasion of the riot at Northampton in connexion with the superstitious worship of a robber who had met with a well-deserved fate while carrying off plunder from the Jews at Stamford. *Vita S. Hugo.* (Rolls Ser.), 167, 348.

⁹ Grosteste's letter to the countess of Winchester on the subject comes with greater force, for it recognizes clearly the case against the Jews in their dealings with Christians apart from religious prejudice. *Epist.* (Rolls Ser.), 33.

¹⁰ *Matt. Paris, Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 719.

¹¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 221, 223; iv, 123.

¹² *Ibid.* iv, 133.

¹³ *Ibid.* iii, 240; iv, 181.

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that of his actual exile abroad, was busy exercising jurisdiction over monasteries within the diocese but outside this county.¹ It is difficult to say how long he remained abroad ; complaints at last were made of the banishment of the bishops,² and to these representations Gravesend added an argument of even greater force, he gave the pope a large sum of money and obtained his discharge before the other prelates.³ He took up on his return the active care of the diocese, which in his absence had been 'nobly' and wisely ruled by John de Maydenstone, the dean, to whose custody it had been committed,⁴ but his health some years after broke down, and in 1275 the archbishop of Canterbury granted him a coadjutor.⁵ The bishop appears to have exercised much vigilance over the churches in his diocese held by the monks. In the last year of his life he was ordered by Peckham to desist from troubling his people by sequestrating benefices and extorting money under pretext of vacancy,⁶ and this may refer to his action in ejecting the religious from livings which they held at farm on the death of the rectors and putting in his own clerks, lest the rectorial rights should be seized.⁷ The bishop probably was more gratefully remembered for his benefactions to the cathedral church of Lincoln,⁸ where he was buried on his death, 13 December, 1279.

We must note about this time the improvement effected in the administration of the diocese by the arrangement respecting the custody and management of the see during a vacancy.⁹ The composition between the primate and the chapter of Lincoln in 1261 provided that all episcopal jurisdiction during a vacancy should be committed to an official chosen by the archbishop out of three or four canons presented to him by the chapter, and that this official should be responsible to the archbishop for the collection of the fees, out of which he should receive a certain amount by way of his expenses. To the dean of Lincoln, however, was secured absolute jurisdiction over the city and suburbs of Lincoln, as well as over the prebendal churches belonging to the community and over certain religious houses and hospitals of the bishop's patronage. He was also empowered to visit two religious houses within each archdeaconry in the diocese, and it was lawful for him and the chapter to call on any bishop to ordain to any office in the cathedral in the absence of the primate, who, however, should perform that office if he were holding an ordination within the city or diocese.¹⁰

With the spiritual decline of the monasteries and the practical restrictions imposed on religious endowments on a large scale by the Statute of Mortmain, the pious donor of this period sought in the endowment of chantries a more convenient outlet for his devotional feelings than he could find in the erection of monasteries. In a chapel attached to an existing church he would endow a priest or number of priests to pray for his soul,

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 208-13.

² *Rishanger* (Rolls Ser.), 55.

³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 247 ; iv, 181.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii, 247.

⁵ *Ibid.* 248.

⁶ *Reg. of Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 70.

⁷ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 133.

⁸ He acquired for the see the patronage of the churches of Sutton, Aylesby, Greetham and Little Bytham, increased the allowance of the canons, and established a permanent choir of twelve singing boys, who with their master were assigned a competent living out of the church of Ashby Puerorum and out of certain other churches. *Girald. Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, App. H. 326.

⁹ This exceedingly vexed question had on the death of Grosteste in 1253 led to a violent dispute between the primate and the cathedral chapter, in the course of which the latter were excommunicated. *Matt. Paris, Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 264-5.

¹⁰ Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 756.

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the souls of his family, and all the faithful departed. The thirteenth century marks an important addition to the ranks of the beneficed clergy in the person of these chantry priests, who, as time went on and the erection of these memorial chapels or chantries became more general, might be found in every church of any size side by side with the parish priest. In addition to the chantry priests must be mentioned the parochial chaplains, introduced by the spread and growth of chapels dependent on the parish church,¹ whose ranks in turn were supplemented by the private chaplains officiating in the oratories of rich laymen;² while apart from these and in frequent competition with them, came the friars whom the patronage of Grosteste seems to have attracted in almost overwhelming numbers to the diocese, and who at the beginning of the next century appear to be holding most of the offices of public penitentiars as well as of confessors to the nunneries.³

Oliver Sutton⁴ inaugurated the first year of his accession by the opening of the Angel Choir at Lincoln and the translation of the relics of St. Hugh to the golden shrine that had been prepared for their reception. The expenses of the entertainment accompanying the magnificent ceremony, which was honoured by the presence of the king and queen and other magnates of the realm, were borne by Thomas Beck, who on the same day, 6 October, 1280, was consecrated to the see of St. David's.⁵ Ten years later Oliver Sutton was called on to assist at a less joyous ceremony, the funeral of the queen, who died at Harby, near Lincoln but in Nottinghamshire,⁶ 28 November, 1290, and whose body after being carried to Lincoln was thence conveyed by slow stages to Westminster for burial, memorial crosses at Grantham and Stamford within the county marking the route of the funeral procession. An entry in the bishop's register of that date asks for the prayers of the faithful in the diocese for the soul of the late queen.⁷ Her memory was long preserved in a chantry founded in the church of Harby, which existed up to the time of the Reformation.⁸

Sutton's bulky registers are evidence of the energy and diligence with which he devoted himself to the diocese. Old abuses continued to crop up. In 1291, after a recent visitation of the deanery of Holland, the bishop wrote to the rural dean commenting on the 'bigamous and married clerks,'

¹ These dependent chapels were the cause of most of the ecclesiastical disputes in the succeeding century by reason of their alleged usurpation of parochial rights; occasionally they would be further endowed and were formally erected into parish churches, but in many instances after the Black Death they became so impoverished as to be unable to support their former chaplains, and sank into disuse.

² An instance of the private chapel or oratory occurs in 1237-8, during the rule of Bishop Grosteste, when licence was granted to Robert Bry, *knt.*, by consent of the abbot and convent of Crowland as patrons, and of the rector of the church of Whaplode, to maintain a chapel within his court there. (*Add. MS.* 6950, fol. 70). This is an early instance. Oratories were granted in large numbers a little later, as may be seen from the episcopal registers.

³ In 1301 so many friars were presented to the bishop for the office of confessor that he complained, and said that in the diocese of Canterbury the archbishop only licensed six, seven, or eight at the most. He reminded the Friars Preachers, to whom he was speaking, that the Minorites were very numerous in the diocese, and that the Austin and Carmelite friars were also licensed to hear confessions; finally the bishop licensed as many as fifty, 'which' he remarked 'ought to be sufficient.' *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby*, fol. 19.

⁴ The bishop, a member of the well-known Lexington family, was elected on the refusal of Fulk Lovel, archdeacon of Colchester, to accept office. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 284. He was the third dean of Lincoln raised in succession to the episcopal throne.

⁵ For particulars of the feasting, in which the citizens of Lincoln freely participated, see Girald. *Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, App. F. 220.

⁶ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 139.

⁷ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Sutton*, fol. 32.

⁸ *Ibid.* Memo. of Smith, fol. 148.

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whom he found ministering side by side with priests at the altar. He addressed remonstrances to the rural deans both of Holland and Christianity (Lincoln) on the neglected condition of churchyards within their deaneries. Pigs, he said, should not be turned into burial grounds, nor cemeteries made a dumping ground for the refuse of citizens. The practice of holding markets and fairs within the precincts of the church still lingered on in country places, in spite of the stringent prohibitions of Wells and Grosteste and the efforts of Sutton and his successors.¹ In 1300 the inhabitants of Grimsby were threatened with excommunication for holding their market on a Sunday.² Exhortations for the rebuilding and repair of parish churches, the enclosure of churchyards, with warnings to the laity not to withhold their offerings,³ swell the registers of this period. Frequent entries of indulgences for those contributing to the needs of hospitals and the poorer nunneries indicate no lack of objects for the alms of the charitably disposed. The building of bridges appears to have been another subject of appeal. The number of those licensed to beg alms in the diocese increased so enormously in the next century that in 1334 the bishop was moved to revoke all former licences, 'as there are so many going about the diocese unlawfully begging.'⁴ The multiplication of licences for the reconciliation of churches confirms a general impression as to the lawlessness and violence of the times. In 1291 the bishop obtained a special dispensation from the pope that 'whereas churches and cemeteries in the diocese of Lincoln are often violated by effusion of blood, &c., and the diocese is so diffused, it is a difficult and serious matter to go always to reconcile them, they may be reconciled by special commission to a priest with water blessed by the bishop, without prejudice, however, to the ordination requiring it to be done by bishops.'⁵

The close of the thirteenth century is marked by that assessment of church property known as the 'Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV,' which served as a basis for all ecclesiastical taxation till the reign of Henry VIII. According to the compilation of 1291, the county of Lincoln was divided into two archdeaconries and twenty-nine deaneries, the archdeaconry of Lincoln containing twenty-three deaneries, that of Stow only four, an inequality which was not readjusted till recent years. The total number of churches returned under the different deaneries amounts to 595 : of these 100 are entered as vicarages, and 100 more as vicarages whose yearly value did not exceed six marks.⁶ The spiritualities of the two archdeaconries are given at £11,657 17s., and the sum raised on the taxation of the see amounted to £1,000.⁷ The bishop's benefactions to his cathedral church,

¹ Dalderby in 1302 wrote to forbid the market in the church of Ingoldmells (*ibid.* Memo. of Dalderby, fol. 34). Gynwell in 1360 issued a general prohibition against the selling of wares and the holding of sports and games in churches or churchyards (*ibid.* Memo. of Gynwell, fol. 132). In Bokyngham's rule the prior of Holland [Brigge] was denounced for holding a market in a church; and an order in 1392 forbade the selling of merchandize within the conventual church of Stainfield. *Ibid.* Memo. of Bokyngham, fols. 126, 387.

² *Ibid.* Memo. of Dalderby, fol. 21.

³ The rural dean of Holland was directed about the year 1291, to explain to the parishioners of Moulton that they should not remove the candles placed round the bier when a corpse was carried into the church for burial, but should leave them according to ancient custom for the church and its ministers. *Ibid.* Memo. of Sutton, fol. 189.

⁴ *Ibid.* Memo. of Burghersh, fol. 269.

⁵ Hutton, *Ext. from Linc. Reg. Add. MS.* 6951, fol. 28.

⁶ These figures are exclusive of those churches entered as prebendal to the cathedral and as appropriated to its community, which would add some thirty-seven more to the total return.

⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.)*, 56, 62, 76, 77.

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his virtues, freedom from avarice, kindness as a landlord, receive enthusiastic comment from John Schalby,¹ who admits nevertheless that in one point Sutton failed—as co-collector of the subsidy he allowed the prebendal churches of the cathedral to be overtaxed,² a mistake, adds his biographer, of which he repented ‘vehemently’ before his death, which occurred 13 November, 1299.

John Dalderby (1300–20) furnishes another example of a bishop whose virtues, if they failed to procure him the meed of formal canonization, yet afforded him the recognition of a local saint. Like his predecessor, to whom in other respects he bore but slight resemblance, he gave of his best to the diocese, and beyond opposing the royal demand for a subsidy put forward by the Parliament held at Lincoln in January, 1301,³ held himself aloof from the political events of his day.⁴

At this time English nuns had acquired a very unenviable reputation for themselves at the Roman court on account of the laxity of their rule and wandering habits.⁵ The pope, to put a stop to the scandal, wrote in 1299 to the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, ordering them to have all religious women within their dioceses shut up and not allowed to leave their cells. Dalderby at once set about visiting the different nunneries to explain the new statute and enforce its observance.⁶ The bishop’s register affords us no specific instances of opposition in Lincolnshire to stricter regulations such as we read of in connexion with other parts of the diocese,⁷ but Agnes de Flixthorpe, the apostate nun of St. Michael’s, Stamford, whose story makes such painful reading, belonged to a community just over the Lincolnshire border,⁸ and laxity of rule was unhappily not unknown within this county also. The bishop, in 1301, commissioned the rector of Brotherton to visit the houses of nuns when he should esteem it necessary, ‘as many of them refuse to obey the statute of Pope Boniface for their enclosure, and go out of their monasteries into cities and other public places, mixing with the world, and even consorting with men.’⁹ The harsh measures resorted to in the case of obstinate runaways, or even suspects, seem to have been regarded generally as reasonable and necessary precautions and to have been adopted indifferently in the case of an erring brother or sister. A monk of Bardney stated in the course of a visitation in 1311 that the abbot ‘moved by anger’ had caused him to be placed in confinement in a dark place, his feet fastened by an iron chain to a post, ‘and so lived all that time in great misery.’ The man appealed and was eventually released, but it is evident that the treatment was regarded as in no way exceptional.¹⁰

¹ The biographer of the bishops of Lincoln was himself a canon of Lincoln and acted as registrar to Sutton for eighteen years. *Girald. Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, App. E. 208, 210.

² The bishop’s appointment as collector made him very unpopular. The chronicler of Osney wails over the new ‘taxers,’ who, he declared, were worse than the old. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 333. The clergy of the archdeaconry of Stow also presented a petition to Parliament on the ground that they were over assessed. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 314.

³ Edward I was the guest of the bishop at his manor of Nettleham while this Parliament lasted.

⁴ He was not among the seven bishops appointed ‘ordainers’ in 1310 (*Parl. Writs.* [Rec. Com.], ii, div. i, 43). Proctors represented him at the Parliament held at Carlisle in 1306. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 188–9.

⁵ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 83.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, fol. 9.

⁷ Notably in Buckinghamshire. The nuns of Little Marlow absolutely declined to abide by the provisions of the statute.

⁸ This poor lady, who was probably out of her mind, after repeated attempts to escape was ordered to be confined in a stone chamber with a chain attached to each leg.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, fol. 35 d.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 215 d.

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An important incident in Dalderby's rule was the trial and condemnation of the Templars, the bishop being one of the commissioners appointed by the pope in 1308 to try the accused knights in England.¹ It is very doubtful if Dalderby believed the charges brought against the doomed order, at any rate he avoided when he could taking part in the trials that ensued and took no further action after holding a private examination at Lincoln.² The bishop's opinion, however, did not save the unfortunate knights, who were found guilty of many of the charges and condemned by the convocation of Canterbury to confinement in different monasteries with varying degrees of penance. The archbishop's letter to his suffragan of Lincoln, assigning a Templar to each of the following houses within the diocese, Peterborough, Ramsey, North Ormsby, Croxton, St. Albans, Woburn, Crowland, Spalding, Sempringham, Kirkstead, Revesby, Leicester, Thornton, Barlings, St. Andrew's Northampton, Swineshead, and Wardon, enters into minute particulars as to diet, and the degree of freedom to be allowed to each prisoner.³ The custodians of the confiscated goods of the order were ordered to pay for the board of each knight at the rate of 4*d.* daily, but the refusal of St. Andrew's, Northampton, to admit the penitent sent to them⁴ shows how unpleasing the charge was to the monasteries burdened already with loans for the Scotch war and the imposition of royal boarders. Considerable estates were held by the Templars in this county in connexion with their preceptories or commanderies at Aslackby, Temple Bruer near Lincoln, Eagle, Willoughton, and South Witham, all of which passed eventually into the hands of their rivals, the Hospitallers.⁵

The Premonstratensian houses of this diocese were well represented in the long but successful resistance made by the English provincials of the order about this time to the demands of the mother house. The abbot general, Adam de Crecy, striving to renew the payment of the ancient apport which had recently fallen into abeyance,⁶ summoned the English abbots in 1310 to attend the next general meeting at Prémontré and bring all arrears of the tax with them. The superiors of fourteen houses⁷ accordingly met and deputed the abbots of Langdon and Sulby to attend the meeting and explain the position of affairs. The general chapter, refusing however to listen to the representations of their proctors, proceeded to pass sentence of condemnation against all houses of the English order, threatening them with excommunication in the event of the money not being forthcoming by Easter.⁸ A general chapter of the English province summoned by the two abbots met at Lincoln on 1 December, 1310, and fortified with a renewed royal prohibition of foreign imposts decided to carry on the resistance to Prémontré and appeal to Rome. This meeting, which took place in the church of the Friars of the Sack at Lincoln, fixed another meeting at Barlings Abbey for the purpose of producing copies of the necessary documents for the appeal, and here on 20 January, 1310-11

¹ Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 329.

² *Ibid.*

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalberby, fol. 194.

⁴ The bishop was peremptory, however, and on a second refusal ordered the excommunication of the prior and all the chief officers of the priory to be published in all the churches of the deanery. *Ibid.* fol. 195.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 801-5.

⁶ In obedience to the prohibition of foreign payment passed by the Parliament held at Carlisle in 1306. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.) i, 217.

⁷ Of the fourteen, six were in this diocese, Newhouse, Barlings, Hagnaby and Neubo in this county, Croxton in Leicestershire and Lavenden in Bucks.

⁸ *Collect. Anglo-Prem.* (R. Hist. Soc.) i, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

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within a certain room called the abbot's 'new chamber' three proctors were elected to negotiate the business at the Roman court, two of whom were canons of Barlings and Croxton.¹ The matter dragged on till 1316, the English abbots receiving repeated sentences of excommunication, but peace was finally restored by an agreement in that year which placed the victory practically in the hands of the provincials.²

The last years of Dalderby's life were spent in retirement at Stow,³ the report of the austerities practised by him adding much to his reputation for sanctity. The petition for his canonization, presented in 1327 by Edward II and supported by letters from many of the bishops, met with a refusal from the pope but did not lessen the devotion paid to him in his own cathedral city, to the church of which he had made considerable benefactions.⁴

The abuse of papal provision in this country was now thoroughly established. The rich prebends of Lincoln continued throughout Dalderby's rule to fall a prey to the usurpation of the Roman court,⁵ and in the appointment of his successor we find that the see itself was not destined to escape. On the bishop's death in 1320, the choice of the chapter first fell on their dean, Henry de Mansfield;⁶ he declined the office and they elected their chancellor Anthony Bek. In the meantime other plans were afoot, the powerful Lord Badlesmere, then visiting the papal court at Avignon on a political mission, urged the pope to bestow the vacant see on his nephew. The appeal reinforced by letters from Edward II⁷ and backed by bribes was successful, Henry Burghersh, a young man in his twenty-ninth year and consequently under the canonical age, was provided and the election of Bek unceremoniously set aside.⁸

The claims of the new bishop to remembrance are mainly based on the part he played, and that hardly a creditable one, in the events that closed the reign of Edward II, and in connexion with the responsible position held by him under Edward III.⁹ His eventful career as a political bishop possesses many points of interest but hardly allowed of his spending much time in the diocese,

¹ *Collect. Anglo-Premon.* (R. Hist. Soc.), i, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12.

² The settlement arranged that English abbots instead of making the yearly journey to Prémontré might be represented at the general chapter by special visitors. The abbot general might visit English houses yearly if he pleased, but should only receive the discharge of his personal expenses on these occasions, and only necessary collections, and such as had been passed by the general chapter and the amount approved by the visitors, should be made from houses of the English province. *Ibid.* No. 30.

³ In 1315 he appointed Henry Hemingworth, sub-dean of the cathedral, his coadjutor, to do all acts which did not strictly pertain to the episcopal office, and in the following year excused his non-attendance at the Parliament held at Lincoln, January, 1316, on the ground of ill-health. *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby.*

⁴ Notably to the priest vicars. To the see he added the patronage of two churches, the church of South Ferriby being one. Another of his acts was the union of the church of All Saints, Lincoln, with that of St. Mary Magdalen. *Girald. Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.) vii, App. E. 212-13.

⁵ Dr. Hutton's extracts from the registers of Lincoln include a long list of provisions beginning with the first year of Dalderby (Harl. MS. 6951, fols. 46-52). The pope at that time claimed the right to nominate on the death of any holder to perferment at the Roman court. On 23 March, 1306, Reymund de la Goth, a Roman cardinal and dean of St. Paul's, was provided to the deanery of Lincoln, the pope conceding on his death in 1310, that 'the new dean may be elected' (*Ibid.* fol. 54). This Reymund de la Goth seems to have held the deaneries of St. Paul's, Lincoln, York, Salisbury, and St. Martin le Grand (*Cal. of Papal Reg.* ii, 38). We find the pope providing to the priory of Huntingdon in 1301 and in 1320 to the archdeaconry of Bedford (*ibid.* ii, 37, 205). Bliss, *Extracts from Papal Registers*, gives scores of other foreigners provided.

⁶ *Girald. Cambr. Op.* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 215.

⁷ *Rymer, Foed.* iii, 814, 820.

⁸ *Ibid.* 833; Murimuth, *Cont. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 31

⁹ *Walsingham, Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 173, 180, 198, 227.

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the administration of which was carried on fairly energetically in his absence.¹ Simon de Islip, canon of Lincoln and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, acted as his vicar-general, but many of the licences granted by the bishop are made out in the name of his chaplain John de Longespeye, archdeacon of Stow in 1334 and described as the vicar-general of the bishop 'in remotis agentis' in that year.² The frequency of licences to study and to let benefices to farm noted in his register probably did much to encourage the practice of non-residence among the clergy now becoming so general. In the course of a visitation of the archdeaconries of Huntingdon, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, and Stow in 1316 it was found that nearly all the deaneries of the Lincoln archdeaconry had been farmed out.³ An order was made for the deans to be proceeded against, and both Dalderby and Burghersh issued mandates against non-residents, but in the case of the latter certainly, the frequent permission accorded to the clergy to leave their cures for the purposes of study or pilgrimage must have rendered the effect of the standing orders against non-residence practically nugatory.

The chapter of Lincoln by their choice of Thomas Bek on the death of Burghersh in 1340⁴ probably desired to make amends for the former slight to his cousin, Anthony, now bishop of Durham. Their election seemed likely to be again annulled, but a rumour reaching the bishop-elect that the pope had reserved the appointment he hurried off to Avignon to negotiate the affair personally. The matter was kept in suspense for a year and a half,⁵ but confirmation, doubtless at considerable cost, having been obtained from Clement VI on his accession to the pontificate,⁶ the bishop was able to be consecrated in July, 1342. His episcopate, which only lasted five years, was, however, of comparative unimportance to the diocese.

The rule of Gynwell (1347 to 1362) was overshadowed by that terrible visitation of the fourteenth century known as the Black Death, which hung like an ever-threatening cloud over the remainder of the century and the effects of which it is difficult fully to estimate. The memoranda of the bishop do not begin till 1350, and we are indebted to Henry Knighton, canon of Leicester, for an account of the most terrible year of the plague and of the means taken by the bishop to relieve the distress that prevailed. 'At that time,' he says (in 1348), 'a lamentable pest penetrated into those parts nearest the sea by Southampton, came to Bristol, and there died of it as it were all the healthy folk of the town, taken away by sudden death, for few people kept their beds more than two or three days and some only half a day before death came to them at the setting of the sun' . . . 'The bishop of Lincoln,' on the approach of the disease, 'then sent throughout the whole of his diocese and gave general power to all and singular his priests both regular and secular to hear confessions and to absolve all with the full authority of the bishop

¹ An entry in his register records the fact that the bishop visited the deanery of Holland in 1322, and that a certain John Toupe of Algarkirk was afterwards excommunicated for collecting a large body of armed laymen, and endeavouring to thwart the bishop from exercising his office. *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Burghersh*, fol. 66.

² Hutton's Extracts, Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 81 d. ³ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby*, fol. 311.

⁴ Walsingham, who records the bishop's death at Ghent while on a political mission, refers to his cupidity and avarice, and says that after his death his spirit, doomed to walk up and down his park at Tyng-hurst which he had enclosed to the injury of the poor, appeared to one of his followers and besought him to go to the canons of Lincoln and ask them to make restitution for these former wrongs, for which he was now undergoing retribution. *Hist. Angl. (Rolls Ser.)*, i, 255.

⁵ Murimuth, *Cont. Chron. (Rolls Ser.)*, 120-1.

⁶ *Ibid.* 222.

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save in case of debt, in which case if a man were able he should give satisfaction while he lived, or it should be given by his friends from his goods after his death. Similarly the pope granted full remission of sins to every one in danger of death who had obtained absolution once and he allowed this faculty to last until Easter next, and each one was licensed to choose his own confessor.¹ In Lincolnshire the disease, which had ravaged the western and southern counties during the autumn and spring of 1348 and 1349 did not appear till the summer of 1349, and then fell with heavy brunt on the county. It has been ascertained that, against the average number of thirty or forty yearly institutions in the archdeaconry of Lincoln, the last half of 1349 shows 302; the average number in the archdeaconry of Stow being only six, the last six months of the year give fifty-nine.² The parts of Holland, it is said, fared better than Kesteven or Lindsey, of the towns Stamford suffered most, losing six incumbents as against two in Lincoln with its fifty churches. Nor were the secular clergy the only sufferers;³ the chronicler of Louth Park Abbey records the death of the abbot and many monks,⁴ the superiors of Thornholm and Foss were also among the regulars swept away. The temporal decline of the religious orders is generally dated from this cataclysm; the effect of the pestilence, accompanied by mortality among the cattle and followed by a scarcity of labour owing to the number of agricultural labourers who died, was increasingly felt by the landowning classes,⁵ notably the monks, who were unable to get their lands cultivated, whose houses and buildings collapsed through want of habitation, and who were obliged to submit to a large reduction in the rents of their tenants.⁶

Among the local clergy the loss in their ranks operated much in the same way as in those of the labourers. 'So great,' says Knighton, 'was the scarcity of priests that many churches were desolate, being without divine offices. Hardly could a chaplain be got under £10 or 10 marks to minister in any church, and where before a chaplain could be had for 4 or 5 marks, or 2 marks with board, so numerous were priests before the pestilence, now scarce any would accept a vicarage of £20 or 20 marks. But in a short time there came crowding into orders a multitude of those whose wives had died in the plague, of whom many were illiterate, only able to read after a fashion, and not able to understand what they read.'⁷ As Parliament sought by arbitrary acts to put down the demands of the labourers, the archbishops,

¹ Knighton, *Leic. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 61.

² Mr. Massingberd in his article on the Black Death and the Lincolnshire clergy, from which these figures are taken, states that the institutions for the first half of that fatal year are evidence of a small number of deaths among the clergy (*Linc. Dioc. Mag.* Sept. 1904, p. 137). The number of deaths recorded rises from fifteen in June to sixty in July, eighty-nine in August, and falls from sixty-one in September to twenty-nine in November and only thirteen in December. *Ibid.*

³ The institution books at Lincoln show that in the plague year the dean, precentor, treasurer, three archdeacons, and fourteen prebendaries died, and probably the sub-dean. In the deanery of Corringham fourteen incumbents died, including three vicars of Redbourne, and two rectors of Southorpe. (Rev. C. Moor, *Hist. Notes on the Deanery of Corringham*, p. 30.) The Papal Registers give permission to bishops to ordain married men in the emergency.

⁴ *Chron. de Parco Ludo.* (Linc. Rec. Soc.) pp. 38-9.

⁵ Bp. Gynwell in 1352 petitioned the pope that the appropriation of three or four more benefices might be granted to him, the reason being given that his rents were greatly diminished on account of 'the epidemic in this realm and especially in this county.' *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 228.

⁶ In the case of nunneries especially it is generally noticeable that great poverty is accompanied by a laxity of rule, the nuns being forced by circumstances to accept inmates of a lower standard.

⁷ *Leic. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 63.

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not to be behindhand, gave orders to keep down the stipends of the clergy.¹ The people, whose distress at the bad times was much increased by the heavy taxation involved by the French wars, cried out against the greed of the clergy whom they accused of trying to evade all share in national taxation, but in spite of Archbishop Islip's denunciation of their 'insatiable rapacity' it should be remembered that the unfortunate clergy not only shared in the general loss of income by the diminution of their tithes, but were increasingly ground down under the never-ending demands of the papal curia,² and by the rampant abuse of provision and reservation still going on. From the registers of the bishops of Lincoln for the next hundred years we learn of a number of churches or moieties of churches being united on account of the fall in their endowments and the depopulation of country places which followed in the wake of the Great Pestilence.³ The period which ensued was a forcing ground for the form of religious activity which marked the close of the fourteenth and heralded the opening of the fifteenth century.

The later years of Gynwell's rule were of little moment to the diocese. The bishop appears to have enjoyed no small share of the pope's favour, and was successful in obtaining from him an exemption from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury⁴ with whom his relations were not always of the pleasantest.⁵ On Gynwell's death in 1362 the pope, in accordance with the usual practice, provided to the see John Bokyngham, dean of Lichfield, who at the time of his promotion held the archdeaconry of Northampton and the rectory of Olney (Bucks).

¹ Archbishop Islip in 1353 ordained that a priest's salary should not exceed 7 marks, while a stipendiary should be content with 5 (Wilkins, *Concil.* iii, 30). In 1362 the salary of a priest with cure of souls was fixed at 6 marks, without cure of souls at 5 (*ibid.* iii, 50). In 1398 Sudbury ordered that a chaplain's stipend should be limited to 7 marks or 3 marks with board, a priest's should not exceed 8 marks or 4 marks with board (*ibid.* iii, 135).

² Walsingham mentions that the archbishop's demand of a subsidy from the provincial clergy in 1395 backed up by a papal bull met with great opposition, 'especially in Lincolnshire.' *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 208.

³ During the rule of Bokyngham (1363-96) were united the two rectories of Bag Enderby (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Bokyngham, fol. 299), the rectories of Wyham and Caeby (fol. 322), the church of West Wykeham with the church of Ludford (fol. 446). Bishop Repyngdon authorized the union of the church of St. Albin Spridlington with the church of St. Hilary, and directed in 1417 that the former church should be pulled down and the materials used for the repair of St. Hilary's (*ibid.* Memo. of Repyngdon, fols. 151, 171, 178 *d.*). In 1434 Bishop Gray allowed the parishioners of Bardney to pull down their parish church 'which is notoriously old and manifestly decayed' and to build another on a fresh site which he directed the abbey of Bardney to give (*ibid.* Memo. of Gray, fol. 166). In the same year the parish churches of All Saints and St. Martin's, Stamford, were united (*ibid.* fol. 172). During the rule of Alnwick the moieties of Fulletby church were united on account of poverty and lack of labourers, and the moieties of Theddlethorpe church devastated by inundations and pestilence, &c.; the patron of the churches of Buslingthorpe and Firsby petitioned for their union on account of the poverty of their revenues, 'and as the world always gets worse and worse it is not likely tithes will increase' (*ibid.* Memo. of Alnwick, fols. 23, 53, 70). In 1450 the churches of Fordington and Ulceby were united and the churches of Hawerby and Beesby, the stones of Beesby church to be used in repairing the church of Hawerby (*ibid.* Memo. of Lumley, fols. 25, 26). Under Bishop Chadworth the moieties of Grayingham church were united owing to paucity of population, the churches of Hameringham and 'Dunsthorne,' the revenues of the latter church not amounting to one-eighth of a chaplain's salary, and in Lincoln the church of St. Peter ad Fontem was united to the monk's cell of St. Mary Magdalene, near Lincoln, on account of the falling of the church to the ground and there being no parishioners to build it up (*ibid.* Memo. of Chadworth, fols. 7, 78, 81). The bishop ordered an inquiry in 1467 into the poverty of the vicarages of Dorrington and Alford (*ibid.* fol. 85 *d.*).

⁴ *Cal. of Papal Pet.* i, 137, 210, 227; *Cal. of Papal L.* iii, 489.

⁵ In the course of a dispute between the bishop and the university of Oxford the archbishop, Islip, formerly canon of Lincoln, went so far as to lay the town of Banbury where the bishop was residing under an interdict.

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The episcopate of the new bishop, as we are reminded by an early entry in his register,¹ embraced a period rendered memorable by the rise of that great religious movement identified with the name of John Wycliff. Originating as an attack on the secularisation of the church and its departure from the primitive ideals of apostolic poverty, the movement gathered strength from the popular demand for reform that rose up at the end of the century, and finally attacked the very basis itself of the Catholic sacrament of the altar. The policy of the bishops, and among them of Bokyngham, appears at first to have been to ignore as far as was possible the new views so rapidly gaining ground, but with the promotion of Courtney to Canterbury in 1381 this policy of inaction had to be dropped, for the primate addressed circular letters to his suffragans ordering them to take active measures to put down heresies.² In accordance with these instructions William de Swinderby, a noted and most violent upholder of Lollard opinions, who was attracting crowds to his preaching in the chapel of St. John, Leicester, was suspended and cited to appear before the bishop to answer for his views.³ At first the preacher took no notice of the citation beyond moving from his former spot and setting up his pulpit between two mill-stones standing in the highway next the chapel. Here he called the people to him, and in defiance of the prohibition preached many times, saying that 'he both could and would preach in the king's highway in spite of the bishop's teeth.'⁴ In response, however, to a second citation Swinderby made his appearance before the bishop's commissioners at Lincoln,⁵ where an examination of the opinions and beliefs professed by him proved 'that he had justly merited to become food for fire.' His life, however, was spared at the intercession of the duke of Lancaster, who happened to be present at that time at Lincoln, and who induced the bishop to accept a formal recantation as a sufficient penalty. To Stephen de Syreham, vicar of Barrow, sequestrator of the bishop, was committed the duty of seeing the sentence which condemned the Lollard to make public abjuration of all his errors in eight churches⁶ of the diocese carried out.⁷ With his recantation in 1382 Swinderby's connexion with this diocese ends; whether he adhered to the terms of his sentence it is impossible to say,⁸ but his influence in Leicester from this time died away, and according to Knighton he fled away by night to Coventry, where within a short time he was held in even greater honour by the disaffected, and proved as great a pest to the bishop and clergy as he had done at Leicester; finally he was driven away elsewhere.⁹ His prose-

¹ Leave to absent himself for a year for the purposes of study was granted to John Wycliff in 1363 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Bokyngham, fols. 7, 56). The great reformer held at that time the rectory of Fillingham in Lincolnshire.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Bokyngham, fol. 237. An earlier entry in the bishop's register ordered the denunciation of 'John Balle' to be read in all the churches. This firebrand of the age is described as 'a certain man of malign and furibund mind, wandering about in divers places leading a lugubrious and dissolute life, assuming without authority the office of preaching, promulgating heresies and schisms, seducing simple minds and sowing strife and discord.' Ibid. fol. 93.

³ Ibid. fol. 240.

⁴ Knighton, *Leic. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 192.

⁵ The bishop deputed three friars to examine him—a minor, a preacher and an Austin friar.

⁶ Beginning with the cathedral of Lincoln and going on to seven churches in the county of Leicester.

⁷ Knighton, *Leic. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 193-7.

⁸ In addition to renouncing all former errors the preacher was required to promise that he would never again preach within the diocese without first obtaining the consent of the diocesan. Ibid. 196.

⁹ Ibid. 198.

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cution was the most active and determined step against the Lollards taken by Bokyngham.

It is curious to note that, in spite of the general prevalence of Lollardy throughout the diocese, that John Wycliff had been beneficed in this county and held the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire at the time of his death,¹ that John of Gaunt the great political supporter of the new ideas was close at hand, and that Oxford was at this time seething with the new learning, in this county itself we find and continue to find a remarkable absence of anything like notorious cases of Lollardy; no names are conspicuous in Lincolnshire for their support of the movement, and the few cases of disaffection recorded are of comparatively small interest. In 1383, following the active suppression of heresy at Oxford and the trial of Swinderby, John Corynham, vicar of Doddington, was ordered to abjure and do penance for his heretical opinions consisting mainly of a denial of the Real Presence and of the right of apostolic authority.² Nor can we attribute this rather singular immunity in the case of Lincolnshire to slackness on the part of Bokyngham and his successors, for in 1388 active measures were taken in Northampton to stamp out heresy, a county reported in the bishop's register to be much affected by Lollardy.³ During the rule of the next bishop persecutions remained practically in abeyance, and in parts of the diocese other than Lincolnshire heresy gained enormous ground during the respite thus afforded.

The appointment of Henry Beaufort, a young man of not more than twenty-three years of age, furnishes a flagrant instance of the abuse of papal provision to benefices and sees in England. The pope did not even wait for the death of Bokyngham, but under the pretext that the bishop was too old and too feeble to undertake the charge of his diocese translated him to the see of Lichfield in 1397 in order to make way for the promotion of the son of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford, the trend of public affairs warning him that it would be well to reconcile the anti-clerical party in England headed by the great duke. The aged bishop, who had occupied the see for thirty-five years, disdained to accept another of less importance, and prepared to end his days among the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, where death shortly afterwards came to him.⁴ Of the short rule of Beaufort (1398 to 1404) little need be said, he was one of those secular bishops against whom a public protest was made at that time by the presentation of a bill in Parliament praying that bishops should be compelled to remain within their dioceses to carry out the duties of their office instead of spending their time at court.⁵ In 1403, after the accession of his half-brother Henry IV, Beaufort was appointed chancellor, and his promotion the following year to Winchester severed his connexion with this diocese.

The connexion of Beaufort's successor with the history of the great religious movement in England, and especially at Oxford, goes as far back as

¹ A note in the Papal Registers (iv, 193) under date 26 December, 1372, states that Wycliff had lately been provided by the pope with a canonry of Lincoln with reservation of a prebend.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Bokyngham, fol. 270.

³ Ibid. fol. 355.

⁴ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 228.

⁵ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 339, 407. This was the bill for which Thomas Haxey was made responsible and condemned to death as a traitor; he claimed the benefit of clergy, and was afterwards pardoned. At the time the bill was presented, January 1396-7, Haxey held among other preferments the prebend of Scamblesby in Lincoln. Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* ii, 203.

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the year 1382, when the name of Philip Repyngdon was associated with those of Nicholas Herford and John Ashton as leaders of the party whose support of the Wycliffite doctrines was convulsing the university.¹ Having gone up to Oxford to take his degree, Repyngdon was appointed by the chancellor of the university, Robert Rugge, another favourer of Lollard opinion, to preach before the university at St. Frideswide's on Corpus Christi Day 1382.² The interference of Archbishop Courtney, who at that time had resolved to stamp out these heretical opinions, was for the moment unsuccessful, and the sermon was preached. But the archbishop, stirred up by the friars, the champions of the ancient faith, determined that the matter should not end here. Rugge was summoned before convocation and being admonished to correct abuses at Oxford was in consequence obliged to suspend Repyngdon and Herford from preaching.³ They appealed to the duke of Lancaster but were directed to submit themselves to the archbishop. In the meantime a provincial council of which the bishop of Lincoln was a member assembled in May at the Black Friars, London, and condemned the twenty-four conclusions extracted from the works of Wycliff and banished the reformer from the university.⁴ Repyngdon, Herford, and Ashton, refused to subscribe to the conclusions of the council, were remanded for further examination and finally condemned as heretics.⁵ Courtney remained inexorable and in November, yielding to the pressure put upon him, Repyngdon at a synod held at St. Frideswide's, Oxford, made a full and complete renunciation of his errors. 'Thus,' in the words of John Foxe, the martyrologist, 'the said Rampyngton was discharged who afterwards was made bishop of Lincoln and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side of all the other bishops within the realm.'⁶ The year following his abjuration Repyngdon became abbot of Leicester, and in 1397 was made chancellor of the university; on the recommendation, probably, of Henry IV, to whom he had acted as chaplain and confessor,⁷ he was provided to the see of Lincoln on the promotion of Beaufort to Winchester in 1404.⁸

In spite of the increase of Lollardy, which continued to spread in defiance of the means taken to check its growth,⁹ the account of religious persecution in the fifteenth century establishes the fact that serious disaffection was confined mostly to the south of the diocese, and more particularly to the valley of the Thames.¹⁰ In 1419 an entry in Repyngdon's register records that two

¹ The future bishop's first acquaintance with the new views was gained at the time he was an inmate of the abbey of St. Mary de Pratis near Leicester.

² *Fasciculi Zizan.* (Rolls Ser.), 297-9. In the above account the preacher is said to have excited the people to rebellion and to the spoliation of churches.

³ *Ibid.* 304, 310.

⁴ *Ibid.* 272-86.

⁵ *Ibid.* 289, 290.

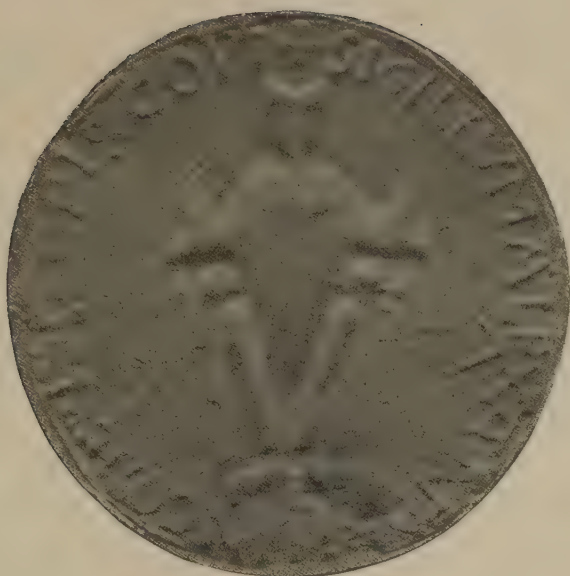
⁶ Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* iii, 46. Repeated reference is made to Repyngdon's persecution of his former co-religionists by William Thorpe in his trial before Arundel in 1407, while the adjuration to follow the example 'of how great clerks the bishop of Lincoln, Herford and Purvey' show how prized was the conversion of the quondam Wycliffite by the orthodox party in the church. *Ibid.* pp. 257-8, 279.

⁷ Wood, *Fasti*, p. 35.

⁸ The temporalities of the see were restored the following March, 1405. Rymer, *Foed.* viii, 392.

⁹ In January, 1413, the archdeacons of the Lincoln diocese were ordered, in accordance with provisions lately framed in convocation, to inquire into cases of heresy or suspicion, and in the following month the dean and canons were cited to appear before the bishop on suspicion of heresy. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Repyngdon, fols. 83, 85.

¹⁰ Buckinghamshire furnishing more cases of obstinate heresy than any other part of the diocese. *V. C. H. Bucks.* 'Eccl. Hist.' i, 291.



ALEXANDER (1123-1148)



HUGH OF GRENOBLE (1186-1200)



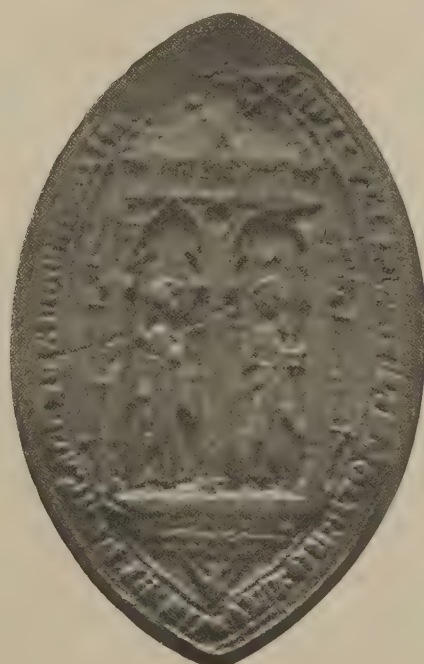
PHILIP REPYNGDON (1405-1419)



WILLIAM DE LESSINGTON OR LEXINGTON
DEAN OF LINCOLN (1263-1272)



LINCOLN CHAPTER (END OF 12TH CENTURY)



LINCOLN CHAPTER (14TH CENTURY)

SEALS OF THE BISHOPS AND THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF LINCOLN

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priests were ordered to do penance in the cathedral of Lincoln for aiding and communicating with Sir John Bonde, a pretended chaplain accused of being a heretic and Lollard.¹ A commission was appointed during the same rule to examine the books of John Baggeworth, vicar of Wilsford, upon suspicion of heresy, such books as were found heretical—and the presence of books in English at that time was regarded as full of menace—to be proclaimed in the church on a Sunday or feast day and then publicly burnt, and the vicar to be committed to prison pending judgment, ‘lest he should infect the flock.’² The prosecution of William Smith, chaplain of Corby, for heretical error, practically closes the list of cases in this county.³ In another form, however, of ‘heretical error,’ Lincolnshire was not lacking, and the numerous instances recorded of witchcraft and necromancy indicate that clergy and people were deeply sunk in superstition. In 1378 William de Langton, clerk, confessed to having resorted to the use of magic art, and was condemned to do public penance in the market place of Lincoln.⁴ In January, 1406, Henry IV, referring to the current report of their prevalence in the diocese of Lincoln, ordered the bishop to examine and cause all magicians, fortune-tellers, and sorcerers, &c., to be arrested and imprisoned.⁵ Yet another instance in 1442 records that Thomas Poldyck or Holdyck of Sutton in Holland, having abjured his former crimes of magic and witchcraft, relapsed and in process of being taken before the bishop was rescued by certain persons unknown, whose excommunication was next ordered to be read in the church of Boston.⁶ But while beneath the main stream ran this undercurrent of heretical sympathy, latent if not actively expressed, we may still note the movement of church life and aspiration. The devotion of the pious continued to find an outlet in the endowment of chantry chapels, and in 1419 Bishop Repyngdon issued a mandate to the archdeacon of Lincoln and rural dean of Christianity, for the restoration of the ancient procession from the church of Wigford in the suburbs to the cathedral or mother church of Lincoln on certain feasts, lamenting the carelessness and torpor which allowed such sacred customs to fall into disuse.⁷

Richard Flemyng, appointed to the see on Repyngdon’s resignation in 1419,⁸ was consecrated at Florence, 28 April, 1420.⁹ Like his predecessor, his early opinions are hardly recognizable in the official acts of his later life;¹⁰ attending the council of Siena in 1423 as the English representative, he won the approval of the pope by professing his ardent intention of stamping out heresy, and certainly the not-to-be-forgotten act of his life was his execution of the earlier order of the Council of Constance for the exhumation of John Wycliff’s bones, which he caused to be dug up, burnt, and thrown into the

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Repyngdon, fol. 117.

² Ibid. fols. 137, 142.

³ Ibid. Memo. of Bokyngham, fol. 159.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Alnwick, fols. 41, 76 d.

⁵ The reasons for Repyngdon’s resignation are extremely vague, and depend mainly on inference. In 1408 he was made a cardinal by Gregory XII in return for the bishop’s support of his pontificate. The creation with others was cancelled by the Council of Pisa which deposed Gregory the following year. It is probable that the difficulties of holding a cardinalate and an English bishopric together led Repyngdon to resign his see.

⁶ Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 86.

⁷ He distinguished himself at Oxford, where he held the office of proctor of the university, by his support of Lollard opinions, and was the subject of extremely scornful comment in a mandate of Brundel to the chancellor of the university, ordering members not to be led into defending these ‘said damnable conclusions.’ Wilkins, *Concil.* iii, 327.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 162 d.

⁹ Rymer, *Foed.* viii, 427.

¹⁰ Wilkins, *Concil.* iii, 396.

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River Swift.¹ Another of the bishop's acts designed with the object of checking the growth of heresy was the foundation of Lincoln College, Oxford, which he did not live to see completed.² Flemyng's zeal was probably felt by Martin V to call for some special mark of favour; unfortunately, the device adopted had the effect of nearly terminating the bishop's career. The archbishopric of York falling vacant on the bishop's return from the council of 1423, the pope wrote to the dean and chapter refusing to admit their previous election of Morgan of Worcester, and signifying his 'provision' of the bishop of Lincoln to the vacant see. The ministers of Henry VI, who had already signified the royal assent to Morgan's election, were highly incensed by the pope's action, and threatened Flemyng with the penalties of the Statute of Praemunire should he dare to accept of the appointment. The bishop found himself in a very awkward position; on the one hand was the government, on the other the pope, both sides refusing to give way and insisting on his compliance with conflicting orders; in the end, by a rather discreditable shuffle, he was allowed to remain at Lincoln by the farce of a re-translation from York by the pope.³

The religious houses of the diocese were diligently visited both by Flemyng and his successors Gray and Alnwick. The general nature of the injunctions issued to religious houses relating to food, dress, divine offices, prohibitions against keeping hunting dogs, &c., indicate that in many cases the inmates were fast losing the spiritual side of their profession. In 1436 Alnwick published a mandate for a general visitation owing to a report of a wrongful application of their revenues,⁴ and the prior of Torksey was suspended from his rule on account of his bad and neglectful management⁵ in the course of the inquiries subsequently instituted. The quarrels of the dean and chapter of Lincoln, which had lasted throughout the rules of Flemyng and Gray, were settled by the ruling of Bishop Alnwick, and confirmed by Parliament in 1439,⁶ but even after the publication of the bishop's *laudum* the dean, whose aim appears to have been to secure complete ascendancy and the first place in the cathedral church even when the bishop was present,⁷ was not satisfied, and declined to be bound by the new book of statutes drawn up with the express object of avoiding all future causes of dissension. A prolonged contest, in which Dean Mackworth was suspended and finally excommunicated, ensued, in the midst of which the bishop died.⁸

The rule of William Gray, who followed Flemyng in 1431,⁹ was too short to be productive of much result. It is interesting to note that he was translated from London to Lincoln, the largeness of the revenue at that time accruing to the bishopric of Lincoln doubtless compensating for any loss of dignity incurred by resigning the see of the capital. In Bekynton's Correspondence there is a letter of Eugenius IV to Gray reproaching him for having filled up the archdeaconry of Northampton, an appointment claimed by the pope on the ground that it had previously been held by a cardinal; the bishop, however, declined to give way, and stuck to his appointment of

¹ Fuller, *Church Hist.* (ed. Brewer), ii, 424.

² Godwin, *De Praesulibus* (1743), i, 297.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Alnwick, fol. 32.

⁶ Ibid. fols. 8-20; *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 10.

⁷ T. Gascoigne, *Loci e libro veritatum* (Rogers), 153.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Alnwick, fols. 50, 56 d. 70.

³ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. fol. 59.

⁹ Rymer, *Foed.* x, 495.

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his relative, another William Gray, afterwards bishop of Ely.¹ The action of the pope in 1440 shows the state of degradation to which the papacy and the church had sunk at this period. According to Thomas Gascoigne—

In that year Eugenius IV published mighty indulgences throughout Christendom and the collector of the pope in England who received the money for the letters of indulgence granted was Master Peter de Monte, a proud Lombard, who on leaving England with enormous sums collected by the sale of the Papal indulgences swore by the Body of Christ in the presence of Master Vincent Clement that Pope Eugenius should never have the money that had been collected unless he should first send him bulls appointing him archbishop of Milan . . . In England some bought letters of indulgence and of the power to absolve in all cases for two-pence, and some for a pot of ale and some for a foul act of sin; and some had baskets full of letters of indulgence to be sold throughout the country to those who would buy and the names of those who bought were caused to be inscribed on the letters granted and some said 'Now is Rome come to our door.' And some cared not about doing evil, thinking they could easily obtain pardon and grace by the pope's concession, and Alfonso king of Arragon said to the pope 'Now is the Church of Rome become a real wanton for she sells herself to whosoever asks for money.'²

Bishop Alnwick, translated to Lincoln in succession to Gray in 1436, presents a very favourable example of a fifteenth-century bishop. He owed his preferments to court favour, and while occupying the see of Norwich, to which he had been 'provided' in 1426, was appointed confessor to Henry VI; his influence with the young king was probably greatly responsible for that important work of Henry VI, the foundation of the king's college at Eton within the diocese of Lincoln in 1440.³ In the midst of the chorus of complaints against the bishops for their supineness and attention to merely secular matters,⁴ it is pleasant to find instances in the bishop's register of his care for the spiritual needs of his flock. In May, 1444, he ordered the abbot of Wellow, near Grimsby, to withdraw a canon of that house from the cure of the parish church of Clee, and to replace him by a suitable secular priest, 'there being great danger to souls in the wandering of religious men from their cloisters.'⁵ Another entry records that Sir William Tyrwhitt, patron of the church of Buslingthorpe, was ordered to make another presentation as John Bakhous last presented by him 'proves on examination to be so intolerable.'⁶ The episcopal registers of this period contain frequent entries recording the alteration of the dedication day of parish churches. An order was issued in 1519 for the dedication festival of all churches occurring in harvest time to be celebrated on 3 October.⁷

The connexion of Marmaduke Lumley, successively bishop of Carlisle and Lincoln, with this diocese was little more than formal. Letters preserved in the 'Bekynton Correspondence' give an account of Henry VI's endeavour to get Lumley, then bishop of Carlisle, translated to the see of London in 1448. The attempt was unsuccessful, but the pope promised to promote the king's nominee on the next possible occasion,⁸ which occurred on the death

¹ *Corresp. of Bekynton* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 251.

² *Loci e libro veritatum* (Rogers), 124.

³ *Corresp. of Bekynton* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 270-93.

⁴ In 1447 Bishop Pecocke of Chichester preached his famous sermon at St. Paul's Cross, defending the practice of bishops in not preaching and in engaging themselves away from their dioceses, the result of which was to draw on himself the attacks of both parties in the Church, the orthodox and those agitating for reform. *Repressor of over much blaming of the Clergy* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 615.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Alnwick, fol. 44 d.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 44.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. of Atwater, fol. 67.

⁸ The pope very properly pointed out that he must abide by the king's first recommendation of Thomas Kemp. *Corresp. of Bekynton* (Rolls Ser.) i, 156-9.

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of Alnwick in December, 1449. The new bishop had scant opportunity to enjoy his new appointment; he died at London, in the year of his translation and was not even buried in the cathedral to which he was still a stranger.¹

John Chadworth, consecrated in 1452,² occupied a position midway between the political bishops who preceded and followed him. His rule embraced the troublous period of the Wars of the Roses, but, whether actuated by motives of prudence or that he had too much on his hands already in exterminating heresy, he withdrew as far as possible from taking part in politics, and there is little to indicate in which direction his sympathies lay. He was elected by the chapter on the recommendation of Henry VI, and the king wrote to the pope to secure his confirmation. As a matter of fact the pope had already provided to the see in the person of that William Gray previously mentioned as archdeacon of Northampton, but he acquiesced in the present arrangement, and the chapter of Lincoln on this occasion regained that right of free election of which they had been deprived for a period of 150 years. As Chadworth was deputed in the absence of the chancellor, George, archbishop of York, to declare the cause of the opening of Parliament 3 June, 1467,³ he must have been successful in winning the confidence of the Yorkist party. In the relentless persecution of Lollards and heretics which marks this rule, and which was so fiercely carried out in other counties belonging to this diocese, notably in Buckinghamshire, Lincolnshire again fails to present any case of note; whatever leaven of sympathy with heterodox opinion may have existed, and probably did exist, it did not rise above the surface of ordinary life and practice.⁴ A mandate addressed to the bishop in 1547, the same year which saw the trial and condemnation of Pecocke for heresy,⁵ ordered all heretical books within the diocese to be burnt, special mention being made of the English translation of the Scriptures, and of the works of the bishop of Chichester.⁶

The important offices of state held by the two ecclesiastics who in turn occupied the see, left them but scant leisure to look personally after the diocese. Thomas Rotherham (1472–80) was made keeper of the Privy Seal in 1467,⁷ bishop of Rochester the year following, and translated to Lincoln in 1472 on the death of Chadworth. In 1474 he was raised to the chancellorship, and in 1480, on the king's recommendation, translated by Sixtus IV to the primacy of York.⁸ John Russell, who succeeded Rotherham as keeper of the Privy Seal in 1474,⁹ was translated from Rochester to Lincoln on the transference of Rotherham to York; he served under Richard III and Henry VII,¹⁰ but appears to have fallen under suspicion shortly before the defeat of Richard III, as he was deprived of the seal in July 1485.¹¹ The bishop was employed by Henry VII in various embassies,¹² and his diocese saw little of

¹ Godwin, *De Praesulibus* (1743), i, 298.

² Rymer, *Foed.* xi, 309.

³ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 571.

⁴ Chadworth's register (fol. 47) records one small exception. John Potter of Asgarby in 1458 purged himself of offence for absenting himself from divine service and for refusing to take holy water.

⁵ The bishop of Lincoln was one of the prelates appointed to try Pecocke.

⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* of Chadworth, fol. 34.

⁷ *Pat.* 20 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 3.

⁸ *Pat.* 7 Edw. IV.

⁹ Rymer, *Foed.* xi, 491.

¹⁰ He also assisted at the funeral of Edward IV in 1483, and 'sensyd the corps' as it was carried for burial from Westminster to Windsor. *Letters, etc. of Ric. III and Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.), i, 5, 7, 9.

¹¹ Rymer, *Foed.* xii, 260.

¹² *Letters, etc. of Ric. III and Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.), i, 509–16.

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him. In 1481 he spent a week at Crowland Abbey while engaged in settling the appropriation of the church of Brinkhurst or Eton to the abbey of Peterborough.¹ His death occurred 30 December, 1494.

William Smith, translated to Lincoln in January, 1496, is generally remembered as the founder of Brasenose College, Oxford.² Previous to his translation from Lichfield he held a position on the Council of Wales, and in 1501 became president of Wales, an office which lasted till his death, and involved, at least during the lifetime of Prince Arthur, constant attendance at Ludlow.³ The bishop managed, however, with keen secular occupations to combine a certain amount of active diocesan administration, and sundry matters in the diocese requiring reform received attention at his hands. The visitation of the cathedral in 1506 and consequent injunctions brought to light a very melancholy state of affairs. The papal licences exhibited by the dean, enabling him to hold a deanery at the age of sixteen and to be ordained priest before the age of twenty-three, show how rampant had become the abuses of papal privilege, while with regard to the fabric of the cathedral, complaints were made that the servants of the dean and resident canons were in the pleasing habit of making the roof and windows a target for their arrows, and it was in so ruinous a condition that the bishop authorized an appeal for public contributions.⁴ Like his predecessor Bishop Smith felt the necessity of stamping out heresy and error, which was much on the increase in the southern district of his diocese. A rather contradictory impression is conveyed as to his methods of 'persuasion,' one account charging him with the cruel treatment of one Thomas Chase of Amersham, who after confinement in the bishop's prison of Little Ease was 'cruelly strangled and pressed to death,' while another account allows

this William Smith, although he was somewhat eager and sharp against the poor simple flock of Christ's servants, under whom some were burned, many abjured, a great number molested . . . yet divers he sent quietly home without punishment or penance, bidding them go home and live as good Christian men should do. And many who were enjoined penance before, he did release.⁵

The bishop besides engaging in various public schemes for good, foremost among which was the foundation of Brasenose College, showed remarkable kindness to the members of his family; his readiness to promote his nephews and other kinsmen drew from his biographer Churton the remark that Lincoln cathedral was 'peopled with persons of the name of William Smith.'⁶

The short occupancy of the see of Lincoln by the famous Wolsey, on the death of Smith early in 1514, was a mere incident in a career that at that time seemed destined to carry all before it. The deanery of Lincoln, which the great pluralist had held since February, 1508-9, was equally a

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Russell, fol. 24 d.

² In an earlier capacity as keeper of the hanaper in the chancery Smith is mentioned as responsible for sums for the custody of two daughters of Edward IV. Clerical preferment followed this lucrative position, and in 1487 he was presented as king's chaplain to the living of Great Grimsby. Pat. 2 Hen. VII, pt. ii, m. 8.

³ The February following his translation the bishop appointed James Whytstons to act as vicar-general during his absence from the diocese with the prince. Hutton, Ext. from Linc. Reg. Add. MS. 6953, fol. 31.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Smith.

⁵ Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* iv, 124, 219.

⁶ Churton, *Lives of Smith and Sutton*. Three nephews of that name were archdeacons of Lincoln, Northampton, and Stow. Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* ii.

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drop in the ocean of his other preferments.¹ He was provided to the see by Leo VI,² and consecrated 26 March, 1514, but resigned in the autumn for the archbishopric of York, which the death of Cardinal Bainbridge in July of that year had vacated.

If, however, the connexion of this famous man with Lincoln was little more than formal, his influence was largely responsible for the appointment of two of his successors: William Atwater and John Longlands, contemporaries of Wolsey at Magdalen, Oxford, owed their rapid promotion in the church to the friendship formed with him at the university. Atwater, who succeeded on the translation of Wolsey, could vie indeed with the cardinal in the number of his preferments.³ He had previously held the chancellorship of Lincoln, but resigned it two years before his appointment to the bishopric.

The chief event of Atwater's rule was the visitation of the monasteries in his diocese, which began in April, 1518, and was not finished till the end of July. The condition of affairs disclosed was not on the whole very satisfactory. Besides frequent instances of bad management, failure to keep accounts, neglect of divine service, the reception of secular persons within the cloister, a few cases of even a worse nature are noted. The injunctions issued in the next rule by Bishop Longlands to many of the religious houses show no amelioration in their state. Writing to the dean of Lincoln for the visitation of the cathedral, he urges him 'to take order among your prebendaries for the building and maintenance of their churches and corrections there to be done,' adding 'that if ye will not I must and will supply the duty.' 'I assure you now there is more misliving committed within the jurisdiction of my prebends than in much part of my diocese besides.' Referring to the decrease in the number of residentiaries in the cathedral the bishop insists that the four dignitaries of 'my church' ought to have residence there, and in place of the treasurer 'who hath of long season been absent from the church' appoints Mr. Richard Parker.⁴ The injunctions issued in 1531 to the prioress and nuns of Nun Cotham are a lamentable revelation of the depth of degradation to which a community could fall.

Of the character of John Longlands who succeeded to Atwater, it is difficult to speak with precision. He occupied a position midway between the old and the new; zealous in the persecution of heresy and of all those whose views were being permeated by the works of Luther and other German reformers,⁵ he seems to have had no scruple in lending himself to the drastic changes initiated by Henry VIII, including the royal supremacy and the destruction and spoliation of the monasteries. Earlier still he lent himself to the schemes of Wolsey for the furtherance of

¹ At the time of his promotion to Lincoln, Wolsey held among other preferments the deanery of York, the deanery of Hereford, and the precentorship of St. Paul's.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 4722-3.

³ He is said to have held as many as twelve preferments.

⁴ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Longlands*.

⁵ See Longlands' letters to Wolsey expressive of a desire to take strong measures against their spread at Oxford (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 993). In the absence of any register containing an account of the persecutions in his diocese during his rule, we must accept Foxe's description of him as 'bloody and cruel' in his persecutions (*Acts and Mon.* iv, 219). In the first year of his rule the king issued a royal mandate ordering all mayors and other officials to assist the bishop of Lincoln in executing justice upon heretics 'of whom there are no small number in his diocese' (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, pt. ii, 1592). The bishop was frequently employed in trying cases that occurred in the London diocese.

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his college, and his attempts to get money out of the abbot of Peterborough and the prior of Spalding¹ can only be described as barefaced blackmail.

As Henry VIII's confessor and spiritual director, an office which Longlands held for upwards of twenty years, the bishop has often been charged with putting scruples into the king's head with regard to the legality of his marriage with Katharine. Such was the general opinion,² and though he denied the charge his action while Henry VIII was agitating for the divorce lends colour to the general supposition. He was employed by the king to win from Oxford an opinion favourable to the royal wishes,³ and he accompanied Cranmer on the journey down to Dunstable for the purpose of holding a court and pronouncing sentence of separation.⁴

But if no remonstrance on the subject of the confiscation of ecclesiastical property came from the bishop, opposition sprang from another and perhaps the least expected quarter of all, 'the rude commons of one shire and that the most brute and beastly in England.' To whatever other grounds may be attributed the feeling of discontent and uneasiness then general, the immediate cause of the rising in 1536, second only in importance to the pilgrimage of grace, arose from the wholesale acts of spoliation which began in that year and continued up to 1539. In no other part of the country did the dissolution of the monasteries come with a greater shock in the ruthless sweeping away of the old established order. Thirty-six religious houses in Lincolnshire came under the earlier Act for the dissolution of houses of less than £200 yearly value,⁵ and by August of 1536 matters were proceeding apace. John Freeman wrote to Cromwell on 7 August from Vaudrey that to carry out his commission and pull down to the ground all the walls and steeples would cost the king £1,000 in this shire where 'there be more of great houses than in England besides with thick walls and most part of them vaulted,' he therefore proposed to take down the bells and lead, 'which will bring 6,000 or 7,000 marks,' pull down the roofs, battlements and stairs, and leave the walls standing.⁶ The people watched the dismantling and work of spoliation doubtless with alarm, and the voices of the homeless and dispossessed religious were not wanting to fan their fears, to sow suspicion among them, to urge that their parish churches were threatened, and that the church plate would be the next object of plunder.⁷ The smouldering flame of discontent and revolt burst out on the advent to Caister of the commissioners for the collection of the king's subsidy in the autumn of that year, and immediately the country-side was up, the whole of the east of England watching in secret and silent sympathy.⁸ It is unnecessary here to repeat the details of this wild rising, or to recount the manner in which it was quelled; enough to note that on the part of the insurgents professions of loyalty to the king merge into expressions of hatred and distrust of his confessor their bishop, whom they

¹ The superiors were threatened with forced resignation unless they would pay certain sums for Cardinal's College. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. ii, 2378, 2391, 2457, 2564, 2736, 4708, 4796.

² Chapuys writing to Charles V speaks of the king's confessor as 'the principal promoter' in the affair (ibid. v, 1046-1127), and the queen was evidently of the same opinion.

³ Ibid. vi, 918. The active part he took in procuring the sentence rendered him as unpopular at Oxford as he appears to have been in other parts of the country where the people took up the side of Katharine.

⁴ Ibid. vi, 661.

⁵ Ibid. x, 1238.

⁶ Ibid. xi, 242.

⁷ In a letter about this time Chapuys remarks: 'It is a lamentable thing to see a legion of monks and nuns chased from their monasteries wandering miserably hither and thither seeking means to live.' Ibid. xi, 42.

⁸ Ibid. xi, 567.

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accuse roundly of 'being the beginning of all this trouble.'¹ The insurrection momentarily checked the work of plunder,² but only for a time. John Freeman, after 'dispatching' the abbey of Croxton in Leicestershire,³ was back again in Lincolnshire in September, 1538, and on 3 October he was able to report with great satisfaction the 'dispatch' of nine Gilbertine houses.⁴ The king was 'shrewdly' charged with pensions, remarked the commissioner, but might redeem many with benefices 'of which he has a good sort' as they fell due.⁵ 'There are eleven abbeys in Lincolnshire, great and small, still standing,' says the report on 20 October; the modest writer 'would like the farm of Spalding if it be not granted,' as he had been disappointed of Bardney.⁶ A further warrant under the privy seal empowered the commissioners to take the surrender of Thornton, Spalding, Heyninges, Crowland, Torksey, Kyme, Grimsby, Orford, Nuncotham, and Stixwould.⁷

The last years of Longlands' rule witnessed the partition of the diocese in partial execution of the schemes of Henry VIII for the formation of fresh sees out of the proceeds of the destroyed monasteries.⁸ The erection of the bishoprics of Peterborough⁹ and Osney or Oxford,¹⁰ which removed the counties of Northampton, Rutland, and Oxford out of the bishop's jurisdiction, severed the northern and southern portions of the huge diocese, and practically necessitated the removal of the episcopal residence to Buckden, where it remained for years. The bishop did not live to see the confiscations that followed the accession of Edward VI. He died in May, 1547, only a few months after his royal master, and was succeeded by Henry Rands or Holbeche, a native of this county and former inmate of Crowland Abbey, who had been successively prior of St. Mary's, Worcester, and dean of the newly constituted cathedral there. He was made suffragan bishop of Bristol in 1538, transferred to Rochester in 1544, and thence translated to Lincoln on the death of Longlands.¹¹

The fears expressed by the 'rude commons' as to the fate of their parish churches were fully realized in the following reign. The depredations at Lincoln, under an order of June, 1540, for the removal 'of certain feigned relics by which simple people are deceived and brought into superstition and

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 585-705. Dr. Legh, who was in the county at the time, appears to have been fortunate in escaping the vengeance of the insurgents which fell on Dr. Raynes, the bishop's chancellor. *Ibid.* xiii, 585.

² The return made to the writ certifying the number of religious houses actually dissolved in February, 1538, gives only twenty-three houses out of thirty-six of the earlier entry. *Ibid.* xii, pt. ii, 1195.

³ *Ibid.* xiii, pt. ii, 366.

⁴ Sempringham, St. Katharine's outside Lincoln, Haverholme, Catley, Bullington, Sixhills, Alvingham, Ormsby, and Newstead. *Ibid.* 528.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* 649. On a former occasion the commissioner had made 'so bold' as to demand the farm of Bardney in lieu of Ormsby which he had 'missed' (*ibid.* 528). In November of that same year he was granted the demesne lands of Hagnaby, one of the monasteries suppressed under the earlier Act, for which also he had made request. In July the duke of Suffolk was granted the bells and lead of Kirkstead and Barlings. *Ibid.* xiii, pt. i, 1349.

⁷ The priory of Stixwould had been allowed to remain, charged, however, in such a manner as to leave the poor inmates with little means of existence. The prioress and her sisters addressed a petition to 'Good Mr. Heneage' in 1537 praying him to intercede with the king on their behalf for the remission of the payment of £54 yearly pension, 'or else we shall never be able to live'; besides this pension there was a charge on the firstfruits amounting to £150, and a fine of 900 marks for the continuance of the house. Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i, pt. i, 395; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, App. 4; xii, pt. i, 41.

⁸ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i, pt. i, 539.

⁹ Erected in 1541 by letters patent 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 23.

¹⁰ Erected at Osney (*ibid.* 34 Hen. VIII, pt. vi, m. 9) in 1542 and removed to Oxford in 1545. *Ibid.* 38 Hen. VIII, pt. viii.

¹¹ Rymer, *Foed.* xv, 153.

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idolatry,' deprived the cathedral of the gold and silver shrines of Bishops Hugh and John Dalderby respectively,¹ and were followed by a further raid at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI.² The Act of 1 and 2 Edward VI, following the earlier measure of Henry VIII for the suppression of the chantries, confiscated to the crown the property of all colleges, free chapels, and chantries, of which the return of the commissioners gives not less than 150 situated in this county.³ The measure, besides robbing parishes of many small gifts and endowments, deprived the church in many instances of an assistant chaplain, and let loose in the diocese a large body of men who, admitted to benefices in order 'to save the king a little money,'⁴ the payment of their pensions, were naturally inclined to oppose any plan of reform initiated by a régime by which they had been dispossessed. The reign of Edward VI saw further the removal of pictures and images from parish churches, the taking down of roods, the casting down of altars, the setting up of tables, the white-washing of the walls of the edifice, and the confiscation of vestments. The certificate of the commissioners of Edward VI, dated 10 April, 1549, states that

wee haue taken parfyt and trewe Invytores of all chalycis Jewelles playtes and belles wythin evyre churche and chappell in the countye of lyncoln, excepte the wappentak of kirkton in holland . . . The nombre of wyche chalyces arre vj^clxxxvijth Crosses viij pyxes xxvij paxes v Crewettes ij Crysmatores viij Sensers vj kandylstyckes ij Baysens j bolle and a dyshe of Sylver. Greate Belles m^{vij}liij Sanctus belles iiij^clxxv after the computacyon of v^{xx} to the hundreth.⁵

Under Mary there was a partial restoration of confiscated church goods. One of the objects of Bishop White's visitation, carried out under a metropolitan order in 1556, was to inquire into the condition of church goods and furniture. The institution of inquiries elicited at the same time the sad condition into which the fabric of the churches had sunk; the rectories of fifty-one churches appropriated to the cardinal-archbishop of Canterbury were entered as ruinous, twenty-four belonging to the bishop of Lincoln stood in urgent need of repair, and twenty-four belonging to various other persons were in no better condition.⁶ 'There was a matter of a hundred chancels and rectors' houses besides vicarages and their chancels in Lincolnshire now in ruinous cases.' The series of documents still preserved at Lincoln, entitled *Inventorium Monumentorum Superstitionis*,⁷ furnishes us with a lively picture of the ruthless and wholesale destruction early in the reign of Elizabeth of those articles of church furniture which the last reign had been at such trouble and expense to restore and replace.⁸ The documents purport to be a return made in 1566 of such ornaments, &c., as were then regarded as unnecessary or worse, idolatrous, and the laconic entry 'burnt,' 'sold,' 'defaced,' expresses the fate of most of the

¹ The return made by the commissioners states that 2,621 oz. of gold, 4,285 oz. of silver, and a great number of pearls and precious stones were carried off on that occasion. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 772. See in Dugdale, *Mon.* account of Cath. of Lincoln, vi, 1296, Nos. 69, 70.

² For list of depredations on this second occasion see paper of Canon Wordsworth, *Linc. Dioc. Mag.* June, 1889.

³ Cert. of Coll. and Chant. (P.R.O.).

⁴ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* ii, pt. ii, 143.

⁵ P.R.O. Exch. Q.R. Sh. 3, pcl. 3. A single bell was considered enough for a parish church. At the end of the reign of Edward VI nearly 32,000 lb. of bell metal for the king's use had been taken from Lincolnshire churches and stored at Grimsby.

⁶ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* iii, pt. ii, No. li.

⁷ Edited and published by Edw. Peacock under the title *English Church Furniture*.

⁸ To pick at random the church of Alford which comes first on the list:—'All the mass book—defaced by the wardens;' 'The Rood Marie and John and all other pictures—brent' 'Item the sensors, crwetes and suchlike trash—sold.' Edw. Peacock, *Engl. Ch. Furniture*, 29.

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Marian restorations. The see of Lincoln itself, under the system of encroachment which marked the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, fell from the position of one of the richest to one of the poorest in England.¹ Bishop Bullingham was allowed to retain his archdeaconry of Lincoln to compensate him for the spoliation of the see on the accession of Elizabeth, and was content in 1571 to be transferred to the less influential but less impoverished diocese of Worcester. On his promotion in 1595 Bishop Chaderton protested that with the dilapidations at Lincoln amounting to over £1,000 'for which he could get nothing' he was unable to maintain his household, keep some hospitality, or furnish and keep one house in repair. He also was allowed to retain the archdeaconry of Lincoln *in commendam* for some years.²

The two Edwardian bishops of Lincoln, Holbeche and Taylor, the latter consecrated by Cranmer 26 June, 1552, on the death of Holbeche the previous year,³ were actively employed in the events of that reign. Holbeche preached at St. Paul's on the occasion of the celebration of the battle of Pinkie in September, 1547, the occasion being also memorable for the fact that the litany or procession for the first time was said 'kneeling with their copes in the choir,' according to the fashion prescribed by the well-known 'Injunctions' published the previous July. Both Holbeche and Taylor were among the commissioners appointed to draw up the Book of Common Prayer in 1548, and sat on the commission directed by Gardiner in 1550 to examine and correct Anabaptists, and such as did not duly administer the Sacraments.⁴ Holbeche, 'a true favourer' of the Reformation, whose will was proved by his wife Joan,⁵ must have been one of the first of the prelates to take advantage of the Act allowing priests to marry and retain their benefices. Taylor had in his early career suffered persecution for his advocacy of the reformed faith; under Edward VI he was able freely to express his views, but on the accession of Mary fell again into trouble on the score of his opinions. He attended the first Parliament under the queen in October, 1553, but on the celebration of mass withdrew, or, according to Strype, 'was thrust out.'⁶ The same authority speaks of his being deprived the following March on the ground that he was married, but the order of 15 March, 1554, gives the fact of irregular appointment by letters patent of the late king instead of by right of election as the cause of his deprivation.⁷

The changes in the county necessitated by the new order of things succeeded quickly to the consecration of John White to Lincoln on 1 April. The queen's Great Statute of Repeals abolishing the Edwardian Act of 1549, and a royal proclamation prohibiting all married clergy from ministering or saying mass, was followed in March by the publication of the 'Injunctions' for the removal of all who had availed themselves of the permissive Act of

¹ Such spoliations of sees were sanctioned by the Act 38 Hen. VIII, cap. 16, passed in 1545-6. Holbeche, 'though not by his fault' according to Strype (*Eccl. Mem.* ii, pt. ii, 167-8), allowed thirty-four 'rich' manors belonging to the bishopric to be conveyed to the crown (Rymer, *Foed.* xv, 166). Under Mary the seizures under Edward VI were returned to the bishops, but according to Collier (*Eccl. Hist.* vi, 260-1) Elizabeth so stripped the bishoprics that only one manor was left to that of Lincoln.

² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* Eliz. 1595-7, p. 60.

³ Rymer, *Foed.* xv, 312. John Taylor had held the deanery of Lincoln since the year 1544.

⁴ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* ii, pt. i, 385; ii, 200.

⁵ He left a son named Thomas; *ibid.* pt. ii, 167-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Rymer, *Foed.* xv, 370.

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the last reign. From the institutions in the Alnwick Tower, Lincoln, we get a fair idea of how far the *personnel* of the Lincolnshire clergy was affected by the sweeping nature of the order, but even the sixty deprivations actually recorded between the May of 1554 and the April of the following year¹ cannot be regarded as fixing the number conclusively, as they comprise only those incumbents given as actually turned out and take no account of the many who resigned, doubtless in anticipation, and who would add considerably to the number.

Bishop White, whose zeal in the rooting out of heresy much commended him to the queen, was in September, 1556, translated to the see of Winchester. Earlier in the year he visited his diocese 'roundly' by authority of Archdeacon Pole,² the various matters brought up before him on that occasion furnishing an interesting picture of the condition of the people at that time. Under the first article of inquiry Thomas Armstrong of Corby, and his wife were convicted of heresy, and ordered to recant and do penance in the cathedral of Lincoln and parish church of Grantham; Anthony Meres, esq., cited for not receiving the sacrament at Easter, was reported to have fled overseas 'and remains excommunicate.' Common causes of presentment were the eating of meat on fast days, and offences against morality. Two men at Boston convicted on the first charge were condemned to the penance of carrying a quarter of lamb about in the market-place of Boston. A man and woman of Winteringham being presented for adultery, the bishop set the woman this penance, 'That the said Emma shall ride through the city and market of Lincoln in a cart and be ronged out with basons,' the sheriff was ordered to see to the execution of the sentence. A man of Cabourn, another of Gainsborough, and Andrew Lacie of Horkstow had married nuns and were divorced by the bishop. Ormond Hill of Thornton, presented as a married priest, was also divorced and enjoined penance.³ Bearing in mind the confusion and general relaxation of order and discipline naturally resulting from the violent and successive changes that had taken place, and the suspension of episcopal authority pending the visitation of vicars-general appointed by the crown, it is hardly surprising that the verdict on the clergy of that period is returned briefly as 'very bad from the bishops to the curates.'⁴ Of the condition of Lincolnshire clergy in particular, reliable witness is provided later which shows that they differed in no degree from the clergy of other dioceses.

The next occupant of the see, Thomas Watson, consecrated 16 August, 1557,⁵ appears like his predecessor to have won fame and renown by his zealous advocacy of Catholic views,⁶ while his powers as a preacher caused him

¹ They occur as follows :—Seven institutions to benefices by reason of the deprivation of the last incumbent in May, twenty-two in June, seven in July, two in August, two again in September, seven in October, seven in November, three during January, February, and April of the following year, and three more in 1554, the month of which is not given. Three more deprivations in the last year of Mary's reign bring up the number to sixty-three. These institutions have been calendered in *Linc. Notes and Queries*, vols. v, vi.

² Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* iii, pt. i, 482.

³ The injunction of Mary provided that such priests as consented to separate from their wives should after fit penance be re-admitted to officiate so it be not in the same place. Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, 61. The original report of White's visitation is given in Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* iii, pt. 2; pp. 389-413.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii, pt. 2, pp. 141-2.

⁵ The two Marian bishops of Lincoln were both formally elected to the see, papal bulls being procured for their promotion.

⁶ The diocese of Lincoln escaped the persecutions for heresy, so marked a feature of White's rule at Winchester. No bonfires were lighted in this county in the cause of religious belief.

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to be summoned frequently to preach on special occasions. The accession of Elizabeth, which set the pendulum of religious opinion swinging violently in another direction, brought about a sudden change in the position of all Marian bishops, among whom White and Watson stood pre-eminent. Watson was absent from the Parliament of Elizabeth, which assembled in January, and the following April passed the two Acts which formed the basis of the Elizabethan church settlement,¹ but by that time both he and White had announced their adherence to the order prescribed by the last reign. The wisdom of their conduct at the conference on religion held in Westminster Abbey on the third of that month has been called in question, but the account repeated by Strype that the 'two good bishops' carried temerity so far as to threaten Queen Elizabeth and her council with excommunication seems based on a misleading report of the proceedings.² The two bishops were, however, sent to the Tower, Watson was released the following June, but on his refusal to take the oath of supremacy was deprived of his bishopric and again committed.³ The oath was once more administered to him in May, 1560, on the passing of the Assurance of Supremacy Act, but he again declined to subscribe. He was with five other prelates released from the Tower in September of that year on account of the plague which had broken out, and for a time billeted on Bishop Grindal of London. But the fate of the most tragic of the sufferers under Elizabeth was long drawn out, and he was transferred from one charge to another, and at last confined in Wisbeach Castle in Norfolk, where he died in 1583.⁴

The means taken by Elizabeth to establish the new order of things on the clergy consisted of a royal visitation, the visitors appointed being instructed to act as spiritual judges, to take cognizance of all moral offences as well as to enforce the settlement of religion⁵ as set out in the royal injunctions of Edward VI in 1549 and the Prayer Book. To the dean and chapter of each diocese was directed a mandate inhibiting them, as custodians of the sees vacated by the sweeping deprivations in the episcopate, from exercising any jurisdiction during this visitation. The diocese of Lincoln for the purpose of investigation was grouped with the dioceses of Oxford, Peterborough, Coventry, and Lichfield, the visitors appointed for this county being William Lord Willoughby, Sir Robert Tyrwhitt the younger, Sir E. Dymock, and Sir Francis Askew.⁶ Unfortunately a loss seems to have occurred in the list of subscriptions for Lincoln, which comprises only some 332 names.⁷ The clergy actually deprived, headed by the bishop, include the archdeacons of Lincoln, Stow, Buckingham, Bedford, and Huntingdon, and six prebendaries of Lincoln,⁸ the warden of Mere Hospital, the incumbents of Friesthorpe,

¹ That of the Queen's Supremacy and for Uniformity of common prayer and administration of the sacraments. Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy*, 31.

² *S. P. Venetian Eliz.* 1558-60, pp. 58-60. Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation*, i, 572; Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy*, 31, 32.

³ Ibid. 144, 226.

⁴ See account of Watson's vicissitudes in Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 196. He was removed from Grindal and placed under Cox of Ely, and again confined in the Tower 1566. After being transferred to the Marshalsea he was liberated for a time, but being found in correspondence with Romanists was placed in charge of Horne of Winchester, transferred to the bishop of Rochester in 1579, and thence removed to Wisbeach.

⁵ Gee, *op. cit.* 73.

⁶ Ibid. 98.

⁷ Ibid. 98, 124-9. Another return for the year 1563 gives 343 subscriptions out of 1,160 parishes in the Lincoln dioceses. Ibid. 98 from Harl. MS. 595, fol. 39.

⁸ Gee (*Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 279) gives five; to these may be added the prebendary of Langford Magna.

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deprived successively in December, 1558, and the following March, the vicars of S. Grantham, Moulton, Stubton, Claxby, and Claypole, with the incumbent of Comberworth, in 1561, the vicar of N. Thoresby in 1562, the vicars of Digby, Screddington, and Broxholme in the following year, the incumbent of Fulletby in 1566, and the vicar of Fillingham in 1570.¹

Nicholas Bullingham, consecrated in January, 1559–60, the first of the four Elizabethan bishops of Lincoln, was no stranger to the diocese to which he had been appointed.² In 1547 he appeared at convocation as proctor of the Lincolnshire clergy, at the close of the same year he was given the prebend of Welton Westhall in the cathedral, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Empingham, and in 1549 he succeeded Heneage as archdeacon of Lincoln. As a married man Bullingham was deprived of all preferments on the accession of Mary; he retired to his native city of Worcester, but eventually escaped and made his way abroad.³ The death of the queen in 1558 was the signal for his return, and in December of the same year Sir Francis Ascough petitioned Cecil that his former preferments might be restored to him.⁴ The knowledge of canon law, to the study of which he had more particularly devoted himself during his exile, was the means of recommending him to Parker, who made him his chaplain, and at whose consecration he assisted in the December previous to his own appointment to Lincoln.⁵ The sound learning of a theologian, combined with a ‘sweet reasonableness’ of temper which specially distinguished Bullingham, were frequently called into play during the eleven years in which he administered the diocese. He took part in the convocation of 1562 which formulated the Thirty-nine Articles,⁶ and was instrumental in drawing up the famous ‘Book of Advertisements,’ presented by Parker to Cecil on 3 March, 1565, and published the following year.⁷ Of his personal work in Lincolnshire little is recorded beyond the circular letter he addressed to his clergy in February, 1568, ordering collections to be made for the relief of those persons who had fled out of France and Flanders to avoid religious persecution.⁸

Bullingham escaped many of the difficulties which beset the path of his successors, who were required under a monarch by whom the church was regarded as little more than a state department to exercise a double check on the ‘contentious Protestant’ and ‘stubborn Papist.’ The task for the first ten years of Elizabeth’s rule was comparatively easy; the Act of Uniformity does not seem to have been rigidly enforced, and the main sufferers from the changes at the beginning of the reign were the upper ranks of the clergy. Under Bullingham’s successors, however, conditions altered and stiffened. The bull of Pius V in 1570, excommunicating Elizabeth and absolving her subjects from their allegiance, placed nonconformity in a very different light, and stern measures of repression began to be adopted. The bishop’s place on his translation to Worcester in 1571 was taken by Thomas Cooper, a distinguished scholar who had been precluded from taking orders until the accession of

¹ Taken from the Institutions in Alnwick Tower calendared in *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep. and Pap.* xxiv, xxv, and *Linc. Notes and Queries*, v, vi.

² Strype, *Parker*, i, 121–7; Rymer, *Foed.* xv, 561.

³ Strype, *Parker*, i, 127.

⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 1547–80, p. 118.

⁵ Strype, *Ann. of Reform.* ii, pt. ii, 555. Previous to his exile he had held the post of chaplain to Cranmer.

⁶ Wilkins, *Concil.* iv, 233.

⁷ Cardwell, *Doc. Ann. of the Ref. Ch. of Engl.* i, 287–97.

⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 1547–80, p. 307.

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Elizabeth made the profession of Protestant views possible. His literary gifts and power as a preacher attracted the queen, who announced her resolve to promote him. In 1561 he was made dean of Gloucester, and thence transferred to Lincoln on Bullingham's departure. Under the new bishop active steps were taken with the object of hunting out and putting down recusancy. The list furnished by Bishop Cooper in October, 1577,¹ of the names of such persons as refused to come to church was at that time so meagre that it was evidently felt to call for a word of explanation:—

'If my certificate,' writes the bishop, 'do not note unto your honors so many a circuite as my dyocese contayneth I humbly desire your honors favorably to interpret the same and not to impute it either to negligence in searchinge or to timorousness in dealing with them. . . . In Lincolnshire there is Robert Dymmock, Esq., and Justice of the Peace, who a long time forbore coming to the church and hearing of divine service, but of late he hath yelded to come to the church and so hath don after a sorte, but with the colour of his sickness it is so slacklie and seldom times as it cannot be any greate token of his amendment.' 'My diocese is large,' adds Cooper, apologising for not being 'able directly to excuse any' ('and yet have I used all the lawfull meanes I can devise to know'), 'it cannot be but there are some lurkers unknown to me.'²

The members of the council in a letter to the 'Lord Busshopp' of Lincoln in 1580 'yelde thanckes' for his pains, understanding 'how discretlie he hath travaled in discovering the offences of the principall Recusantes and reducing others to conformitie.'³ The danger in this county, as apprehended by the authorities, lay not so much in the number of papists as in the fact that they were recruited from the ranks of some of the most powerful and influential families in the county. To follow various members of the Tyrwhitt family, whose names re-appear from first to last in connexion with Romanist sympathy, is to trace the history of recusancy in the county.⁴

As far as the puritan or protestant movement was concerned, Cooper, like Archbishop Grindal, appears to have recognized what a beneficial effect to the church might have resulted from its enthusiasm and zeal, provided only that it could be guided into properly organized channels and regulated by episcopal authority. The archbishop, in a letter of remonstrance to the queen in 1576 on the subject of her peremptory order for the number of preachers to be cut down, and the 'exercises' or 'prophesyings' which originated at Northampton to be abolished, instances the bishop of Lincoln as one of the prelates who approved their use in a strictly modified form.⁵ The

¹ By order of the Council.

² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* Eliz. 1547-80, p. 560. In 1580 John Parker of Hagworthingham declared 'how he was drawn away from the service of God and became a Papist.' *Ibid.* 690.

³ *Acts of P.C.* xii (New Ser.), 105.

⁴ In 1580 the bishop was notified by the Privy Council that the public appearance of 'the daughter of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt lately married unto Lord Sheffield' to answer the charges against her had been 'forborne' at the 'errest suite' of her husband, but that he should take pains to confer with her and also discover 'by what means sundry gentlemen of good accompt within his charge are become fallen away from their duties in religion' (*Acts of P.C.* xii [New Ser.], 91-2). In the early part of the following year came an order to search the house of William Tyrwhitt 'called Wigmor,' who with his brother Robert had been committed to the Tower; they were released after they had been imprisoned 'a good space,' and had made their 'humble submission' (*ibid.* xii. [New Ser.], 318; xiii, 79). The bishop took occasion soon after to inform the council that the presence of the two brothers was doing much harm in the county 'by reason of the great resort that is made unto them,' so that 'sundry persons who heretofore were inclined to conformity are now become hardened.' There was reason to suspect that the child of John Thymolby, another well-known recusant, 'had been christened in Poperie,' adds the bishop (*ibid.* xiii, 238). Lord Vaux, Mr. Tyrwhitt, and others were examined in February, 1582, for assisting at a celebration of mass in the Fleet Prison (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* Eliz. 1581-90, p. 46). In 1591 Wickham was ordered to examine 'a young girle' who had accused the gentlewoman Mistress Magdalen Thymolby of uttering 'badd and unreverend wordes of her Majestie' (*ibid.* xxii, 317).

⁵ Strype, *Life of Grindal*, 260, 327, 329, 331.

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stand made by Grindal in this matter resulted in his suspension. Cooper was one of the clergy assembled in convocation who signed a petition to Elizabeth in 1580, praying for the restoration of the archbishop, and he was deputed to convey it to the queen.¹ On the issue of the three articles following Whitgift's promotion to Canterbury in 1583, twenty-one ministers in Lincolnshire were suspended for refusing to subscribe; they addressed a letter to the council to protest against their sentence, stating their willingness to take the supremacy oath and to admit the Thirty-nine Articles of 1562, but that they were unable to accept the Book of Common Prayer.² The prominent part taken by Cooper in the controversy raised by the publication of the Marprelate tracts belongs to the period of his activity at Winchester, whither he was transferred in 1584. His successor, William Wickham, dean of Lincoln, consecrated to the see in December, 1584, exposed himself to the attacks of the puritan press on the occasion of the funeral sermon for Mary queen of Scots, preached by him at Peterborough on 2 August, 1587. The preacher's mild hope as to the ultimate salvation of the late queen was deeply resented by the extreme members of that inflexible sect as holding out remote chances for an impenitent papist.³

The return made by Sir Edward Dymmock and Robert Carr in April, 1586, certifying their proceedings with recusants in this county to be discharged of the penalties of the statute is insignificant as to numbers, but interesting as bringing up names already well known in connexion with Catholic sympathy. 'William Tyrwhitt,' the report states, 'is in Kent, Robert Tyrwhitt is a younger brother and hath but £40 of yearly revenues left him for the discharge of such money as by the penalty of the law he hath heretofore forfeited to Her Majesty. This information we have from William Fitzwilliams who hath him in custody.' John Thymolby is entered as offering £20 yearly to be discharged of penalties for recusancy.⁴ Despite the increasing severity of the measures passed against them, it seems evident that their numbers were on the increase in the interval between 1586 and the year which saw the first roll of recusants under Elizabeth.⁵ In 1592 are recorded the forfeitures of William, Lord Vaux of Harrowden, of John Thymolby of Irnham, John Morley of Newton, Thomas Allott of Stainfield, William Tyrwhitt, esq., fined £40 for voluntarily absenting himself two months from divine service, Elizabeth Tyrwhitt, late of Kettleby, £240 for non-attendance at the parish church of Bigby for a year, Richard Tyrwhitt, gentleman, fined for non-attendance at church £120 and 100 marks for 'voluntarily hearing mass.'⁶ Other names recorded are Thomas Shipley of Scawby, yeoman, Elizabeth his wife; William Harpham, labourer, and Margaret his wife; Katherine Smythe, spinster; Richard Danby, gentleman, and Alice his wife; all fined £300 and all of Scawby, a lively centre of Catholic sentiment. The roll of 1596-7 gives the names of Charles Yarborough of Yarborough, George Yarborough, Anna Yarborough, Matthew Googe and Elizabeth his wife, Thomas

¹ Cardwell, *Doc. Ann. of the Ref. Ch. of Engl.* i, 386.

² Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, ii, 87.

³ Nichols, *Prog. of Queen Eliz.* 1823, ii, 512-13.

⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 1586-90, p. 324.

⁵ In 1592 there was a complaint that recusants in Lincolnshire were being too leniently dealt with, and suffered to remain at large. A peremptory order was sent from the Privy Council for their removal to gaol. *Acts of P.C.* xxiii (New Ser.), 289.

⁶ Recusancy R. Exch. L.T.R. The six names of Lord Vaux, John Morley, Thomas Allott, John Thymolby, Andrew Littlebury, and Elizabeth Tyrwhitt recur regularly in the series of recusancy rolls for Elizabeth.

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Googe, and records various other groups in the same district. In October, 1599, Thomas, Lord Burghley, reported from Yorkshire the flight of 'divers of the obstinatest recusants into Lincolnshire,' where he hopes they may 'hit upon some seminaries whom they have taken with them.'¹ It is evident that on the outbreak of trouble in Yorkshire those of Catholic sympathies took refuge over the Humber in north Lincolnshire, where popish adherents mostly centred. 'Part of Lincolnshire,' says Burghley three months later, 'is more dangerous than the worst part of Yorkshire; some order should be issued, for it is out of my commission to deal in it.'²

William Chaderton, the last of the Elizabethan bishops, was transferred to Lincoln from Chester in 1595 on the departure of Wickham for Winchester; he lived to see the accession of James I and the downfall of Catholic hopes by the failure of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605.

In spite of efforts made by successive archbishops, and notably Bancroft, to improve the state of parish churches and raise the standard of divine worship, the impression created in the mind of the student as to the condition of the church at the close of the sixteenth century receives sad confirmation in the report of an archidiaconal visitation of 1605 and the list of presentments for the following year.³ Ample proof is afforded of the restlessness of the time, the disorder and neglect attaching to the office of the ministry, and the spirit of indifference, the alternative to the fanatic activity of the puritan, slowly invading all classes. The effect of the Reformation had not, it must be confessed, tended to raise the standard of the country clergy. The liberty accorded them to marry had added to rather than detracted from their difficulties, the meagre income provided for the support of a priest in pre-Reformation times being wholly inadequate for the support of a married clergyman.⁴ Evidence is not wanting of the lowered and even degraded position occupied by incumbents, the scant measure of respect they won from their parishioners,⁵ the unclerical pursuits with which they varied their more regular avocations. The presentments above mentioned include 'a rector' for 'following commonly markets and fairs' at Grantham and Sleaford, a cattle-dealer it would seem, Thomas Dale of Pickworth, is reported to have given over his benefice at Lenton and 'is become a husbandman.' Robert Vaughan, curate of Skellingthorpe, 'serveth ye cure but not knowen by what authority; he is gardener to one Mr. Adames, unhable to reade divine service and liveth very basely to ye scandall of his function.'

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz. 1598-1601*, p. 333. In 1596 an order was sent to search the house of 'one Mistris Worthington,' whom report stated 'doth keep divers prelates in her house in disguised apparell,' and 'hath as wee are informed' eight sons in the seminaries in Spain and in other places. *Acts of P.C.* xxvi (New Ser.), 73.

² *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz. 1598-1601*, p. 379.

³ These have been published in the *Linc. Dioc. Mag.* for August, September, and October, 1891.

⁴ A return made under Elizabeth probably in 1565, of livings vacant, mostly through poverty, gives sixty in the archdeaconry of Lincoln and thirteen in the archdeaconry of Stow. *S.P. Dom. Eliz. 1601-3*, Addend. xii, 108.

⁵ The small village of Edlington may be instanced as giving an example of the unfriendly relations between a pastor and his flock which the religious divisions of the time tended to promote. The vicar to begin with is censured for omitting the sign of the cross in christening a child. Of his parishioners William Smith, junior, is reported for 'irreverently with scorn flering and laughing in the church,' especially when the minister confutes 'the erroneous doctrines of ye church of Rome;' being admonished the culprit retorted 'that no man should forbid him to laugh in the church;' he and Thomas Forman are also guilty of sleeping in the church and the latter for not standing up at 'ye readinge of ye creede.' Thomas Read and Thomas T. have grievously 'miscalled' the vicar, one calling him 'proud prelate,' 'paltry priest,' the other saying that he did go about to 'cunny cotch' . . . 'had an evil tongue.' *Linc. Dioc. Mag.* Aug., Sept., Oct., 1891.

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James Thornton, rector of Barrowby and Woolsthorpe, received censure for appointing a curate which 'ys a common buyer and seller.' Robert Tooke was excommunicated for serving the cure of Asgarby being a layman; Edmund Varley, curate of Folkingham, for serving without a licence, 'infamous for his lewd life and conversation and given to drunkenness.' Among those cited for non-residence were Jerom Phillips, vicar of Gainsborough, the vicar of Ranby, the rector of Tothill; the rectors of Driby, Toynton, Gt. Coates, and many others had not provided curates for the benefices where they were non-resident. Roger Metcalfe, rector of Mavis Enderby, managed to combine most of the offences with which an unworthy cleric could then be charged, 'a great usurer, undecent in apparel, communion but twice a year, chancell in decay, omission of divine service, doth read no sermons, a prophaner of the Sabbath.'

But sadder even than lists that profess to deal only with the worst examples among the clergy, are entries that show the neglected condition into which churches were allowed to fall and the plunder they afforded for the unscrupulous. The list of churches reported to be dilapidated and in ruins is too long for quotation, 'the raine doth drop into ye church,' 'it raineth into ye church in many places,' follows in melancholy reiteration; broken windows 'daubed' up with mud, porches thatched with straw or reeds instead of the old lead roofing that in the case of the conventual churches had attracted the eyes of Henry VIII and his ministers. The lead on the parish churches had now become a general object of plunder, rectors, vicars, and not a few churchwardens, being charged with its removal. One of the wardens, together with the widow of the other warden of the church of Langton, is censured for selling away the chalice of the parish church. William Sherman, last warden of Belton, admitted that he had sold away 'ye organs' that were in the church to Sir John Ferne, knt., one of the council of York, who carried them away to his house. It is sad to recollect that these men were in all probability the descendants of those 'rude commons' who seventy years ago had risen up in wild and hopeless rebellion to defend the integrity of their parish churches.

The three bishops who held the see in succession to Chaderton were not men who had much influence on the church in Lincolnshire; their stay in the diocese was very brief and their interest in it apparently not very great. William Barlow,¹ who was translated from Rochester in 1608, continued to live at Westminster where he retained his prebend and only moved to his palace at Buckden shortly before his death in 1613. His successor, Richard Neile, although a man of much practical ability, and 'as strict a disciplinarian as Laud himself,'² was too anxious for promotion to stay long in a bishopric which was 'not so great as it has been,'³ and the visit of James I to Lincoln⁴ gave the bishop an opportunity for flattering attentions which were presently rewarded by promotion to Durham (1617). He was followed by Dr. George Montaigne [or Mountain], a man described by a contemporary⁵ as 'inactive and addicted to voluptuousness, and one that

¹ *Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), iv, 385.

² Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* vii, 9.

³ Harrington in his *View of the Church* (1653), 81, speaks of Lincoln 'as not so great a Bishopric as it has been as I suspect from the oft removes from it.'

⁴ Nichol's *Progresses of James I*, iii, 264.

⁵ Heylin, *Life of Laud*, 166.

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loved his ease too well to disturb himself in the concernments of the church.' But he too got speedy promotion and passed on to London in 1621.

Meantime the tide of religious feeling in the county seems to have been flowing steadily in the direction of puritanism. In a letter to James I Dr. John Burges, rector of Sutton Coldfield,¹ gave the number of ministers in Lincolnshire who were unable to conform to the regulations laid down in the canons of 1603, as thirty-three; but there were many more remaining in the church who thought the liturgy 'too like a masse booke.'² Of this spirit the town of Boston offers a familiar instance, for from the point of view of conformity it merited Bishop Barlow's reproach as being 'a factious people imbued with a Puritan spirit.'³ Their minister, Dr. Cotton, has left a very full account of the practices of a puritan divine who just managed to conform in the early years of the century; he writes to his bishop⁴ that—

the ceremonies of ring in marriage, and standing at the creed are generally observed by myself, and other ceremonies of surplices, cross at baptism, kneeling at communion, are frequently used by my fellow ministers in our church. The people on Sabbath and sundry other festival days do very diligently and thoroughly frequent the public prayers of the church (and though) sundry do not kneel at communion, that is more from press of numbers.

He goes on to refute the idea that people from other parishes frequented his church in order that they might escape kneeling at communion, and assured the bishop that 'all the neighbouring parishes are thoroughly conformable.' The account of the Sunday afternoon service at Boston given by Bishop Neile's visitor in 1614⁵ confirms Dr. Cotton's account of the zeal of his congregation. The service began with the appointed prayers, psalms, and lessons, then the 'preacher of the Towne bestowed two hours in a sermon,' this was followed by more psalms, then the children were catechized, after that there was a psalm with two hours' 'explication'—the whole lasting over five hours. But the visitor remarked that 'there were as many sleepers as wakers.'

The 'liberty'⁶ which Dr. Cotton had enjoyed for nearly twenty years (he was appointed in 1612) came to an end when Laud brought in his stricter discipline, and Dr. Cotton resigned after being fined £50 in the Court of High Commission for inconformity:⁷ he eventually joined the emigrants who carried the name of Boston across the Atlantic. Lincolnshire was just 'on the edge' of the pilgrim district⁸ and was for a time connected with the movement through the Rev. John Smith, who formed a Separatist congregation at Gainsborough in 1606.⁹ Smith had resigned his living in Lincoln⁹ the year after the publication of the canons of 1603, but he had previously been imprisoned in London for inconformity. About 1608 he went with his congregation to Amsterdam and most of them eventually joined the Pilgrim Fathers.¹⁰ Nor were puritan sympathies confined to Boston, for

¹ Quoted in Neale's *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii, 44.

² *An abridgment of that booke which the ministers of Lincoln Diocese delivered to his Majesty upon the first of December last* (1605).

³ Letter from the bishop quoted in Thompson's *Hist. of Boston*, 414.

⁴ Add. MS. 6394.

⁵ In a letter to Strype. Add. MS. 5853, fol. 245.

⁶ 'Of all men I envy Dr. Cotton,' wrote a less fortunate puritan contemporary, 'for he doth nothing in way of conformity and yet hath his liberty.' Quoted in Thompson's *Hist. of Boston*, 417.

⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* cclxi, Feb. 1633-4.

⁸ Arber's *Pilgrim Fathers*, 54; *ibid.* 51.

⁹ *Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* xiv, app. viii.

¹⁰ Moor, *Hist. of Gainsborough*, 130.

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in the visitation of 1614¹ it was noted that there was 'not any forwardness among any of the ministers to have their children confirmed,' and that it was quite impossible to prohibit all the 'unauthorised lecturers' or many places would go quite unserved. The Articles of Visitation of this period reflect the anxiety with which the authorities watched the increase in these 'unauthorised lecturers.' Originally encouraged as a means of helping the parish priest who was incapable of preaching, the office of lecturer offered great opportunities to those who scrupled to conform to the liturgy. They were supposed to read prayers before the sermon twice a year at the least, and to conform to the orders of the Church of England² and to have a licence from the bishop, but the reiterated inquiry on these points shows that they were known to be often evaded. It is significant therefore that lecturers were much in demand in Lincolnshire. Grantham is reported³ as being visited by fourteen of these occasional preachers, Louth by twelve and 'would like two more,' Grimsby by eight, Horncastle by twenty, while Sleaford 'sued for but was denied a lecturer in my late lord's day.'⁴

The registers of the city of Lincoln⁵ contain constant references to the appointment of lecturers by the corporation and of the stipend allowed them, and in 1627 Edward Rayner, a well-known puritan divine, was admitted Sunday afternoon lecturer at a stipend of £20. In 1621 the care of the diocese passed to Dr. John Williams, who retained the deanery of Westminster and his prebendal stall at Lincoln *in commendam*. His duties as Lord Keeper, and after his resignation of that office his long embroilment with the king, which led to his trial in the Court of Star Chamber and ended in his complete disgrace, prevented his giving much personal attention to his diocese.⁶ His Articles of Visitation⁷ are, however, very carefully drawn up, with a view to ascertaining the condition of the churches and the extent to which the minister conformed to the liturgy. We gather from them that a properly equipped church would be provided with a large Bible,⁸ Book of Common Prayer, sufficient books of homilies, Erasmus his Paraphrase,⁹ Bishop Jewel's works, and the 'booke of God and the King' (a dialogue of the Oath of Allegiance put out by James I, 1615-16). Other necessities were a convenient pulpit with pulpit-cloth, decent seats for minister and clerk, a chest for the registers, a poor man's box, a decent font with a cover, a decent communion table with two covers—'one of silke or fine stuffe the other of linen'—a 'faire' surplice, a communion silver cup, and a 'stoop' for the wine. A book of the canons of 1603 was also required, as the minister was supposed to read them once a year.

Very few churches had this full equipment, but there are evidences here and there that the influence of Laud was not without its effect. In 1627

¹ Bishop Neale's first visitation reported, Add. MS. 5853, fol. 245.

² Bishop Williams' Articles of Visitation, 1625.

³ Add. MS. 5853, fol. 245. See Street, *Notes on Grantham*, for an account of 'the worthy society of Tuesday lecturers,' established 1620. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ *Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii.

⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* Jas. I, cxxii, 75. Williams got a special dispensation from personal attention to either diocese or deanery as long as he held the seal.

⁷ Dr. Williams' visitations of 1625 and of 1635 are given in full in the Appendix to the second *Report of the Ritual Commissioners*, 1858.

⁸ The churchwardens' accounts at Gainsborough for the year 1614 contain this item, 'To John Thompson for a Bybell £iii.'

⁹ At Sleaford, where there are remains of a chained library, may still be seen a black letter copy of the *Paraphrase* of Erasmus. Trollope's *Hist. of Sleaford*, 152.

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Peter Tytler, vicar of Grantham, provided for the better ordering of his church by moving the communion table to the east end of the chancel and railing it in. The puritan members of his congregation objected and appeal was made to the bishop,¹ who gave a somewhat ambiguous decision—‘it was not an altar but a fair joyned table provided by the churchwardens,’ and as to its standing altarwise, ‘I think something may be said for that.’ ‘I conceive it the most decent situation when not used.’ Into the war of pamphlets provoked by this pronouncement it is not necessary to go, but it explains the charge afterwards brought against Bishop Williams of ‘favouring Puritans and Nonconformists.’² As far as Grantham was concerned the decision made little difference, for Mr. Tytler seems to have left the table at the east end where Mr. Dix his successor found it in 1633.³ This was of course its position in the cathedral church, but in 1634 when Laud included Lincoln in his general archiepiscopal visitation,⁴ the church was in a very neglected condition.⁵ The table was ‘not very decent and the rail worse, the organ was old and naught, and the fabric secretly ruinous.’ The copes and vestments were embezzled and none remained; there were no seats in the body of the church; and there were said to be many prebendaries who had never seen the inside of the church, and who appointed incompetent men to preach for them. The surroundings of the church were even more discreditable. Ale houses, hounds and swine, occupied the churchyard ‘very offensively,’ and a special ‘monition under seal’ was sent to insist on the removal of the same. From other places in the county came the same report of indifference or ‘inconformity.’ Mr. Linold, of Healing, refused to use the surplice or the cross at baptism, and at Louth the church was out of repair, the churchyard indifferently kept, and both clergy and laity much given to drunkenness. Many churches were reported ‘in decay,’⁶ or without chancels⁷ and a chapel at Stow ‘had been profaned time out of mind and at fair time was used as a victualling house.’ The bishop tried afterwards to prove that Sir Nathaniel Brent (the visitor) had declared the diocese of Lincoln well governed and free from ‘inconformity,’⁸ but as far as the county was concerned this could not be maintained. In 1637 Laud supplemented this visitation by inquiries⁹ sent out to the clergy as to their incomes, and their answers confirm the assertion of Dr. Farmery,¹⁰ the chancellor of the diocese, that the clergy were poor in a poor county. The vicar of Hogsthorpe reported his living worth £10 and a house; Alford was worth £19, partly made up of fees (marriage 12*d.*, churching 1*d.*, no chrisom, burials 1*d.* and 2*d.*).

¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, lxxvii, 56.

² *S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, lxxxv, 1627.

³ Street, *Notes on Grantham*.

⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, cclx (89) and cclxiii (35), (42). Bishop Williams resisted Laud’s proposed visitation most strenuously, and even tried to get legal sanction for his claim for exemption, but Noy decided against him.

⁵ *S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, cclxxi (12).

⁶ An order for repairing Boston Church gives exact details of what was considered ‘decent.’ The seats were to be rebuilt so as to leave ‘a faire spacious alley in the middle,’ pavement to be relaid, gallery at east end to be moved to north end; glass windows and roof to be thoroughly repaired—inside to be ‘whited’ and adorned with texts, especially such as inculcated obedience to king’s majesty. Ten Commandments and king’s arms to be very fairly painted and put at east end, and ‘room over the porch to be repaired and made fit for a library, in case any well disposed person should leave books for same. Woodward’s Register, Stowe MS. 1058, fol. 192.

⁷ Hale was reported as having had no chancel for thirty years, though the impropriation was worth £200 p.a.

⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, cclxxxvi (47).

⁹ *Ibid.* ccclxxix (21).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* cxxxv. (37).

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St. Mary's, at Stamford, was only worth £12, and Dr. Farmery reported¹ that it was difficult to find a parson for it, the last incumbent having slipped away informally to a good benefice in Ireland. The Lincoln Corporation² leased the tithes of Hemswell for £30 per annum, and only paid their stipendiary vicar £11.³ The natural consequence of the ecclesiastical revenues being so largely in the hands of lay impropiators was that the 'necessary competence' of the vicar was cut down to a minimum. Among the exceptions to this may be noted Pinchbeck worth £100 and Belton-o-Hemingby worth £240.⁴

Although Bishop Williams showed himself so unexact in his demands for conformity, cases that came to the ears of Laud were sharply dealt with in the High Commission Court. The case⁵ of John Vicars, for instance, parson of St. Mary's, Stamford, occurs again and again in the records of that court. Accused of heretical opinions, of omitting ceremonies, and even of frequenting conventicles, Vicars was suspended, and was only reinstated after most humble submission and a full recantation of his errors in his parish church; while Richard Northan,⁶ curate of Haither [or Haydor], for omitting the cross at baptism, delivering the communion to parishioners seated, and for refusing to allow the King's Declaration as to Sports to be accepted in his parish, was fined £1,000, committed to the gatehouse during pleasure of the court, and condemned in costs of the suit. Attempts were also made to put down⁷ the lecturers and substitute catechizing by the parish priest, but with very little result, and by 1640 the opposition to Laud's policy had become so widespread in Lincolnshire that Dr. Robert Sanderson, rector of Boothby Paynell, assured Laud,⁸ with whom he was personally in sympathy, that there was very little hope that even the 'moderate and conforming kind of clergy' would accept the canons recently passed or take the new oath.⁹

Since 1637 Bishop Williams had been suspended¹⁰ and imprisoned in the Tower in connexion with a charge of libel, which had been one of the consequences of his case in the Star Chamber, from which he emerged with damaged reputation. He was restored to his diocese in 1640, but the following year was promoted to York. Like the other bishops of this period, he was little seen in his episcopal city, yet he undertook the restoration¹¹ of the palace at Lincoln, which he brought 'to as much strength and comeliness as when first inhabited.'

His successor, Thomas Winniffe, was consecrated 5 February, 1641-2; he was a man of well-known puritan sympathies¹² and was never charged with 'delinquency,'¹³ but on the confiscation of the bishop's lands in 1646 he retired to his living at Lambourne, where he died in 1654.

During the short period of his episcopacy, Lincolnshire, though not the scene of any important engagement, was the highway for the troops of both

¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, cccxcv (48).

² *Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii.

³ An inquiry made in 1616, Willis MS. fol. 39 (quoted in Trollope's *Sleaford and the Wapentake of Flaxwell*) showed that out of twenty-four small livings in the Sleaford district the best was only £40 per annum and the worst £5.

⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, cxxii, 114.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* ccccx (9), 1638-9.

⁶ Lambeth MS. 577, 259.

⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, ccclxiv (44).

⁸ Rep. of Arch. Soc. held at Lincoln, 1848.

⁹ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii, 23.

⁵ *S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, cciii, 30.

⁷ Stowe MS. 1058. Woodward's Register, fol. 197.

⁹ The 'etcetera' oath.

¹³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1654, p. 56.

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parties, and their respective adherents¹ in the church were alternately dispossessed or reinstated according to the varying fortunes of the war.

The rector of Welbourne, obliged 'to flee for his life,' ventured to return for his livelihood² and was put out by the earl of Manchester for neglecting his cure. The vicar of Holbeach³ had the misfortune to be twice taken prisoner of war, and was in consequence dispossessed for 'adhering to the forces raised against the Parliament.' One of the reasons given for ejecting Dr. Hurst of Barrowby⁴ was that he resided too near the king's garrison at Newark, though he was not known to have supported the forces in any way. He attacked the parliamentary leaders, however, with spiritual weapons,⁵ and they may, not unnaturally, have been irritated by the sermon in which he compared them to the four horns of Daniel. In Dr. Walter Hudson of Uffington Lincolnshire offers an example of the fighting parson, for, not content with being chaplain to the royal forces, Dr. Hudson did good service as scout-master-general, and in this capacity conducted the king in disguise to Newcastle. Dr. Hudson three times broke prison and was finally killed in a most heroic fight while commanding a body of horse as colonel. Lincolnshire being one of the seven associated counties came under the hand of the earl of Manchester and the ejectments began in the year 1644.⁶ It is difficult to get the exact numbers of all the clergy who suffered under the Commonwealth, but the number of those deprived of their livings was certainly over 120.⁷ Many of these are stigmatised as 'scandalous ministers,' but some of the offences that come under this head are 'refusing the company of godly ministers,' 'neglecting the lecture at Boston,' 'sending to an alehouse on Sunday and frequenting tobacco shops.' But the most usual cause of deprivation was, of course, open or suspected hostility to the new order, as in the case of Thomas Gibson,⁸ vicar of Horncastle, who was accused of paying obedience to the rules and orders of his church, defending episcopacy, and refusing the Covenant. But some at least of the Lincolnshire clergy managed to retain their livings without abjuring their church, and a notable instance of this may be seen in the experiences of Dr. Robert Sanderson⁹ of Boothby Pagnell. He suffered much ill-usage at the hands of the army, and was carried a prisoner to Lincoln, but being exchanged against 'a zealous and furious Covenanter' he managed to get the sequestration taken off his living and to continue in his parish until the Restoration. We have his own account¹⁰ of how he kept up the traditions of the church ritual. For some time he used the Prayer Book in spite of the ordinance for abolishing its use, not even omitting the prayers for the royal family and the bishops.

But one day the soldiers broke into the church, seized the book, and tore it to pieces. Sanderson then used part of the service 'more or less' as the

¹ A letter dated 27 March, 1643, from Sir Geo. Brooks to Sir Wm. Killigrew, gives the names of the following clergy indicted at Grantham for having joined Parliament against the king: Thomas Wallis of Swaton, Andrew Thornton of South Kyme, Thomas Scochey of Great Hale, Robert Ram of Spalding, Robert Alford of Sleaford, Samuel Lee of Burton Pedwardine. Quoted in Thompson's *Hist. of Boston*, 774.

² Walker, *Sufferings*, ii, 309.

³ *Notes on Holbeach*, 169.

⁴ W. E. Foster, *Plundered Ministers of Lincolnshire*.

⁵ Walker, *Sufferings*, ii, 270.

⁶ Walker (op. cit. i, 10) thinks all were ejected who would not take the Covenant, and has traced sixteen ejectments to the year 1644.

⁷ Mr. W. E. Foster has edited the *Plundered Ministers of Lincolnshire*, being the minutes of the Plundered Ministers' Committee as far as it refers to Lincolnshire. Add. MS. 15669.

⁸ Walker, op. cit. ii, 252.

⁹ Ibid. 105 and Izaak Walton's *Lives*.

¹⁰ Lathbury, *Book of Common Prayer*, 288-90.

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congregation allowed, until a complaint was lodged against him for disobeying the ordinance. Obligated to give up the use of the book, Sanderson still repeated the service by heart, slightly altering the form and the order, remodelling the litany for instance into short collects. How many of the conforming clergy followed his example it is impossible to say. Sanderson himself thought his neighbours too ready to give up the Prayer Book before they were required, but he advised them to take the 'engagement' when that oath was substituted for the Covenant in 1650, and some appear to have returned to their livings at this time.

The sufferings of the ejected clergy were probably much the same all over the country, though the very small incomes to which the intruders succeeded may have made it specially difficult for the deprived ministers of Lincolnshire to obtain the 'fifths' which were supposed to be set aside for their maintenance.¹ The following is a very typical case given by Walker.² 'Mr. Stratford (rector of Bassingham), after his ejection, applied himself to the usurper for his fifths, but could never obtain one farthing, and he died in great poverty dependent on the charity of friends.' Judging by the appeals made to the local committee for Lincolnshire,³ Mr. Stratford's case was a common one. Dr. Hurst⁴ of Barrowby, Dr. Johnson of Bracebridge,⁵ Dr. Weames of Gedney,⁶ Mr. Corbet of Healing,⁷ Mr. Gibson⁸ of Horncastle, are among those whose cases were considered. Mr. Prestland⁹ of Market Deeping got his fifths, but was afterwards ordered to leave the parish, as he would intrude himself into the church and preach. Sometimes the vicar in possession was difficult to dislodge, as at Morton, where Humphrey Boston remained in spite of sequestration: the justices of the peace were called in aid by the committee, and finally the serjeant-at-arms of the House of Commons was ordered to bring up Mr. Boston to answer for contempt.¹⁰

In spite of its puritan tendencies there is little evidence that Lincolnshire adopted the Presbyterian system to any great extent, though there was a 'classis' at Folkingham,¹¹ and the parishes of Pickworth, Billingborough, and Allington, sent their ministers as representatives.¹² Dr. Anthony Tuckney of Boston attended the Westminster Assembly in 1643, and Banks Anderson, chaplain to the mayor of Boston, and Edward Rayner of Lincoln, were summoned as elders to the Protector's Synod in 1658.¹³

Probably no part of the country offered a more favourable field than did Lincolnshire for the 'augmentation of livings,' which was so actively undertaken by Parliament, and for which the fines of delinquents and the confiscation of the cathedral endowments provided the means. Edward Dymoke of Kyme

¹ Fifths could be refused where the ejected minister already had £30 per annum of his own; this was pleaded in the case of Mr. Pennistone of Stickney. Foster, *Plundered Ministers*.

² Walker, op. cit. ii, 112.

³ The following appear as serving at some time on this committee: Montagu Cholmeley, Edward Ellis, William Saville (or Savin), Wm. Bury (Barry or Burne), John Disney, Wm. Thompson, Sir Th. Trollope, Kt., Mills, Peter Fallwood, John Archer, Humphrey Walcott, Richard Filkin, Wm. Lister, Richard Bryant, Hon. Francis Clinton Fines, Nathaniel Bacon. *Plundered Ministers of Lincolnshire*, Introduction, xxi.

⁴ Add. MS. 15671, fol. 173.

⁶ S.P. Int. Reg. i, fol. 350.

⁹ Ibid. 15671, fol. 82.

¹¹ Shaw, *Hist. of Eng. Church during Civil Wars and Commonwealth*, ii, 31.

¹² Calamy, *Memoirs of Nonconformists*, ii, 140 c; *Continuation*, 601-5.

¹³ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii, 25.

⁵ Ibid. 15670.

⁸ Ibid. 210.

¹⁰ Ibid. 139.

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had his fine reduced by £2,000 on condition of settling £100 each on the rectories of North and South Kyme, and on Billingham.¹

Edward Whichcott was allowed £500 for settling £50 per annum for ever on the minister of Harpswell, and Sir John Monson of South Carlton, had £351 remitted for settling £50 per annum for two lives as Parliament should appoint,² and when the vicar of Metheringham pleaded 'the smallness of his living and the greatness of his poverty' the committee was told to inquire what revenues belonging to deans and chapters there were in the county which might serve to raise the living to a competency.³ The minutes of the committee of augmentation give more than fifty instances in which small livings in Lincolnshire were increased in this way.⁴

As far as the clergy were concerned the relief thus afforded was very temporary, for naturally these enforced endowments were all resumed at the Restoration, but general attention had been called to an evil long recognized by the church authorities⁵ and the possibility of augmenting livings in more legal fashion was not again lost sight of.⁶

That the Restoration was welcomed by puritan as well as by orthodox clergy is shown by the address of congratulation offered 'by the ministers of the word of God in the county of Lincoln' which Dr. Sanderson presented accompanied by fourteen other ministers, among whom were Mr. Henry Vaughan and Mr. Lee, both of whom gave up their livings in 1662 rather than conform.⁷

Dr. Sanderson⁸ was at once asked to take up, at the advanced age of seventy-three, the work of reorganizing the shattered diocese. He acted as moderator⁹ in the Savoy Conference which settled the utmost limits of concession which the restored church would make to the puritan party, and to the ministers in his diocese who refused the oath in 1662, Sanderson acted with as much consideration as the law allowed.

Thirty-six incumbents in Lincolnshire felt obliged to resign their livings,¹⁰ and among them appear some well-known names, such as Edward Rayner¹¹ who since 1627 had been preacher at St. Peter's at the Arches, Lincoln, and Richard Northan, who had suffered so severely already in the High Commission Court.

Among those who managed to conform on the other hand were to be found a Calvinistic puritan like Obadiah Howe of Boston, who could boast of having entertained the parliamentary leaders after the battle of Winceby, and John Pymlow, son of a 'godly divine' of that name intruded into Holbeach in 1643, who not only succeeded to his father's living, but managed to get good promotion in the church for both of his sons.¹² At Claypole, Mr. Redman, another of the 'intruded ministers,' at first refused the oath but afterwards conformed,¹³ and at Barrowby John Elwood did the same.¹⁴ George Beck who left Allington, and Christopher Read of Bassingham, had also displaced legal incumbents during the Commonwealth. In many cases the

¹ Shaw, *op. cit.* ii, 486.

² Add. MS. 15670, fol. 179.

³ See Laud's Letter to Charles I on this point.

⁴ Kennett's *Case of Impropriations*, 405, 296.

⁵ Calamy, *Continuation*, ii, 596, 605.

⁶ Izaak Walton's *Life of Bp. Sanderson*.

⁷ *Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii.

⁸ Calamy, *Continuation*, ii, 605.

⁹ *Ibid.* 484.

¹⁰ See extracts in Foster's *Plundered Ministers*, *passim*.

¹¹ Stubbs' *Registrum*, 98.

¹² Calamy, *Memorial*, Palmer's Abridgement, ii, 139-63.

¹³ Book of Institutions, R.O. 31 Oct. 1661.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 606.

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old incumbents quietly resumed their places, or where they found any difficulty petitioned for reinstatement.

Dr. South of Uffington returned in this way, having been deprived during the war in favour of Henry Field,¹ and John Cope, on the grounds that he had been sequestered from Corringham, begged for the prebend of Stow.²

One feature of the restored church was specially noticeable in Lincolnshire—the comparatively large body of organised dissent outside its borders. The Presbyterians and Independents received an accession to their numbers through the ejectments of 1662. Thomas Spademan, obliged to give up Althorpe in the Isle of Axholme, became minister to a Presbyterian congregation in Boston, while in Lincoln, three dispossessed incumbents, Rayner, Scortworth, and Abdy, continued to minister to those who objected to the restored liturgy. Among these was Mr. Disney, who for a time allowed Mr. Drake, ejected from Pickworth, to hold a conventicle in his house.³

The Baptists were also a considerable body, and during the century that followed the civil wars appear to have been the strongest sect in Lincolnshire.⁴ As early as 1644, a small congregation of Baptists was formed in the South Marshes, which in 1653 was joined by John Grantham,⁵ a man of great zeal though little education, who could boast that he had planted fourteen churches in Lincolnshire.

The Restoration brought them no relief from the persecution they had suffered under the Commonwealth, and John Grantham, who presented no less than three memorials to Charles II on behalf of his fellow worshippers, claimed ‘that not less than one hundred persons have been imprisoned among the Lincolnshire congregations, and at least one thousand had been indicted at assizes for amounts varying from 2*d.* a week to £20 a month.’⁶ The number of licences demanded for preachers during the short-lived toleration of 1672 gives some idea of the strength of dissent in Lincolnshire.⁷ Licences were asked for houses at Fulbeck, Frieston, Swinderby, Ashby-de-la-Launde, and Leasingham, all for Presbyterian ministers. James Abdy asked to have Mr. Powell’s house at Lincoln licensed for him, and Richard Wale at Pinchbeck desired his own house might be used for an Anabaptist conventicle, and the bishop wrote that five houses at Lincoln had been licensed for ‘Anabaptists.’⁸ Altogether twenty-six houses were licensed for Baptists and nineteen for Presbyterians.

In 1652 George Fox first visited Lincolnshire,⁹ and at Gainsborough ‘found a Friend had been already declaring the truth in the market-place,’ so his teaching had preceded him, and he had a very earnest, if not very large, following in the county. In 1654 a certain ‘Sheriff of Lincolnshire’ was converted, and there followed ‘a large convincement in those parts,’¹⁰ and in 1666 all the Friends in the county met at the house of Robert Craven (the convinced sheriff).

The peculiar tenets of the Quakers exposed them to more severe persecution than any other sect, and about the year 1661 the Session Rolls had

¹ *S. P. Dom.* Chas. II, xii, 84.

² *Ibid.* viii (9).

³ Dr. Walter Wilson’s MS. Account of Various Congregations in Dr. Williams’ Library.

⁴ *Ibid.* pt. iii, 163.

⁵ Crosby, *Hist. of the Baptists* (1738–40), vols. ii, iii, iv.

⁶ ‘Narrative and Complaint,’ signed by thirty-five General Baptists in Lincolnshire, and Christianimus Primitivus, bk. ii, pt. 2, 6.

⁷ *S. P. Dom.* Chas. II, Ent. Book, 38*a*, 127.

⁸ *Ibid.* No. 75.

⁹ Foxe’s *Journal*, i, 101.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1654.

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such records as the following—John Whitehead and John Cleaseby, indicted for refusing the oath of allegiance, fined £5 each, 14 December, 1661; twelve Quakers taken at a meeting refused to swear and are committed to prison.¹

On the whole the severities of the Clarendon Code seem to have had as little effect in Lincolnshire in checking the growth of dissent during the twenty-five years which followed the Restoration as it had in other parts.

On the death of Dr. Sanderson, in 1663, the bishopric was given to Dr. Benjamin Laney,² whose sufferings during the rebellion and his attendance on Charles II in exile entitled him to promotion. He had occupied the see of Peterborough for three years before being promoted to Lincoln, and he passed on to Ely in 1667. His administration of the diocese was marked by its moderation, and by his conciliatory attitude to the nonconforming clergy. 'Not I but the law' had been his comment on the St. Bartholomew evictions, and he is said to have 'looked through his fingers' as much as possible.³

His successor William Fuller (1667 to 1685), on the other hand, reverted to the Laudian ideal of uniformity and he urged the civil authorities to greater zeal in carrying out the laws, writing at length to the aldermen of Grantham to commend them for the way in which they had broken up a conventicle and suggesting Sir Robert Carr as a man who would help to put down dissent.⁴ He was much disturbed when licences were offered to dissenters and asked for a return of the preachers in his diocese, adding 'all these licensed persons grow violent and increase strangely. The orthodox poor clergy are out of heart; shall nothing be done to support them against the Presbyterians, who grow and multiply faster than the others?'⁵ On visiting his diocese in 1671, he was able to report that he was everywhere well received, and found old and young anxious for confirmation, and that he could send a list of parishes where there was not one separatist.

He was quite aware, however, that all within the church were not loyal to her teaching, and he inserted the new article of inquiry into his visitation of 1668. Are there any that impeach the royal supremacy or think it lawful to make rules for the church without the king's consent?⁶ The part of the inquiry which relates to the fabric of the churches gives some idea of the ruinous condition in which many were left after the years of neglect, and sometimes of abuse, from which in 1668 they had hardly begun to recover. In many churches the communion plate had disappeared, the bells and the lead from the roof had been melted down, and the actual timber and stone work had been carried off. At Sleaford the painted glass was all broken, the seating torn up, the organ destroyed, and the brass eagle lectern broken up for the sake of the metal.⁷ At Lincoln over two hundred gravestones had been stripped of their brass,⁸ and the churches of St. Peter in Eastgate, St. Michael on the Mount, St. Swithin, and St. Botolph, which were standing in 1640,⁹ were reported as ruined a few years later.¹⁰ St. Peter at the Arches,

¹ *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, Joseph Besse, 1753, i, 345.

² Kennet's *Register*, 376.

³ Calamy, *Memorials*, 98.

⁴ Add. MS. 34769, fol. 70.

⁵ *S. P. Dom.* Chas. II, cccxv, 75.

⁶ Appendix of second *Report of Ritual Commissioners*, 1858, p. 497.

⁷ Trollope's *Hist. of Sleaford*, 152.

⁸ Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedrals*, vol. iii, 31, ed. 1742.

⁹ Add. MS. 34140, fol. 30.

¹⁰ Browne Willis, *op. cit.* pp. 4, 5.

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the church of the corporation, was so badly out of repair in 1656-7 that it became necessary to do something that the 'heads of the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council be kept dry,' but they took care to say that this was 'not to be drawn into a precedent, nor disengage the parishioners from repairing the church.'¹ Bishop Fuller took great interest in the restoration of the cathedral, to which he contributed generously, and he is buried there, under a raised monument behind the high altar.²

The episcopacy of Thomas Barlow³ (1675-92) is chiefly remarkable for the complete indifference with which he regarded the needs of his diocese, and his connexion with his cathedral city was limited to a present of £100, which he sent that Lincoln might not think him unkind.⁴ He excused himself from visiting the city by pleading age and infirmities and also that 'there was no house there.' The palace so carefully restored by Bishop Williams had been practically destroyed during the Civil War,⁵ but although the corporation offered a house in the close which had been occupied by Bishop Fuller, Barlow preferred to pass his time in 'learned leisure' at Buckden. He never even visited his diocese to perform the rite of confirmation, which during his time seems to have been totally neglected, except for the 'persons of good quality,' who received confirmation in the chapel of his palace.⁶

On one occasion, however, the 'profound learning in the Canon and Civil Law' with which Barlow was credited,⁷ was employed on a case concerning a Lincolnshire church which came before the Court of Arches in 1684. The parishioners of Moulton desired to set their church in order, and in addition to 'whitening and painting' they asked⁸ that they might remove the communion table to the east end and rail it in instead of allowing it to be moved down the church at celebration; this was now the usual, though not by any means the universal, custom;⁹ but they wished to go further and set up pictures of the apostles and other emblems in the chancel. The surrogate granted a faculty, but the bishop intervened at the instance of Mr. Tallent, the vicar, who urged that 'effigies in any church or chapel are very dangerous.' The parishioners, however, 'pleading an honest and pious intent to beautify the church,' appealed, and Sir Richard Lloyd, then dean of the Arches, taking their view, they were allowed to keep the pictures.¹⁰

When the Revolution brought the problem of transferring allegiance from James II to William III, there were seventeen clergymen in the diocese of Lincoln who refused the new oaths and had to leave their livings when the period of grace expired in 1690.¹¹ There was, however, another and much larger body of nonjurors in the county among the 'popish

¹ *Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 103.

² Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedrals*, iii, 70.

³ *Athenae Oxonienses*, iv, 335.

⁴ Letter of Dr. Thomas Barlow, *Genuine Remains*, 256.

⁵ *Linc. Notes and Queries*, i, 35, and *Rep. Arch. Soc.* held at Lincoln, 1848.

⁶ 'Epistle dedicatory to Dr. Barlow's *Directions for the Choice of Books*,' William Offley, 1699.

⁷ *Athenae Oxonienses*, iv, 385 (ed. Bliss).

⁸ Woodward's Register. Stowe MS. 1058, B.M. fol. 306b.

⁹ Ten years later St. Michael's at Stamford made the same request. *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Breviate of the Case for Setting up of Images in Moulton Church*, by Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln.

¹¹ Extracts from the Bishop's Registers, 1688-1705 are given in the *Dioc. Mag.* for Dec. 1903; and this list, which differs from Overton (nonjurors), includes the incumbents of the following places in the county: West Rasen, Waddington, Aswardby, Kettlethorpe, Searby, Pinchbeck, Mumby, Butterwick, Freiston, Nettleton, Saltfleetby St. Clement, S. Somercotes. Robert Carr, prebendary of Lincoln, was also among the nonjurors.

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recusants,' as they were still called, and an Act¹ which was passed after the Rebellion of 1715 obliging them to register their names and estates gives some idea of their numbers. Seventy-two names² of papists having lands in Lincolnshire are recorded, and the scrutiny appears to have been a careful one, for in addition to well-known names like Thomas Heneage of Cadeby, Dorothy Thimelby of Irnham, William Thorold of Panton, and others who held manors in the county, appear also the names of quite humble people like Thomas Spurr and Thomas Jenkins, joint tenants in fee of a cottage at £1 10s. and Thomas White, joiner, with a freehold at Morton worth £1 7s. These papists seem to have excited alarm quite out of proportion to their numbers. Bishop Edmund Gibson spoke of them in 1716, as being 'as diligent as ever in corrupting and seducing the members of our community.'³ And on 18 Feb. 1712-3 John Disney⁴ writes to Henry Newman telling him that a popish priest had been taken 'in the parts of Lindsey,' while baptizing a child 'supposed to be Protestant.' The minister of the parish had seized him in the act and carried him before a justice of the peace, but by some 'shuffling' between the justice and a Roman Catholic gentleman present, the case was put off till next day and meantime the priest escaped. The writer regrets the inter-marriages of Protestants and Catholics and wishes it could be stopped by Act of Parliament.

Bishop Tenison succeeded Barlow in 1692, and is spoken of as a prelate who attempted to restore a large and neglected diocese to some discipline and order, and as being recommended to his majesty's favour by his piety and moderation towards dissenters,⁵ which qualities procured his promotion to Canterbury in 1694. It is from the visitations of his successors, James Gardiner (1695-1704) and William Wake (1705-15), that we get the best account of the condition of the church in Lincolnshire at the close of the seventeenth century. Bishop Gardiner was welcomed by the Lincolnshire clergy as 'one of themselves, neither ignorant of their persons nor their needs.'⁶ He had held the living of Epworth, the prebend of Stow, and since 1671 had been sub-dean of the cathedral, so his knowledge of the county was extensive. Judging by his reports the abuses complained of in Laud's day still prevailed to a great extent. In some churches the Common Prayer was seldom read, or not the whole or not in due order, and the fasts and feasts of the church unaccountably neglected. The chancels were in some cases wholly disused 'and in more nastie condition than any cottager would keep his house,' and communicants still expected to be served in their seats 'in spite of the great inconvenience of consecrating in the alley of a church and delivering the bread and wine over the heads and treading on the feet of those that kneel.'⁷

Among the moral defects against which the clergy were warned intemperance⁸ has a prominent place, and alehouses and taverns evidently still

¹ Add MS. 15629, headed 'Popish Recusants Convict and Papists who have registered their Estates,' &c., later endorsed 'On a project that Papists should pay two-thirds of their income to the support of the government.'

² Estcott and Payne, *English Catholic Nonjurors* (preface).

³ Bishop Gibson's *Primary Charge*, 1717.

⁴ Stowe MS. 48, fol. 99.

⁵ *Memoirs of Life and Times of Tenison*, 19.

⁶ Preface to *A Discourse of Licences to preach*, Jas. Metford, rector of Bassingham, 1698.

⁷ Bishop Gardiner's charge in his primary visitation.

⁸ Richard Lee, vicar of Crowland 1654-71, was one of the drunken ministers George Fox encountered (quoted in *Fenland Notes and Queries*, i, 313), and who, with the assistance of the clerk, half murdered him with tongs and shovel.

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offered temptations. But the 'covetousness of men of great preferments' which led them 'to cheapen curates,' and contract with them for £20 to £30 a year, was still more severely censured and stigmatised as 'a scandalous practice which makes scandalous curates.'

The burden of so great a diocese made Gardiner regret the absence of rural deans, 'an office unhappily disused in this diocese,' but he was active in his own supervision and, in pleasing contrast to Bishop Barlow, performed the sacred office of confirmation for days together in Lincoln Cathedral.¹

From Bishop Wake's returns² it appears that the smaller parishes had to be content with service on alternate Sundays, and although in the larger ones there were generally two Sunday services and sometimes prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, yet the celebration of the communion was very infrequent; three to four times a year being an average return, six times or monthly being very rare.

Some attempt had been made since the Restoration to remove one of the causes of this parochial neglect, which was recognized to be the great poverty of the lesser clergy. The cathedral chapter, for instance, had made grants of £129 13s. 4d. to ten small livings, and the corporation of Lincoln had augmented the living of Belton by £10 per annum, and had moreover appointed 'the ablest, ancientest and discreetest parishioners to consider the question of uniting some of the smaller livings in the city.'³ They recommended later that livings under £14 per annum should be united and that superfluous churches should be pulled down, so that benefices not above the value of 30s. might be got rid of, such not being 'competent to honest living.' From the prebend of Corringham a grant was made of £40 per annum to the curate of Stow and of £16 to the vicar of Corringham, and the sub-dean granted £22 to Clifton.⁴

But in spite of these and like efforts,⁵ the stipend of a curate or vicar in Lincolnshire was often too small to provide learned or competent parish priests, and the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty found that there were still 450 livings in the country under £50 per annum.⁶

Yet that many of these poor parsons lived very creditable and hard-working lives, distinguished not only by piety but by intellectual activity, there is trustworthy evidence. Samuel Wesley, the elder, successively incumbent of Ormsby⁷ and of Epworth, is perhaps an exceptional character, but he asserts that out of fifty parishes known to him personally, not ten of which had as much as threescore pounds yearly, he did not know above three or four clergymen who disgraced their character.⁸ Yet if Epworth is a typical parish the task of these clergy must often have been a thankless one; out of

¹ Offley, *Preface to Barlow's Directions*, &c.

² Bishop Wake's returns were kept so methodically that it is possible to see the condition of almost every parish in the county; an account of them is given in *Linc. Dioc. Hist.* 327.

³ *Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 105.

⁴ Kennet, *Case of Improvements*, 337.

⁵ Dr. Richard Busby also remembered the 'poor and necessitous ministers of Lincoln,' and left them a large share of his benefaction of £200 per annum for augmentation of livings, and Bishop Sanderson left £100 to build a 'mansion house' for the vicars of Grantham. *Ibid.* 296.

⁶ Return made by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, 1736.

⁷ Ormsby was worth £50 per annum and the living of Epworth, in the gift of the crown, was at this time nominally worth £200 per annum, but Wesley was deeply in debt when he took it, twice had his house burnt down and had nineteen children, and had to struggle with debts all his life. *Grimsby Methodism*, G. Lester, 142.

⁸ *Athenian Oracle*, 382.

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a population of about two thousand the average number of communicants at the monthly celebration was not more than twenty, and Wesley reports¹ that 'his people were so extremely ignorant that not one in twenty can say the Lord's Prayer and not one in thirty the Belief.' He could boast, however, that there were no Papists or Presbyterians in the parish, only some Anabaptists and Quakers.

Wesley was not only very active in his parochial duties,² but he found time to publish various works on religious subjects and often visited London to preach or attend meetings.

The practice of obliging incumbents to take out special licences to preach, which had been in force since the canons of 1603, was given up about this time,³ and it probably marks the disappearance of the special lecturers who had been such a thorn in the side of the church during the seventeenth century.

Edmund Gibson, who was appointed to the see in 1716, on the translation of Bishop Wake to Canterbury, urged on his clergy the necessity of giving 'additional care to their sermons' now that preaching was left entirely to incumbents, and he also urged them to study a little more theology that they might keep pace with the dissenters, 'whose teachers are more learned than in former days.'⁴

In 1723 Gibson was promoted to London and was succeeded by Richard Reynolds, who had already been for one year at Bangor in succession to the famous Hoadley. From the careful visitation⁵ of his diocese, made with the help of his son George, who was his archdeacon, we get a curious glimpse of the church life in Lincoln in the middle of the eighteenth century. Four parishes in the city had no churches at all,⁶ of the other eight only one, St. Peter's at the Arches, had service on Sunday mornings, the services at the others varying from three and four times a year to every Sunday afternoon. The two bishops who followed Reynolds, John Thomas (1744-61) and John Green (1761-79), did not contribute much of interest to the ecclesiastical history of the county, though it is recorded of Bishop Green that he was very zealous in regard to the rite of confirmation and in 1771 confirmed over five thousand persons in Lincolnshire alone.⁷

Thomas Thurlow (1779-87) owed his advancement in the church to the advocacy of his brother, the laxness of whose morals he appears to have condoned.⁸ He continued to hold the deanery of St. Paul's *in commendam*⁹ and saw little of his diocese.

¹ Wesley's Report of his parish to the Religious Society in London.

² He required his curate to catechize every Sunday as a matter of course (*Athenian Oracle*) and started a 'Religious Society' in 1702.

³ Bishop Wake, in his charge 1706, announces his intention of only demanding licences from curates and deacons in future.

⁴ Bishop Gibson's charge at his primary visitation.

⁵ Returns at Lincoln dated 1743 and supposed to refer to Reynold's visitation. See *Dioc. Hist. of Linc.* 331, 1728.

⁶ Browne Willis, *Cathedral Churches of Lincoln*, says that the ruined churches of St. Swithin, St. Michael's Mount, St. Peter's Eastgate, and St. John Baptist, Newport, were still counted parochial.

⁷ *Gent. Mag.*, 1779, 234; and *Dioc. Hist.* 335.

⁸ In spite of Lord Thurlow's living openly with a mistress his house was not only frequented by his brother the bishop, but by ecclesiastics of all degrees. *Lives of the Chancellors*, v, 656.

⁹ Probably he agreed with Bishop Newton, who said that the diocese of Lincoln was 'so very large and laborious, so very extensive and expensive that it really requires a good commendam to support it with any dignity.' Quoted by Overton, p. 285 of *Church in the 18th cent.* ed. 1887.

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But before this time Lincolnshire had been drawn into the circle of evangelical revival through the connexion of the Wesleys with the county. Before he began his missionary work, John Wesley had been for a short time curate to his father,¹ but when he returned to Epworth in 1742² it was to find himself shut out from the church by Mr. Romney the curate, whose attitude was unfortunately typical of that of the church in general to this 'reaction against formalism in doctrine and in government.'³

Mr. Romney took the opportunity of preaching a sermon on the dangers of 'enthusiasm' in religion, but after attending the service Wesley preached from his father's tombstone 'to such a congregation as I believe Epworth never saw before.'

Seven years later (1749) Lincolnshire became one of the first 'circuits' formed in the country,⁴ and in spite of mob violence⁵ and much hostility from the clergy the revival made rapid progress. A society was started at Grimsby in 1743 by John Nelson, which was visited nineteen times by Wesley, who also preached at Winterton, Barrow, North Elkington, Scotter, Alkborough, South Brigg, and Cleethorpe.⁶ No society was, however, started in the city of Lincoln until 1788, though Wesley had preached in the court-house in 1780⁷ and on the castle hill the following year. The first Methodist meeting-house was near Gowt's Bridge,⁸ but in 1789 a chapel was built between the high bridge and the swing bridge to hold five or six hundred persons, and by 1796 the society was considered 'well established.' Wesley gives a very striking account of his tour through Lincolnshire, when as an old man of eighty-five he visited the 'Societies.'⁹ Crowds came to hear him in Louth, and the 'gentry at Twiford requested him to preach in the Market place,' while at Lincoln he addressed a 'large congregation of rich and poor in Mr. Fisher's yard.' He records also how he strove to persuade his followers at Epworth that it was their duty to attend the ministrations of Mr. Gibson in the parish church, but they were fast drifting into complete separation, and Wesley knew that on this point even his authority was unavailing.¹⁰ Up to the year 1800 the followers of Wesley were still distinguished from the Nonconformists and regarded as doubtful church members, but a conference¹¹ held in the Lincoln diocese in 1799 shows that the clergy were much alarmed at the rapid increase in the number of Methodists.

The number of real dissenters¹² was thought to be small and not increasing, but Methodists¹³ entered parishes 'where till then the greatest harmony prevailed, and entice those that have most itching ears.'

¹ Tyerman, *Life and Times of Wesley*, i, 56.

² Wesley's *Journal*, 5 June, 1742.

³ Abbey and Overton's *Engl. Ch. in the 18th cent.*

⁴ A. Watmough, *Hist. of Methodism in Neighbourhood and City of Lincoln*, 7.

⁵ Robert Mitchel, one of the first preachers, was arrested at Wrangle near Boston, thrown into a pond and nearly drowned, then painted white from head to foot, and after further ducking turned out of the parish with only an old coat to cover him. *Ibid.* 11.

⁶ G. Lester, *Grimsby Methodism*, and Wesley's *Journal*, *passim*.

⁷ Wesley's *Journal*, iv, 18.

⁸ *Grimsby Methodism*, 25.

⁹ Wesley's *Journal*, iv, 1788 (July).

¹⁰ 'If I cannot carry this point while I live how will it be after my death?' Wesley's *Journal*, 6 July, 1788.

¹¹ *Report from the clergy of a district in the diocese of Lincoln*, published 1800.

¹² According to a MS. statement as to number of dissenters in 1777 (now in Dr. Williams' library) there were only twenty-two properly organized congregations in Lincolnshire, of which two were Independent, four Presbyterian, and the rest Baptist.

¹³ A. Watmough in the *Hist. of Methodism in Neighbourhood and City of Lincoln* states that there were thirty societies with a total of 1,050 members in 1824, p. 113.

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As a remedy against these 'fanatic and seditious preachers' the parish clergy were admonished to show more zeal in performing their duties, to avoid unbecoming levity in dress, and to set examples in worldly moderation.¹ This meeting in itself is evidence that the church was waking up from its lethargy and other signs of life were not wanting. In 1795 a meeting, held at the house of Mr. Pugh, vicar of Rauceby, to discuss how a legacy of £4,000 might be laid out to the best advantage in spreading the knowledge of the Gospel, proved to be the foundation of the society which in 1812 was called the 'Church Missionary Society.'²

In the conference of 1799 in which the clergy considered the weak points in church organization, they did not touch on what was perhaps the greatest evil of the time—the non-residence of many of the parochial clergy. A few examples will illustrate the prevalence of this evil in Lincolnshire:—At Whaplode³ in 1802 the vicar, the Rev. Philip Fisher, held also a living in Huntingdonshire, a stall in Salisbury Cathedral, and was master of Charterhouse; he never even visited his Lincolnshire cure, but left it entirely to the curate, to whom, however, he paid what was a generous stipend in those days, £100 per annum. Holbeach, Moulton, Weston, and Gedney were also in the hands of non-resident vicars,⁴ and Dr. Johnson of Spalding, who was an active magistrate, also lived away from his parish. In 1827 the Rev. Maurice Johnson⁵ wrote to ask for a renewal of his licence of non-residence, explaining that he held the impropriation of Moulton, was the patron and the vicar, having been instituted on his own petition, and 'having uninterruptedly held the same to this day,' yet for forty-six years he had resided at Spalding. There is also a tradition⁶ at this time of 'forty rectors holding high festival at Louth⁷ while their flocks starved on the wolds.'

There was considerable activity in Lincolnshire in the eighteenth century in the repair and rebuilding of churches, a notable instance being St. Peter at the Arches, which occupied the attention of the corporation during the best part of the century. In 1719 it was agreed⁸ that '£1,000 at interest should be taken up by the city' for the rebuilding of St. Peter's at the Arches, and in 1723 £600 more was voted for its completion; and later a further sum was voted for an altar-piece and eight bells; in 1758 new communion plate was bought, in 1786 a grant was made for the choir, and in 1793 a salary of £12 12s. was voted for the organist. At Gainsborough⁹ the church seems to have got beyond repair before the middle of the century, and in 1735–6 the town got a private Act of Parliament passed to empower it to assess the inhabitants for the rebuilding of the church—£2,500 to be raised by this means. But either they did not get so much or it did not prove sufficient, for in 1740 they got a further Act to allow them to levy a tax on all coal delivered in the town to enable them to complete the work.

A more usual method of raising funds for this purpose was to obtain a brief which allowed collections to be made all over the country. In 1777 the

¹ *Report from the Clergy of a District, &c.*

² Overton, *The Evangelical Revival*, 139.

³ W. E. Foster, *Account of St. Mary's Church, Whaplode*, 58.

⁴ *Fenland Notes and Queries*, i, 51.

⁵ *Ibid.* 52. Where copy of letter is given.

⁶ Moor, *Deanery of Corringham*, 32.

⁷ Louth seems to have been a favourite centre for non-resident clergy, and Bishop Kaye undertook to 'disturb this nest of rooks.' Overton and Wordsworth, *Life of Christopher Wordsworth*, 227.

⁸ *Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 116.

⁹ *Gainsborough*, Adam Stark, 1817.

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parish church of Reston¹ in Lindsey, being in a state of 'complete decay,' a brief for repairs was granted; and in 1822 Wainfleet procured a brief permitting it to collect for the erection of a new church, the old one being unsafe; a second petition stated that only £133 had been collected towards the £2,565, which was the least required, and further leave was granted for a house-to-house collection.

The taste shown at this time in the interior decoration of churches was not very happy if Rowston Church be a fair example; here in 1741 the chancel screen within the chancel arch was entirely smothered by a huge wooden erection² on which were painted a façade representing some classical building, the royal arms, the tables of commandments, and the arms of the donor, Mrs. Millicent Neate.

In 1787, on Thurlow's promotion to Winchester, Dr. Pretymen Tomline,³ the friend and biographer of Pitt, was appointed to succeed him. He was credited by his contemporaries with the possession of 'a peculiarly judicious mind,'⁴ but he was more occupied with public events⁵ than with the details of his diocese, though he composed his 'Elements of Christian Theology' expressly for his ordination candidates, who seem to have impressed him chiefly by their ignorance.

Dr. Tomline was translated to Winchester in 1820, and was succeeded by George Pelham, who occupied the see for seven years, but left no special traces of his activity in Lincolnshire. But with the appointment of Dr. John Kaye,⁶ when Bishop Pelham was translated to Exeter in 1827, the modern administration of the diocese may be said to have begun. He revived the office of rural dean, and ten years after his appointment had the satisfaction of seeing his diocese reduced at last to a more workable size. By the Act 1 Vict. Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire, and Hertfordshire were taken away, while Nottinghamshire was temporarily added. When he first took up his work he found 'non-residence the rule among his clergy, residence the exception,'⁷ and he announced in his first charge⁸ that he intended to take gradual steps to put an end to this state of things. So successful were his efforts in this direction that the reproach that rested on Lincoln of being the county 'beyond any other that furnishes instances of pluralities, of non-residence, and of insufficient performance of the services,'⁹ was in a fair way to be removed. In the beginning of 1852,¹⁰ out of the five hundred and ninety-five benefices of the county of Lincoln, three hundred and forty-three were occupied by resident incumbents, while forty-three more were residing within two or three miles, one hundred and thirty-three were exempt from residence as having other preferment, eighty-seven non-resident by licence, forty-eight on account of there being no house, and thirty-seven on account of ill-health; while of the eighty-seven who had licence to

¹ Brief for repair of Parish Church of Reston. B. xviii, 3 (British Museum).

² Ven. Edward Trollope, *Sleaford*, 292.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁴ Letter to the bishop of Lincoln on his Charge to his Clergy, 1815, in which he had attacked the Bible Society.

⁵ His charge for 1794, for instance, deals chiefly with the causes of the French Revolution; those of 1803-11 were afterwards published as part of his refutation of Calvinism; and that of 1812 was directed chiefly against Catholic Emancipation.

⁶ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁷ Bishop Kaye's Charge to his Clergy, 1852.

⁸ Charge of 1828 reprinted in *Nine of Bishop Kaye's Charges*, edited by W. F. J. Kaye.

⁹ Charge of 1849. Ibid.

¹⁰ Note to Charge of 1852. Ibid.

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reside away, twenty-four performed the duty in person. There were still one hundred benefices under £100 per annum, and these appear to have been almost the only ones held in plurality. That these changes bore hardly on some of the clergy we have an instance in the case of John Wray,¹ vicar of Bardney (1829), who served three churches, one as vicar and two as curate. In 1826 he had been deprived of one curacy by the archbishop, and he considered it a great hardship when Bishop Kaye ordered him to give up the other on the plea that Bardney parish contained a thousand people, and that there ought to be two services on Sunday. Wray pleaded that as vicar his income was something under £70 per annum, and that he had thirteen children, and he sent a list of places to the bishop giving instances of parishes² with more than one thousand inhabitants where there was only one service on Sunday. But the bishop only thanked him for calling his attention to these churches which were insufficiently served, and refused to reconsider his decision in the case of Bardney.

In 1852 the project for a new diocese,³ of which Nottingham was to form a part, was already under consideration, but was not actually carried into effect until thirty years later, though the closer connexion of the bishopric with Lincoln by the erection of a new palace⁴ at Riseholme took place in Bishop Kaye's time. Although an advocate of more ceremonious ritual, and a student of the early fathers, Kaye was evangelical rather than high church in his views. He opposed the revival of convocation,⁵ upheld the Gorham judgement on the baptismal⁶ question, and regarded the 'Oxford Movement' with suspicion. His work was carried on by Dr. Jackson⁷ (1853-68), who united the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham for church purposes by extending the ruri-decanal system. The diocese was, however, still too large for the close supervision which was now the rule, and Bishop Wordsworth⁸ (1867-85) procured the appointment of a suffragan bishop for Nottinghamshire.

In 1871 the experiment of reviving the Diocesan Synod was made, and though only one of these exceptional meetings was held it gave rise to the Diocesan Conference of clergy and laity which has since met annually.⁹

Bishop Wordsworth, realising the extent to which Lincolnshire was still the 'stronghold of Wesleyanism,' issued a pastoral letter to the Wesleyan Methodists inviting them to return to the church of their founder, but nothing but violent controversy was the result of this attempt to extend the borders of the church. Poor benefices were still the characteristic of Lincolnshire, and Wordsworth helped to organize the 'Association'¹⁰ for augmenting the incomes of the poorer benefices of the county of Lincoln.' He found that there were still a large number of small parishes served by visiting clergy from the neighbouring town, and he did not rest until almost every little village had its parsonage.

Dr. Wordsworth, although not a Tractarian, was still a very important factor in the Anglican revival,¹¹ and through him the church in Lincolnshire

¹ Correspondence between the Lord Bishop of Lincoln and the Rev. John Wray, 1829.

² Ibid. Parishes named being Caister, Coningsby (where curate held a second church), Grimsby, St. Martin's, Lincoln, Horncastle, St. Swithin, Louth.

³ Bishop's Charge, 1852.

⁴ *Notes and Queries* (Seventh Ser.), xii, 345.

⁵ *Nine of Bishop Kaye's Charges*.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁸ Overton and Wordsworth, *Life of Christopher Wordsworth*.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Association for augmenting the incomes of poorer benefices of the county of Lincoln.

¹¹ Overton, *The Anglican Revival*, 138.

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was drawn into the movement. He revived the triennial visitation of his diocese, and extended his influence over the clergy through the 'Scholae Cancellarii,'¹ which was instituted at Lincoln. Dr. Wordsworth resigned the see in 1885, but he lived long enough to see the subdivision of the diocese, which he had long desired, and the creation of the new diocese of Southwell, which included the counties of Nottingham and Derby, and left that of Lincoln practically conterminous with the county.

The work of Bishop Wordsworth was carried on by his successor Dr. King,² who brought with him from Oxford, where he had held the offices of Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology and canon of Christ Church, an even more pronounced sympathy with the revival of ancient usages in the church.

The question of the legality of certain ceremonies observed by Dr. King was challenged in the famous 'Lincoln Judgment,'³ when the bishop was summoned in 1889 to answer various charges before Dr. Benson, then archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. King loyally accepted the archbishop's ruling on the eight points submitted to him, and since that time certain doubtful ritual observances have been considered legal, and the jurisdiction of the archbishop over his suffragans has been accepted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The following facts reported for the year 1904⁴ indicate some of the activities of the church in Lincolnshire to-day. In that year thirty-four churches were restored or built at a total cost of £23,905, while a sum of £1,605 was also spent on endowment of benefices and £420 on parsonage houses. Confirmations were held at seventy-one different centres, the total number of candidates amounting to over four thousand. In the previous year £1,585 was distributed from the Diocesan Benefices Augmentation Fund towards the increase of the smaller livings, and the 'decent competence' which has been the ideal of the church since the days of the Commonwealth is now in a fair way to be realized in the county of Lincoln.

¹ A Training College for the Clergy of the Diocese.

² J. Hanchard, *Sketch of the Life of Bishop King*.

³ 'Lincoln Judgment,' *Encycl. Britt.* 9th ed.

⁴ *Off. Year Book of the Ch. of Engl.* 1906.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF LINCOLNSHIRE

INTRODUCTION

THERE are clear records of the existence of monasteries in Lincolnshire, many of them famous in their day, from the first years of the conversion of the North of England to Christianity. The greater number of these earlier foundations, known or unknown, perished in the period of Danish invasion. Bardney and Crowland rose again from their ruins,¹ but Ikanho, Barrow, and Partney were never rebuilt.

Besides these ancient monasteries Dugdale names four others as having a traditional existence.² Leland says 'where the Deane of Lyncolne's howse is in the Minstar Close of Lyncolne and thereabout was a Monasterye of Nunes afore the time that Remigius began the new Mynstar of Lyncolne: and of this Howse yet remayne certayne tokens of it.'³

A monastery at Kyrketon is said to be mentioned in Pipe Roll, 5 John, m. 9a, but no such membrane now exists.

Rooksby is said to have been mentioned in Cott. MS. Tib. E 5, which was burnt in the Cotton fire; it is certainly not mentioned in Pat. 19 Ric. II, pt. 1, m. 20, which is the other reference given.

St. Bartholomew's Priory, if not the same as the hospital of St. Bartholomew without Lincoln, cannot at present be traced.

Whatever may be said of these particular cases, it may very well be that several other monasteries did exist in Lincolnshire, as elsewhere, before the Danish invasion, though their names and number have not been preserved.⁴

With the revival of monasticism at the Conquest, however, the county was again filled with religious houses, every one of the great orders except the Cluniacs being represented here. There were ten monasteries for Benedictine monks, three of them—Bardney, Crowland, and Spalding—being of considerable size and importance, with one small priory at Stainfield for Benedictine nuns.

William of Newburgh states that during the reign of Stephen more religious houses were built than in all the previous hundred years.⁵ The twelfth

¹ The name of St. Leonard's, Stamford, might have been added; but the records of its existence before the Conquest are too uncertain to be relied upon.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1621.

³ Leland, *Itin.* viii, 4.

⁴ St. Higbald was abbot of a monastery in Lindsey, according to Bede; and the same author speaks of a nunnery not far from Bardney, over which the abbess Ethelhild ruled in his own day. Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* iii, c. 11, p. 148.

⁵ *Chron. of the reign of Stephen, &c.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 53. Mr. Howlett in his preface to the above work (iii, xiii, xiv), adds that estimating the rough total of the houses founded in England at 968, 247 were built before the reign of Stephen, 115 during the nineteen years of his reign, 113 during the 55 years of Henry's reign, and 223 in later times. While reducing the analysis and counties he shows that during the period now under review Lincoln just escapes heading the list with nineteen religious foundations.

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century witnessed the capture of this county by the Cistercian order ;¹ the rule of Bishop Alexander saw the rise of five Cistercian abbeys : Kirkstead and Louth Park in 1139 ; Revesby founded in 1142 by William de Romara, earl of Lincoln ; Vallis Dei, or Vaudey, in 1147 ; and Swineshead in 1148 ; while Cistercian nuns found a home at Stixwoud, in the early years of the same century. Houses of Austin Canons were founded at Grimsby or Wellow in the reign of Henry I ; at Thornton in 1139 ; and at Nocton and Thornholm during the reign of Stephen. This order had in all in Lincolnshire eight houses for men and a priory of nuns at Grimsby. The Arrouasian reform of the order was represented at Bourne.

The first English house of Premonstratensian Canons was founded at Newhouse about 1143, Barlings Abbey following in 1154 ; ultimately they had in this county five abbeys for men and a priory of nuns at Orford.

The Gilbertine order, the only order of English origin, was founded at Sempringham by St. Gilbert of Sempringham in 1139, under the favour and patronage of Bishop Alexander. Of the twenty-six houses of this order existent in England, eleven were situated in Lincolnshire, and eight of these were founded in the reign of Stephen. Sempringham, the original house, was followed by Haverholme and Bullington, Alvingham, Sixhills, Cattley, and Nun Ormsby. St. Catherine's Priory without Lincoln was an early foundation of Bishop Robert de Chesney ; Tunstall was founded before 1164, and Newstead and Holland Brigg followed later.

The Carthusians had a priory in the isle of Axholme. Templars and Hospitallers both had preceptories, and all the orders of friars were found in the county. The number of hospitals existing in the thirteenth century was probably very large, though the names of only twenty-two can as yet be recovered. Three collegiate churches were founded in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

It has been said that the solitary life was specially congenial to the inhabitants of the North of England. We are not surprised therefore to find frequent mention, in the episcopal registers and elsewhere, of hermits and recluses in Lincolnshire. St. Guthlac and St. Pega had numerous followers of humbler rank as long as the religious life was honoured in England. We hear of hermits at Thimbleby Moor,² Asfordby,³ Saltfleethaven,⁴ Freiston,⁵ and Burreth⁶ during the thirteenth century ; of John, the son of Geoffrey of Knaresborough, who was a recluse by the church of Carlton in Moorland in 1346 ;⁷ of Emma of Stapleford, a recluse by the chapel of St. Peter at Grantham in 1339 ;⁸ of Parnel de Wotton, a recluse by Thornton Abbey Church in 1367,⁹ of Beatrice Frank, a nun of Stainfield, who became an anchoress in a cell by Winterton church in 1435,¹⁰ and of Emmota Tonge, similarly enclosed by the church of St. Paul, Stamford,¹¹ in the same year. These are but a few instances out of many that a more diligent search might discover.

¹ This is explained by the fact that as the rich and fertile plains of England were already occupied, there remained only for the Cistercians, at least in the infancy of their order, the rocky highlands of Yorkshire . . . or the gleaning of grapes in the dismal flats and unclaimed swamps of Lincolnshire. Brewer ; Pref. to Giral. Cambren. *Op.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, xxii.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh, 232 d.

³ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 30 d.

⁴ Ibid. 423.

⁵ Ibid. Memo. Burghersh, 379.

¹⁰ Ibid. Memo. Repingdon, 186 d.

⁴ Ibid. 37.

⁵ Ibid. 372.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. Beck, 91.

⁹ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 53 d.

¹¹ Ibid. 187 d.

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There are two points of special interest in connexion with the religious houses of Lincolnshire. One is the relation of the religious themselves to the rising of 1536, which will be seen from the following pages. The other is the evidence of the episcopal registers as to the internal condition of the monasteries. The episcopal visitations are specially full and clear for this county, and a careful study of them leads to two general conclusions. First, it is evident that the religious life in the diocese had reached its low-water mark in the early part of the fifteenth century: but it is equally clear that the last eighty years or so before the suppression saw a steady improvement, and a gradual restoration of order and discipline. With only a few exceptions,¹ the reports of Bishop Atwater in 1519 are very much more satisfactory than those of Bishop Alnwick from 1437 to 1444. The lately published records of the White Canons, kept by a visitor of their own order, point to the same conclusion.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

It was probably about the year 1078 that William I moved the see of Dorchester to Lincoln,² and granted to Bishop Remigius sufficient land to build 'the mother church of all the bishopric of Lincoln.'³ The cathedral was completed within the lifetime of the first bishop, who died, however, four days before its consecration in 1092.⁴ The charter which was granted to Remigius by William II in 1090 makes no provision for the constitution of the capitular body,⁵ but Henry of Huntingdon, writing almost at this date, mentions a dean, treasurer, precentor and two other important members of the chapter, one of whom was presumably the chancellor, and seven archdeacons.⁶ John de Schalby writing from extant documents in the fourteenth century states further that there were twenty-one prebends attached to the original foundation.⁷ The early historians of Lincoln believed that the Rouen tradition was followed in the constitution of their church,⁸ but it seems probable that the great secular foundations of England were largely influenced by the cathedral of Bayeux, with

which they had in early days a close connexion both personal and constitutional.⁹

So true it is that the cathedral body was originally the council of the bishop, that for more than a century it is difficult to differentiate between episcopal and capitular history. The immediate successors of Remigius were munificent benefactors. Robert Bloett doubled the number of prebends, endowing the church with rich gifts of lands and vestments, and Alexander 'the magnificent' continued this policy, though the Lincoln historian complains that he dissipated the wealth of his church by building castles and monasteries.¹⁰ A few valuable acquisitions are also attributed to Robert de Chesney, but John de Schalby accuses him of nepotism and of alienating a prebend to the order of Sempringham.¹¹ His want of foresight as a ruler is proved by his decree freeing the church and prebends of Lincoln from all episcopal jurisdiction,¹² a step which involved one of the greatest of his successors in what was perhaps the most serious difficulty of his episcopate.

Of the years between 1167 and 1183 there is little to record. It was a period of confusion throughout the diocese and it is probable that

¹ These are of the more value because they show that the difference does not arise from the fact of Bishop Atwater being of an easier disposition than his predecessor.

² The question of the date is discussed in Le Neve, *Fasti Eccles. Angl.* (ed. Hardy), ii, 7, note 59.

³ D. and C. Linc. Press A, Shelf I, box i, No. 61.

⁴ John de Schalby's 'Lives of the Bishops of Lincoln,' in Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 194.

⁵ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, ii (i), 1.

⁶ Hen. Huntingdon, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), 301.

⁷ John de Schalby, op. cit. vii, 194.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. i, 32-5 and 102. But see *Missale ad usum mon. Westm.* (Hen. Bradshaw Soc.), iii, p. 1420, where it is argued that on the Uses at least Bayeux had no influence.

¹⁰ John de Schalby, op. cit. vii, 198.

¹¹ Ibid. Probably Canwick. See Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (1), lxxiii.

¹² Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 538. This decree is attributed by John de Schalby to Robert Bloett, but the names of the witnesses—Martin the treasurer and Ralph the sub-dean—prove that it belongs to Robert de Chesney. See Le Neve, op. cit. and Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 196, note 1.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

the cathedral shared the general disorder.¹ With the consecration of Bishop Hugh of Grenoble, however, came a revival of spiritual zeal and constitutional growth. He was zealous for the spiritual efficiency of his canons and absolutely refused either to allow them to be employed as ambassadors, or to bestow prebends upon royal nominees, courtiers, foreign students, or clerks of any other cathedral church who were unlikely to observe the required residence;² he also issued a charter empowering the dean and chapter to force all canons whose prebendal work obliged them to non-residence to provide vicars to represent them in the services of the church.³

Induced probably by disorders consequent on the confusion from which his cathedral had just emerged, he gave licence to the dean and chapter to excommunicate anyone who unjustly withheld the dues of the *communa*,⁴ or inflicted any injury on the tenants or possessions of the church,⁵ and further forbade the archdeacons to remove such excommunication without orders from the bishop or chapter. He was a vigorous opponent of anything which tended to isolate the cathedral body from the rest of the diocese, and the letter in which he exhorted the dean and chapter to encourage the parochial clergy to bring their people and their oblations to the annual Pentecostal procession at Lincoln, though undoubtedly prompted by financial needs, is full of indignation at the apathy of the capitular body with regard to the general indifference of the diocese to the claims of the cathedral upon their affections.⁶

Apart from the question of the quarrel with Grosteste the thirteenth century seems to have been a time of quiet progress. At this period the customs of the church, both constitutional and ritualistic, were committed to writing,⁷ and the endowments of the cathedral were largely increased by Bishop Gravesend,⁸ who also made provision for the choristers, hitherto supported by the alms of the canons. Oliver Sutton increased

the daily commons of the canons from 8*d.* to 12*d.*,⁹ and at his instigation the dean and chapter did much to provide for the decency and order of the cathedral and community life. A chapel was built for the parishioners of St. Mary Magdalen, on the site of whose original church the cathedral stood, and who had accordingly hitherto used the west end of the nave as their parish church, to the great disturbance of the regular services.¹⁰ In 1285 licence was obtained from the king to enclose the cathedral precinct by a wall 12 ft. high, with gates to be closed at dusk and opened before sunrise, for the better safety of the canons from night attacks in passing from their houses to service.¹¹ It was also determined that in future the 'poor clerks' who served the altars should live together in one house;¹² and after the completion of the new wall the bishop enjoined the dean and chapter to build a house for the vicars choral, 'seeing that for the most part solitude is the occasion of all evils amongst them.'¹³

Thus by the close of the thirteenth century the cathedral had reached in all essentials the constitution which it was to retain throughout the middle ages. The chapter consisted of the dean, chancellor, treasurer and precentor, the sub-dean, the eight archdeacons, and the simple canons.¹⁴ Every member occupied an endowed prebendal stall to which he was appointed by the bishop and installed by the dean. Chapter meetings were as a rule attended by canons in residence only, but upon great occasions every member of the chapter might with the consent of the residentiaries be summoned. At such full meetings as these the dean was, nominally at least, elected.¹⁵

Outside the capitular body, but next in importance to the canons, came the vicars choral; these were the deputies in choir of such canons as were non-resident or only kept the minor residence of

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 198-9.

² Ibid. 126-32 and 260. There is a characteristic story of his telling an eminent theologian of Paris that he would willingly have given him a canonry had he been likely to reside, or had his morals been equal to his learning.

³ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. i, 308.

⁴ This was the common fund which was shared among the resident canons over and above the revenues from their prebendal estates, which all the canons received.

⁵ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. i, 308-9.

⁶ Printed in Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. i, 307. The withdrawal of these Pentecostal oblations was always one of the financial difficulties of the cathedral. See Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 87*d.* and D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1451-74, fol. 99*d.* &c.

⁷ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. i, 40-57.

⁸ John de Schalby, op. cit. vii, 232.

⁹ John de Schalby, op. cit. vii, 209.

¹⁰ Ibid. The chapel was built in 'in atrio dictae ecclesiae cathedralis, competenti spatio ab ea.' Infant baptism was still to be celebrated at the cathedral font. See also Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. i, 348.

¹¹ Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 22.

¹² Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. i, 349.

¹³ Ibid. 348. This was for the seniors only, the juniors were admitted to the same close in 1327. D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1321-39, fol. 9.

¹⁴ The Black Book (*Linc. Cath. Stat.* i, 296) includes the sub-dean among those 'habentes dignitatem,' but (p. 279) does not mention him among the 'quattuor persone principales.' The importance of his position must, of course, have increased rapidly with the increasing frequency of non-residence on the part of the dean.

¹⁵ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts II, 1305, fol. 2*d.* &c.; and Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. i, 274 and 279.

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seventeen weeks and four days in the year.¹ The exact date of their institution cannot be determined, but the dignitaries appear to have had vicars early in the twelfth century,² and St. Hugh's decree probably merely systematised an existing custom. They were divided into two 'forms'—seniors in priests' orders, and juniors being deacons, sub-deacons, or acolytes.³ Before admission they were presented to the dean and chapter by their prebendaries, subjected to examination in reading and singing, and if competent admitted to two years' probation, during which they had to learn by heart the antiphonal hymnal and psalter. They lived a collegiate life under two elected provosts, and received fixed salaries over and above their share in the commons of their society; they were also protected by statute from arbitrary dismissal on the return of their prebendary to residence.⁴ Their number of course varied with the number of non-resident canons; in 1349 there were eight, in 1437 there seem to have been as many as thirty-six,⁵ and in 1440 they were sufficiently important to be constituted a legal corporation.⁶

Junior to the vicars were the poor clerks who served the altars. Their appointments occur in the first extant chapter acts of the fourteenth century. About that time they were five in number, and from an entry of the year 1492 they appear to have ranged in age from nineteen to twenty-four, and throughout the fifteenth century they were frequently exhorted to be more diligent in their attendance at the schools. Last of the organized groups of the cathedral body were the choristers. These under Gravesend's ordinance numbered twelve, and lived together in one house with a master at their head, and under the general control of the precentor. The boys were to be admitted by the dean and chapter, who were also to appoint the master and a canon to oversee his administration.⁷

The chapter acts also contain mention of chantry priests and brethren and sisters. The former seem to have been of about the same standing as the vicars, but that they were not themselves necessarily vicars is proved by the fact that about the year 1349 five priests are mentioned apart from the eight vicars. The brethren were generally people of some rank or wealth who took an oath of fealty to the

cathedral, and were admitted as partakers in the benefits of its prayers. In the fourteenth century Richard II and his queen, Henry earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV,⁸ Philippa Chaucer and Sir Henry Percy were all solemnly admitted as brethren or sisters, and in the fifteenth century there were a large number of such admissions, including merchants of Lincoln and a prioress of Stainfield.⁹

As was usual in the middle ages the power of the cathedral was further enhanced by royal concessions at the expense of the central and municipal government. Henry II granted to the dean and chapter and all their servants a long list of franchises and the right to hold a court, called the Galilee Court, weekly for residents and daily for non-residents, to hear all pleas within the limits of the close, both pleas of the crown and others. These extensive liberties naturally became a source of dispute with the city, but the church made good its claim¹⁰ and there are records of suits in the court held 'at the west door of the church in the porch called the Galilee porch' throughout the middle ages.¹¹ In the quarrels of the fifteenth century one of the complaints urged against the dean was that he allowed suits which should have been judged in the Galilee Court to be brought before the royal courts.¹² A steward of the Galilee Court occurs as late as 1793.¹³

That so important and well-organized a body should be free from all exterior control, as under Bishop Chesney's decree it must have been, involved such a menace to the welfare of the church as could not be allowed to pass unchallenged, and already in the first half of the thirteenth century Grosteste had fought and won the battle of authority. He had himself been a canon of Lincoln,¹⁴ and it may be that personal knowledge led him to believe that some definite exterior control was needful. He was opposed not only by his own chapter, who, it is said, openly regretted having raised a man of so low birth to a position of such authority,¹⁵ but by all the exempt ecclesiastical foundations of England and by the bishops themselves, who feared that Grosteste's triumph might be used as a

¹ 'Statuta Vicariorum' in Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (i), 144 seq.

² Maddison, *Vicars Choral of Lincoln*, 2.

³ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1321-39, fol. 9, and 1448-62, fol. 64 d.; and Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Grey, fol. 122.

⁴ 'Statuta Vicariorum.'

⁵ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1348-55, fol. 10 d., and Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (ii), 392, et seq.

⁶ Maddison, *Vicars Choral*, 10 and 11. The date, however, should be Nov. 1440, instead of 1441.

⁷ 'Ordinacio Puerorum,' printed in Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. II (ii), 162.

⁸ He was admitted in the presence and probably through the influence of his father, John of Gaunt, who was a great patron of the cathedral. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. pt. ix, 563.)

⁹ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1384-94, fol. 13 and 22 d.; 1451-74, fol. 21; and 1479-92, fol. 36 d. and 63.

¹⁰ D. and C. Linc. Press A, shelf I, box I, No. 61, and Chapter Acts, 1479-1502, fol. 151.

¹¹ Thus, D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1465-78, fol. 29 d.; 1479-1502, fol. 177; 1501-7, fol. 37 d.

¹² Complaints against Macworth in 1437, printed in Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (i).

¹³ Ibid. ii (ii), 564.

¹⁴ John de Schalby, op. cit. vii, 204.

¹⁵ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 528.

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precedent in a case then pending as to the right of the archbishop of Canterbury to visit the sees of his province.¹

The course of the struggle is not easy to follow, but it would seem that the dean and chapter showed signs of revolt at the first suggestion of episcopal visitation, and in consequence Grosteste obtained a licence from the pope, in January, 1239, to carry out his intention.² By the following Whitsuntide the canons had sent a proctor to represent their case at Rome,³ and when the bishop gave notice that he should visit the cathedral on 18 October, 'convocatis . . . per decanum et capitulum omnibus canonicis in crastino Sanctae Fidis in capitulo Lincolniae, et habito super praedictis tractatu die Dominica proxime sequente ad pulpitem in ecclesiae Lincolniae, accepta a populo publice licentia adeundi sedem Apostolicam et interpositis appellacionibus propter injurias quas eis, ut dixerunt, faciebam et facere conabar,' the cathedral dignitaries and many of the other canons set out at once for Rome, and sent letters to all the chapters of England, inciting them against Grosteste. When the bishop reached Lincoln for his visitation the whole cathedral body absented itself; but, hearing that he had been summoned to meet the archbishop of Canterbury on 3 November, the dean and chapter, instead of pursuing their journey to Rome, waited for him in London.

The bishop was in doubt whether or not to suspend and excommunicate the contumacious canons, but after various proposals of arbitration,⁴ it was finally decided to ask the pope to entrust the cause to the bishop of Worcester and the archdeacons of Worcester and Sudbury.⁵ In January of the following year Gregory IX issued a commission to the bishop of Worcester, the archdeacon of Worcester, and the abbot of Evesham, bidding them exhort the dean and chapter to obedience, and, failing that, to hear and judge the cause themselves.⁶ It would seem probable that the pope issued this mandate on his own initiative as soon as he realised the gravity of the quarrel, for three months later the cause was committed to the arbitrators chosen at London by the contending parties.⁷ There seems to be no evidence as to what took place under their jurisdiction, but there is reason to believe that a second meeting was held between the bishop and the canons at the end of 1240 or early in 1241, when the chapter swore to a new form of procedure.⁸ It may have been on this occasion that Richard de Kirkham was chosen to be associated with the bishop of

Worcester as arbitrator.⁹ Certainly he was an active judge during the autumn of 1241 and the early part of the year 1242,¹⁰ and proved himself to be of an independent spirit; for, in spite of the fact that he was appointed at the request of the canons, he did not hesitate to suspend several members of the chapter when they persuaded the king, by means of a forged history of their foundation, to remove the suit from the ecclesiastical to the secular courts.¹¹ It was by such expedients that the suit was prolonged throughout the years 1242 and 1243. At the end of the latter year the dean and chapter appealed from the decision of the bishop of Worcester to the pope, and the case was referred to fresh judges by Innocent IV.¹² At length, in 1244, the bishop and the dean both sought the pope at Lyons, and on 25 August, 1245, a judgement was obtained.¹³ It is usually said that the pope's decision was entirely in favour of Grosteste, and it has been insinuated that the bishop induced the dean to consent to the arrangement by securing his promotion to the see of Coventry. In defence of Grosteste it may be urged, however, that though the right of visitation was secured to him, the other points of his contention, as mentioned in the pope's award, were given in favour of the canons.¹⁴ Moreover, the papal authority had from the first been inclined to favour the bishop,¹⁵ and Dean Roger de Weseham, as Grosteste's own nominee,

⁹ Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), xc (280).

¹⁰ Curia Regis R. 123, m. 7.

¹¹ Ibid. and Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), 280. It seems to have been in the autumn of 1241 that the canons produced the story of the refoundation of the see of Lincoln by William Rufus, which induced the king to take part in the quarrel. (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora*, iv, 154-6.) At a council held at Reading the bishop was forbidden to pursue the case further, and the following Easter a prohibition was issued to Richard de Kirkham, who, however, disregarded it, and appointed the parties to appear before him upon the same day that they were summoned to the king's court. (Curia Regis R. 123, m. 7.) It would seem that the canons did all in their power to prevent the revocation of the prohibition, and so cause further delay, but Grosseteste appears to have frustrated their plans. (Grosseteste, *Epistolae* [Rolls Ser.], xci, xcii).

¹² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 203.

¹³ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 497.

¹⁴ The papal award provided that the correction of such offences as had already been in the competence of the dean and chapter were to remain with them, though if not executed within a time appointed by the bishop, it was to devolve upon him by default. The bishop's consent was not to be held necessary to the election of a dean; the chapter were to observe obedience to the bishop, but need take no oath to that effect. Grosseteste's claim to the sequestration of vacant prebends and to procuracy when visiting the cathedral was also defeated. (Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. i, 315 et seq.)

¹⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 185.

¹ Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), lxxx.

² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 178.

³ Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), lxxix.

⁴ Ibid. lxxx.

⁵ Ibid. lxxxi.

⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 185.

⁷ Ibid. 189.

⁸ Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), xcii (289), xciv (294).

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appointed on the deprivation of William de Tournay, would hardly have required a bribe.¹ Further, though the canons in 1243 refused to accept an arrangement with the bishop made by the dean without procuratorial authority,² their confidence in the latter must certainly have been restored before they employed him as their representative at Lyons; and the fact that Matthew Paris, always a severe critic of Grosteste, records Dean Roger's promotion with approval³ ought in itself to be sufficient to dispel any remaining suspicion.

In the absence of evidence in favour of the dean and chapter it is impossible to determine on whose side justice is to be found. All that is known of Grosteste's character makes it hardly possible to doubt that he only engaged in this unseemly strife because he felt that a grave principle was at stake; his letters, moreover, are full of affection for the dean and chapter, and he asserted repeatedly that no one could be more anxious for peace than he was himself, but it must be a true peace to bring satisfaction.⁴ Again, though the canons probably based their claim to exemption upon de Chesney's charter in all good faith, it is difficult to find any excuse for the means which they employed to prolong the suit; and even if Grosteste were wrong in the motives to which he attributed their frequent visits to the king, the absurd forgery of the re-foundation story, and their protest against Richard de Kirkham's right to suspend the sub-dean and chancellor, must be pronounced unworthy. At the same time it should be remembered that contemporary opinion for the most part blamed the bishop for persisting in his claim, and even Adam Marsh wrote in remonstrance, reminding his friend that the divine command bids masters strive to inspire love rather than fear.⁵

The rest of Grosteste's episcopate passed in peace for the dean and chapter, but on the death of the bishop the cathedral body were obliged to defend their privileges against the archbishop of

Canterbury, who claimed the guardianship of the property of the see during vacancy.⁶ The dispute was settled in favour of the canons in May, 1261.⁷

The fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were marked by a constitutional struggle if possible more unedifying than that of the thirteenth. At the root of the matter lay the frequent absence or non-residence of the deans. Though bound by oath to reside, it was always possible for them to obtain licence from the pope to be absent for periods of greater or less duration; this was sometimes obtained on the plea of being engaged in the king's service, sometimes in order to go on pilgrimage or to study at some foreign university, and once, in the case of John de Schepey, in order to avoid the expense of maintaining a household both at Lincoln and on his prebendal estate.⁸ This condition of affairs gave rise to a quarrel between dean and chapter as to whether the authority which the dean was in the habit of exercising in chapter, in the matter of visitation, correction, sequestration of vacant prebends, and presentation of vicars and chaplains, was really his by virtue of his dignity as dean or by virtue of his position as head and therefore agent of the chapter.

The first recorded occasion of dispute was in 1312, when Roger de Martival and the canons referred the case to Bishop John Dalderby.⁹ The arguments on both sides have been preserved at considerable length by John de Schalby, who conducted the case for the chapter.¹⁰ They are characteristically mediaeval in their dialectical form and somewhat far-fetched deductions, but there can be little doubt that the bishop, in pronouncing in favour of joint authority, correctly interpreted the spirit of the constitution.¹¹ With the next dean, Henry de Mammesfeld, similar difficulties arose, with regard both to the right to present chaplains to the altar of St. Peter¹² and the right to visit prebendal churches without consulting the chapter. In 1324 the sub-dean went so far as to order the succentor to record and report the exact length of the dean's absence upon his unsanctioned visitation, in order that his share of the commons might be deducted, since he was away purely on his own authority and for his personal advantage.¹³

¹ It seems impossible to ascertain either the date or the circumstances of the substitution of Roger for William de Tournay in the deanery. The statement that de Weseham was appointed 'by grace and favour of the bishop' on the deprivation of Dean William cannot be traced to an earlier source than Leland; but the story has every appearance of probability, and has been accepted without hesitation by subsequent historians. (See Pegge, *Life of Roger de Weseham*, 8.)

² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 202.

³ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 425. One historian suggests that the step may really have been a concession to the chapter on the bishop's part, enabling them to elect their own dean in place of his nominee. (See F. S. Stevenson, *Life of Grosseteste*, 248.)

⁴ Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), lxxix, xciii, &c. The bishop did not dispute the existence of the charter, but denied de Chesney's ability to bind his successors to any such renunciation of authority.

⁵ *Mon. Franciscana* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 146-8.

⁶ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 412.

⁷ *V.C.H. Linc.* i, Ecclesiastical History.

⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 531; iii, 172 and 350; iv, 526. *Cal. of Papal Petitions*, 410.

⁹ D. and C. Lincoln Press D. ii, 60, box 2.

¹⁰ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (i), lxxiv et seq.

¹¹ Ibid. i, 280; ii (ii), 319-22.

¹² Ibid. i, 325 et seq.

¹³ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1321-9, fol. 4d. The common fund was supported by the contributions of the non-resident canons, each of whom was bound to subscribe one-seventh of the yearly value of his prebend. (Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (i), 144.) Cathedral charters also show many grants to the 'communa' of the canons.

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The friction increased under the succeeding deans. In 1332, when Anthony Bek was abroad, the sub-dean and chapter denied the right of his vicar-general to appoint vicars to two prebendaries also out of England.¹ No clear account of the dispute seems to be extant, but apparently the dean adhered to his position. An appeal was made to Rome, and the case ultimately referred to the prior of Warter.² No decision, however, was reached before Bek was promoted to the see of Norwich, and the suit was prolonged under his successor, William of Norwich. Talliata, the papal auditor, gave judgement unreservedly in favour of the dean, and on the appeal of the chapter this sentence was confirmed, with a proviso that in case of the dean's continued absence or neglect the sub-dean and chapter might act.³ That the chapter were determined not to acquiesce in any such decision is clear from the fact that in 1341 they repudiated the conciliatory attitude of their proctor at Rome.⁴ In spite, however, of the firmness of their resistance, and a favourable judgement given by the archbishop of Canterbury in March, 1343-4,⁵ they were still unsatisfied, and on the eve of Dean William's promotion to the episcopate both the sub-dean and the chapter wrote to him, imploring him to make the desired concessions before it was too late. The bishop also wrote in the same strain, and the chapter addressed two letters to the pope, speaking of the evils caused by the absence of the dean, and desiring him to provide some one who would be willing to reside personally.⁶

The decree of the papal auditor was not reversed, but the whole question seems to have remained in abeyance for some forty or fifty years when it was revived under Dean Schepey. In December, 1403, Boniface IX made a statute that in future the right of visitation should belong to the dean, sub-dean, and chapter conjointly.⁷ This was nominally done by the pope 'ex merito et ad nullius alterius instanciam' on account of the confusion in the prebendal churches arising from the cessation of all visitation for the last forty years; but it is evident that Dean Schepey had already revived the old claims, for in the same month Henry IV committed the case to the bishop of Lincoln, hearing that 'Master John Schapeye, dean of Lincoln, is striving to infringe

certain ancient customs of the chapter.'⁸ Four years later the king ordered that the statute of Pope Boniface should be observed, and forbade the dean to remove the case from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lincoln to the Court of Christianity.⁹ In March, 1405-6, however, on Schepey's appeal Innocent VII confirmed the decision of Peter Fabri,¹⁰ and in the winter of 1407-8 the case was once more committed to a papal auditor, and the archbishop of Canterbury and English bishops forbidden to take further action in the matter.¹¹ From this time, however, the bishops of Lincoln seem more and more to have considered the case as one affecting the internal discipline of the cathedral body, and as thus coming within their own jurisdiction. In 1410 Bishop Repingdon on his visitation ordered that the statutes should be written out and put in a place where all could see them, and in 1415, after the death of Schepey, Dean Macworth was peremptorily reminded that his oath of office bound him to residence.¹² Fragments also remain of an award pronounced by the bishop some time between 1412 and 1420,¹³ but apparently without effect, for in 1421 the dean and chapter promised adherence to a decision delivered by Bishop Flemyng in the presence of the king, whereby the dean was to be allowed to convoke the chapter under his own name and seal for triennial visitations, but the chapter were to appoint two canons with whose advice the dean was to administer correction; in the absence of the dean the sub-dean or other president of the chapter was to act.¹⁴

Such a judgement was not calculated to satisfy the chapter; and, though they seem to have acquiesced in it for the time being,¹⁵ in 1433 they once more appealed against Macworth both to Rome and to Canterbury, and the bishop of Lincoln issued an inhibition against the dean and ordered him to appear before him in chapter.¹⁶ The quarrel was now complicated by the existence of what appear to have been real abuses on both sides; each accused the other of having failed to observe the award in the matter of jurisdiction, but the dean added grave charges of misappropriation of revenues on the part of the canons, and the chapter accused the dean of offences against ritual and custom, of abuse of patronage, and of the betrayal of chapter secrets to seculars.¹⁷

⁸ Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 15.

⁹ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (ii), 252 and 254.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 30.

¹¹ D. and C. Linc. Press D. ii, 60, box 2.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Repingdon, fol. 45 d. and 116 d.

¹³ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (ii), 257.

¹⁴ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1407-22, fol. 1, 4 et seq.

¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 8 d.

¹⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gray, fol. 114 d. and 115.

¹⁷ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (i), clxv et seq.

¹ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1321-39, fol. 24.

² D. and C. Linc. Press A. ii, 10, No. 2, and *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 529.

³ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (ii), 236-8.

⁴ D. and C. Linc. Press D. ii, 60, box 2.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1342-6, fol. 7 and 8.

⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 460; see also D. and C. Linc. D. ii, 60, box 2. This document has neither name nor date, but corresponds so closely with the papal letter as to make it almost certain that it belongs to this time.

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Bishop Gray's compromise pronounced in August, 1434, was strongly in favour of the canons, and in December Macworth asserted that he had not assented and would not assent to it without better consideration.¹ In these circumstances the quarrel dragged on for another two years,² and in 1437 Bishop Alnwick, who had lately been translated from Norwich, came to visit his cathedral and found a deplorable state of division and confusion. He visited again in March, 1437-8, and in June, 1439, having annulled his predecessor's pronouncement as lacking authority, he summoned a chapter to establish his own award and to draw up a book of customs.³

The award of Bishop Alnwick, unlike those of his predecessors, bears the impress of the hand of the statesman. He gave judgement in favour of joint jurisdiction, but he also pronounced against numerous abuses which were rife amongst the canons, and he saved the dignity of the dean by ignoring all complaints which were merely personal or irremediable. At first Macworth appeared to be submissive; both he and the chapter accepted the award, and at the bishop's suggestion decided that it would be well to compile a complete book of cathedral statutes to take the place of the fragmentary and in part unwritten customs which were all that had hitherto existed;⁴ but before very long the dean broke out into open rebellion against the bishop's authority, he denied his right to visit the prebendal estates, he stated his intention of refusing to accept any new statutes and protested more than once in chapter against the holding of convocations to discuss those which Alnwick had compiled, and he attempted to force the sub-dean to acknowledge the authority of the award of Bishop Flemyng.⁵ The bishop bore his insubordination until February, 1444-5, then at length sentence of excommunication was passed,⁶ which remained in force certainly until September, 1448, and

possibly until the end of the following year.⁷ In 1451 Macworth died.

The award of 1439 has been said to mark the close of the legislative period of Lincoln Cathedral history; certainly no fresh constitutional questions of importance arose until the nineteenth century, and what changes were introduced were merely the gradual modifications which were the natural outcome of an age when community life in the church was little understood and everything older than the sixteenth century regarded with suspicion as savouring of popery.⁸

Of the internal condition of the cathedral before the beginning of the fourteenth century there is very little evidence. It is probable that the greatest menace to the life of the church, here as elsewhere, was the papal and archiepiscopal power of provision. The archbishop claimed the right to present to one prebend in return for the confirmation of each bishop, and the pope claimed patronage on a yet larger scale, and over and above this expected the bishops to provide for such men as he should suggest to them.⁹ The canons thus provided were frequently foreigners and cardinals, and nearly always held one or more prebends in other cathedrals,¹⁰ so that not only did the revenues of the church go out of England to the foreign beneficiaries,¹¹ but it was impossible that the canons should be resident either at Lincoln or in their prebendal parishes.

St. Hugh's objection to the appointment of foreigners to Lincoln prebends has already been mentioned. In 1253 Bishop Grosteste made an equally determined and possibly even bolder stand when the pope required him to provide for his nephew Frederick de Lavinia.¹² This, however, appears to have been without permanent result, for in 1289 all the prebends of Lincoln except five were said to be in the hands of Romans,¹³ and Clement V between his consecration in November, 1305, and Michaelmas, 1309, provided thirty people to positions in the cathedral, at least twelve of whom, to judge by their names, must have been foreigners.¹⁴

With the fourteenth century knowledge of a more intimate kind as to the discipline of the cathedral can be gathered both from the chapter acts and the episcopal registers, and it becomes evident at once that visitors had two distinct classes of men to deal with. On the one hand

¹ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1424-43, fol. 75-86 and 98 d. This was not unreasonable, for it appears from Alnwick's award three years later that Bishop Gray had not interviewed the parties personally before pronouncing.

² Ibid. fol. 117 d.

³ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (ii), 366 et seq.

⁴ Bishop Alnwick's Registrum, though it probably represents Lincoln custom in the fifteenth century to a large extent, is not entitled to be regarded as the authentic statute book of the cathedral, as it never received the necessary assent of the dean and chapter. (See Mr. Bradshaw's argument in *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes I* and the *Report of the Cathedrals Commission* 1884-5, vol. xxi.)

⁵ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (ii), 443 et seq. and D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1438-47, fol. 31 d. 42, 48, 45 d. 56, 64 d.

⁶ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (ii), 524.

⁷ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1448-62, fol. 1. The dean's presence in chapter is not again mentioned until Jan. 1449-50. Ibid. fol. 10.

⁸ See *Report of Cathedral Commission*, 1854, vol. xxv and Ibid. 1884-5, vol. xxi.

⁹ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 148.

¹⁰ Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 5 d.; 24 Edw. I, m. 15; 25 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 6.

¹¹ *Rolls of Parliament* (Rec. Com.), ii, 339 a.

¹² Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), cxxviii.

¹³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 501-2.

¹⁴ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, I, 1305, fol. 16.

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there were the vicars, poor clerks, and chantry priests, who seem to have been of much the same standing as the ordinary monk and to have shared his temptation to gambling, drinking, irreverence in choir, and immorality; and on the other there were the canons, whose offences seem to have been rather in the direction of self-interest, favouritism, and neglect of the care and consideration for their juniors which were essential to the welfare of the cathedral.

In the early years of the fourteenth century the charges against the vicars and poor clerks brought before the chapter were few. In 1307 Robert Coty, a vicar, was twice convicted of having lost all his clothes and even his choir vestments at the gaming table, and consequently resigned his post,¹ and in 1310 the canons complained to the bishop that in spite of the small number of residents the vicars refused to help at the celebration of chapter mass.² In 1334 William of Dunham seems to have been ejected by his fellow vicars from his lodging in the vicars' court and to have been restored by the dean and chapter³ with an admonition to lead an honest life. A more serious state of affairs is perhaps indicated by the injunctions issued in 1392 to vicars of both forms, chaplains, and poor clerks, forbidding them to take any woman except a mother or a sister to their own rooms except in the presence of a third person, and imposing fines for frequenting taverns.⁴

The chapter acts of the succeeding century contrast unfavourably with these. Quite early there are complaints of insolence to the dignitaries and of evil life,⁵ and from the year 1454 onward there is scarcely a page without some record of irregularity, insolence, negligence, debt,⁶ or immorality. In 1508 such was the laxness of morals among the poor clerks that the treasurer undertook specially to visit and oversee

them,⁷ and in 1509 new ordinances were passed against neglect on their part and that of the vicars.⁸

At the same time it is probable that the contrast between the fourteenth and fifteenth century chapter acts was due to a stricter idea of discipline entertained by the canons at the later date or to a more regular keeping of the act books; it is certain that as early as February, 1347-8, Bishop Gynwell⁹ found considerable negligence to exist among the vicars and poor clerks who absented themselves from the canonical hours and processions, walked and talked in the cathedral during service, and wandered about at night wearing arms, and the example of the canons at the time was evidently not edifying, for though the bishop told them that he found many things to commend he was obliged to reprove them also for talking loudly in choir and absenting themselves from service, for withholding alms from the poor and, in the case of the non-residents, subtracting the salaries of their vicars. The general decency and order of the cathedral also left something to be desired, vestments were described as *minus decentes* and the *ordinale*¹⁰ was not properly followed by the vicars. A general injunction was issued to all members of the cathedral body not to frequent the houses of women living within the close, however honest.

A few years later a terrible state of affairs was revealed; in January, 1359-60, the bishop had already twice given orders that all women should be removed from the close. Finding that he was not obeyed he issued a third injunction, pointing out at the same time that women with their husbands kept taverns within the close which were haunted by clerks and others at night, with the result that robberies and murders and other crimes were rife, and under the steps by which the people went up to the great altar a secret passage had been discovered which had an outlet into the room of one of the poor clerks.¹¹ Apparently admonition was in vain, for three months later a yet more stringent injunction was issued, and a yet worse state of affairs revealed, women of evil life having even been admitted to the house of the dean.¹²

The next sixty years undoubtedly saw some improvement, but the archbishop of Canterbury, on his visitation in 1390, still complained of

¹ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1305-21, fol. 9.

² Ibid. fol. 25.

³ Ibid. 1321-39, fol. 30.

⁴ Ibid. 1386-95, fol. 46.

⁵ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1407-22, fol. 7, 20 and 21.

⁶ This, however, was not only a matter of individual delinquency; there is some evidence that the financial condition of the cathedral, like that of other religious houses in the fifteenth century, was not entirely satisfactory. In November, 1433, it was decided to appoint a general accountant and overseer of the revenues so that the arrears of the past year might not be confused with the income of the current year and all the arrears might be cleared (D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1424-43, fol. 87). Twenty years later Bishop Chedworth issued special orders that the archdeacons should encourage Pentecostal offerings and bequests to the fabric, and regulated the contributions of the archdeacons and prebends and the payments of the latter on coming into residence (Ibid. 1448-62, fol. 33-36). About the same time serious complaints were made as to injudicious alienations by priests and ministers of the church (Ibid. 1479-1502, fol. 189).

⁷ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1507-20, fol. 4.

⁸ Ibid. 1509-13, fol. 1.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gynwell.

¹⁰ This would of course be the Lincoln Use; unlike Wells, London, and Lichfield, Lincoln does not seem formally to have adopted the Sarum Liturgy until 1556 (Strype, *Eccles. Memo.* III (ii), No. 51) though probably the Lincoln service books were becoming rare before that date, for in 1497 'one beautiful missale of Lincoln Use' is mentioned among the treasures of the cathedral (D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1479-1502, fol. 271 d.).

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gynwell, fol. 147.

¹² Ibid. fol. 147a.

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talking and laughing in choir, and of vicars and others leaving the church in the middle of the service. Obits of kings and bishops and feasts of apostles and doctors were not properly observed, and vicars were admitted by favour and without proper examination. Great disorder was caused by the indecent celebration of All Fools Day on the Feast of the Circumcision when the vicars played practical jokes even during the services.¹

A certain amount of laxness at this time is scarcely matter for surprise. The quarrels with successive deans, which must have been seriously detrimental to discipline, had now been carried on intermittently for almost a century, and Schepey, who was elected dean in 1388, seems to have been utterly careless of anything but his own interests. In January, 1393-4, he came into conflict with Bishop Bokyngham, certain of his servants having polluted the cathedral by bloodshed. When the bishop visited the dean refused to profess obedience to him and would not show his title to office; he was consequently suspended and excommunicated, and as he remained obdurate the case was brought before the archbishop of Canterbury. Schepey was ultimately induced to submit, but in the meantime grave charges had been brought against him by the canons, who complained of his derisive treatment of them in chapter, of his remissness in correction, and his unpunctuality. They stated that he did not appoint a chaplain to celebrate for him daily, but retained the salary for his own use, that he misappropriated the common funds and imposed excessive fines upon the vicars, that he refused the feedings and omitted the celebrations to which he was bound,² that he was extravagant in buying unnecessary pictures and images, and was in the habit of frequenting public games and shows and of allowing their performance in the close.

In these circumstances it is hardly to be wondered that there were serious complaints to be brought against the junior members of the church. The vicars, it was said, were noisy in choir, the chaplains wandered about and were disorderly and the poor clerks were negligent; a clique of vicars and chaplains sowed discord between dean and chapter, several of the vicars were rectors of

parish churches, one was in the habit of coming to choir in a state of intoxication, and fifteen people were suspected of laxness of morals. Little appears to have been said at the time about the canons beyond a charge of slackness against the precentor. It is evident, however, from the complaints of the dean, that there was much discord between him and the chapter, and much partisanship among the vicars.³ The friction appears to have increased, and when Bishop Repingdon held a visitation in 1410 a very similar state of affairs was revealed. Games were carried on in the cemetery, the statutable feedings were not observed, the vicars wore noisy wooden shoes, and wandered about in secular habit outside the church at service time.⁴ Bishop Gray's injunctions of 1432 show that the general carelessness had not lessened. Vicars were appointed without examination and were consequently open to the usual charges of negligence, irreverence, and dissipation, repairs were needed both in the fabric and the vestments, and stipends were not punctually paid to vicars and chaplains. Here, as elsewhere, some of the chantries had become so much impoverished that they had been united,⁵ and the bishop enjoined that in such cases measures should be taken to secure the fulfilment of the wishes of the founders at least in part, and that the chantries thus united should be given to priest vicars lest they should be forced by lack of means to resign or to seek some undignified employment outside the church. Such was the poverty of the vicars that certain provisions had been made without authority, obliging new members of the body to live for a certain time at their own expense. These were annulled, as they prevented suitable people from joining the community.⁶

Such complaints, however, were as nothing compared with the confusion revealed when Alnwick visited the cathedral at the time of his award in 1437. As the *comperta* at this visitation have been printed at length elsewhere,⁷ it will be sufficient here to say that the dean seems to have been guilty of unbearable arrogance and lack of consideration, that the precentor and treasurer were negligent, that the chancellor was guilty of scandalous conduct in his opposition to the dean, that the canons were in many cases arbitrary in action and withheld the stipends of their vicars, that the standard of morality was low amongst the latter, and that the sacrist had abused his position as confessor.

Of the next sixty years no record appears to exist, and when Bishop Smith visited in 1501 matters seem to have considerably improved. The

¹ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1386-95, fol. 31 d. The archbishop further ordered that women of doubtful character should not be admitted to the close. In view of the injunctions of 1392, already mentioned (p. 87), it seems fair to assume that as far as the canons were concerned this order was merely formal. A higher moral standard must have prevailed amongst them before they could enforce it upon their juniors.

² All the resident canons were bound in virtue of their office to entertain a certain number of the junior ministers and servants of the church at their own tables on certain days. Archbishop Benson has noted that social influence was quite as much part of the work of a canon as attendance at worship. W. E. Benson, *The Cathedral*, pp. 22 and 39. See also *Arch. li*, p. 2.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, fol. 466 et seq.

⁴ Ibid. Memo. Repingdon, fol. 45 d.

⁵ This was under an order of Bishop Repingdon, Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. (ii), 201.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gray, fol. 122 et seq.

⁷ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii (ii), 366 et seq.

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dean said he hoped everything was *satis prospere*, and several of the vicars returned the verdict *omnia bene*. Evil reports had indeed arisen from the fact that a woman had access to the rooms of one of the chaplains, and the dean and precentor had not been sufficiently careful in admitting vicars, clerks, and choristers, otherwise the bishop seems to have been satisfied with his visit.¹ Two years later a more serious state of affairs had again arisen. The bishop enjoined that chantry clerk should not take their meals in taverns, that women of evil life should not be admitted to live within the close, and that an overseer should be appointed for the vicars and poor clerks. There seem to have been certain cases of misappropriation, and vestments and jewels had been given away without the dean's consent, chapter secrets had been revealed to seculars, and a quarrel had arisen between the dean and treasurer as to the right of the latter to absent himself from the cathedral without leave, and his obligation to provide good wine for the celebration of the sacrament.² Bishop Longlands seems to have visited about the year 1524, and at some subsequent time wrote to insist that the dean should make the required corrections; he added that the residents were fewer in number than of old, the dignitaries ought to reside, especially the treasurer, and as the latter had long been absent he was sending Mr. Richard Parker to fulfil that office, as he was willing to keep residence.³ In 1539 he issued further injunctions empowering major residents to profess minor residence after three years if ill, and making one or two other regulations.⁴

The first half of the sixteenth century was a period hardly less critical for the secular foundations of England than for the monasteries. It was very early in his reign that Henry VIII began to show an alarming interest in Lincoln, and issued a decree that none of the singing men or boys of the cathedral should be taken away unless it were to sing in his own chapel.⁵ By the year 1528 Bishop Longlands seems even to have considered it a favour that he was allowed by Wolsey to bestow the deanery according to his own ideas of fitness—there is a touch of irony in the words in which he thanks the cardinal for his 'goodness in suffering me to

bestow my own livelihood.'⁶ In August, 1534, the acknowledgement of the royal supremacy was signed by the dean and seventy-one others.⁷

Two years later the Lincolnshire insurrection broke out. It is not quite clear what attitude was adopted by the dean and chapter. It would seem that the rebels, on coming to Lincoln, met with a favourable reception at the hands of members of the corporation,⁸ and by some means they obtained access to the chapter-house of the cathedral. According to one witness the gentlemen lodged one night with the dean and canons and were well entertained.⁹ At the same time, when the mayor was at a loss how to defend the town in case of attempted plunder, the sub-dean and chancellor who were in residence, being unable to send men to his assistance, promised and collected £30, which they forwarded to the town hall.¹⁰ Suspicion of complicity, however, seems to have fallen on the dean, but the Duke of Suffolk wrote to the king assuring him that Henneage was absent from Lincoln at the time and that he had had no communication with the rebels, and either through innocence or influence the cathedral suffered nothing worse than the exaction of a loan from the residentiaries, to be repaid before the issue of the king's pardon.¹¹

In June, 1540, the dean received orders to take down and convey to London Tower 'a certayn shryne and divers feyned Reliques and Juels' in the cathedral, whereby 'all the simple people be moch deceived and broughte into great supersticion and idolatrye.'¹² From the memorandum of the execution of this order, it appears that the king thus appropriated 2,621 oz. of gold, 3,285 oz. of silver, besides pearls, precious stones, the pure gold shrine of St. Hugh, and the pure silver shrine of St. John Dalderby. Between the years 1548 and 1553 yet further plunder was taken,¹³ and it is perhaps scarcely surprising that the treasurer threw away the keys of his office, which became from that time extinct in Lincoln cathedral.¹⁴

The story of the next few years is soon told. In April, 1548, after a visitation by commissioners, the dean read the royal injunctions exhorting the whole of the cathedral body to charity, studiousness, and general good discipline, providing for a certain number of sermons and for portions of the service to be conducted in English, abolishing certain observances of the

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Smith, fol. 140-7.

² D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1501-7, fol. 68 d. et seq. and 78. Here again the injunction as to the exclusion of women from the close may well have been formal, but the character of the treasurer's language to the dean and the general tone of the cathedral as revealed by the injunctions do not seem to indicate a healthy moral atmosphere.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Longlands, fol. 28.

⁴ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1520-45, fol. 170. This was a reassertion of a privilege already spoken of as an old custom by Bishop Alnwick (Bradshaw and Wordsworth op. cit. i, 210) and may point to an attempt to reduce the chapter to the number of major residents only.

⁵ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1507-20.

⁶ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, iv (2), No. 4,527. There was no talk, it appears, of free election.

⁷ Ibid. vii, No. 1,121 (5).

⁸ Ibid. xi, No. 853.

⁹ Ibid. xi, Nos. 971, 975, fol. 2, and No. 853. It seems certain, however, that the dean was not present.

¹⁰ Ibid. xi, No. 939.

¹¹ Ibid. xi, No. 1,084, see also No. 1,043, and xii, 1,218.

¹² Ibid. xv, No. 772.

¹³ *Arch.* liii, 38 et seq. Canon Wordsworth in this article has given several interesting inventories of the jewels and vestments of the cathedral.

¹⁴ Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedrals*, iii, 3.

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cathedral, and making provision for choristers who 'have ther voices chaunged,' with a few other regulations.¹ In 1552 Matthew Parker was installed as dean. Parker had modified an early enthusiasm for Lutheran teaching by Patristic study, but he was a married man, and on the accession of Mary espoused the cause of Lady Jane Grey.² The Chapter Acts make no comment on the revolution which involved his downfall, simply recording the installation of Dean Mallet in September, 1555, and the significant injunctions of the bishop of Lincoln in 1556—that services were to be performed in accordance with the Use of Sarum, that prebendaries were to wear ecclesiastical dress and to shave their beards, and that married men were not to administer the sacrament.³ There seems to be no evidence as to how the prebendaries and other ministers of the cathedral received these quickly succeeding changes of ritual or the injunctions of 1559,⁴ whereby Elizabeth practically reverted to the position of 1548, only as late as June, 1580, the episcopal visitor learnt that one vicar did not 'feel right about religion,' and thought it no 'derogation to the dignity of our Lord to invoke the Virgin.'⁵

With the close of the sixteenth century began the gradual slackening of those ties which had originally bound every member of the cathedral body and every parish under its jurisdiction into a closely knit community. In the early years of the fourteenth century there seem generally to have been about ten resident canons,⁶ in 1433 there were eight beside the dean,⁷ and in 1492–3 an order was issued that each prebendary might pay one visit to Rome so long as he left at least five canons in residence at the cathedral⁸; it was therefore an innovation when it was decreed in September, 1589, that in future the number of residents should not exceed four.⁹ Other signs were not wanting that the ideal of the old community life had been lost sight of, for in answer to articles issued by Bishop Chaderton, in 1607, it was stated that visitations had so long been omitted that jurisdiction over prebendal places was lost; thus the connexion between the non-resident canons and their cathedral was practically reduced to the visits necessitated in keeping their preaching turns, and even these were in some cases

neglected,¹⁰ and on the occasion of a metropolitanical visitation in August, 1634, it appeared that some prebendaries had never seen the cathedral, and appointed insufficient deputies to preach for them.¹¹

Unfortunately the new era in the cathedral history does not seem to have been a more vigorous one. Other complaints at Bishop Chaderton's visitation were to the effect that the dean and chapter were 'dissolute and careless' in their government; that the choir was inefficient and irreverent; that the master of the fabric and the vergers and bell-ringers were negligent; that preachers were usually much disturbed by the 'prophane walking and talking of idle and irreligious persons'; that the close had become 'a place of great licentiousness, especially in alehouses,' and that 'no course was taken for beggars . . . who . . . trouble every stranger with their importunity.'

Archbishop Laud's vicar-general in 1634 seems to have found an even more deplorable lack of fitness, the communion table was 'not very decent and the rail worse,' the organ 'old and naught,' the copes and vestments had been embezzled, and alehouses, hounds, and swine were kept in the churchyard. A few years later the senior vicars complained of the financial oppressions which they were suffering at the hands of the residentiaries.¹² The only activities of the period seem to have been a renewal of the dispute as to the rights of metropolitanical visitation,¹³ and the formation of a company of ringers. This curious organization was very similar in character to the craft guilds of the fifteenth century, its members were chiefly tradesmen of Lincoln, and the company had its own feasts and constituted itself a kind of provident society. Its ordinances were drawn up in 1612 and received the acknowledgement of the dean and chapter in 1614; the last master was apparently appointed in 1725.¹⁴

The civil war involved the cathedral in the common ruin which overtook the church and the crown. In 1649 deans and chapters were abolished by Act of Parliament,¹⁵ and between that year and 1658 most of the cathedral estates were sold.¹⁶ Mr. Edward Reyner and Mr. George Scottereth, or Scottericke, the former of whom had been lecturer in the city since 1635,¹⁷ were appointed ministers in the cathedral church in April, 1649.¹⁸ In March, 1655–6, they were empowered to appoint an assistant preacher, and Reyner and one Abdy are spoken of as 'ministers

¹ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1548, fol. 288.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1545–59, fol. 398 and fol. 413 *d. et seq.*

⁴ For these injunctions, which are almost identical with those of Edward VI, see D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1507–20, fol. 83.

⁵ D. and C. Linc. Press A. iv, 3, No. 2.

⁶ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1305–21, fol. 16 *d.* and 1321–9 fol. 11. In 1310 the canons spoke of the 'fewness of the residents,' which would seem to imply that originally more had resided.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gray, fol. 114 *d.*

⁸ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1479–1502, fol. 83.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1539–97, fol. 107.

¹⁰ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* ii (ii), 641.

¹¹ *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1634, p. 204.

¹² *Ibid.* 1637, p. 61.

¹³ *Ibid. passim.*

¹⁴ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* ii (ii), 605–23.

¹⁵ Stat. 1649, c. 24.

¹⁶ Close Rolls, 1649–58, *passim.*

¹⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 101.

¹⁸ W. A. Shaw, *Hist. of the Engl. Church.*

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and lecturers of this city' as late as September, 1660.¹

Michael Honeywood, the first dean of the restoration, was worthy of the work of reconstruction which he was called upon to undertake. He devoted his whole energy to the vindication of the lost franchises of the cathedral, the restoration of choral services with an efficient choir, the repair of the cathedral and the vicars' houses, and the improvement of the library.² Apart from this there is little evidence of the condition of the church in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; such visitations as were made were more or less formal, and apart from occasional complaints as to omissions of prebendaries' preaching turns, and of the presence of idlers in the church, throw very little light on the life of the community; that Samuel Fuller, whose portrait hung in the 'drinking-room' at Burley,³ should be one of the best known of the deans of this period was perhaps a sign of the times.

The nineteenth-century settlement was the natural outcome of the gradual oblivion to which the early organization of the cathedrals of the old foundation had been consigned. By legislation of the year 1840 it was provided that the chapter was to consist of the dean and four canons⁴—the precentor, chancellor, sub-dean, and one archdeacon—and the terms of residence were fixed at eight months in the year for the dean and three months each for the canons, the dean was to be appointed by the crown, and the prebends were disendowed and their estates vested in the ecclesiastical commissioners, as were also the separate estates of the cathedral dignitaries.⁵ The silence of this statute, and still more the character of the report issued by the royal commissioners in 1854, show how little either the framers of the Act or those for whom it was framed realized the extent to which they had deviated from the original constitution of the cathedral. The unhistorical differentiation between the greater and lesser chapters, the narrowing of the duties of the canons to the superintendence of the fabric and services of the cathedral and of education in the city, and the failure to realize that the old statutes had not regulated ritual and liturgy only, but the whole

activity of a vigorous social life, were the main characteristics of the return. The entire report would probably have admitted of the same explanation as that given by the priest-vicars of their doubt as to the date of their foundation—namely, that no one could read their charters.⁶

No immediate legislation followed, but in 1870 the estates of the dean and chapter were surrendered to the ecclesiastical commissioners,⁷ and in 1873 new regulations were made as to the re-establishment of certain prebends and honorary canonries.⁸ In the meantime the spirit of historical inquiry took possession of the cathedral body. The 'Novum Registrum' was carefully studied and its authority called in question, and the status of the non-residentiary canons became a matter of dispute. On the one hand certain of the prebendaries claimed to be summoned to occasional meetings of a 'greater chapter,' both as a matter of right and as an expedient to secure closer union between the parishes of the diocese and the mother church. The dean on the contrary denied the historical foundation of the greater chapter, and stated that in the middle ages only major and minor residents were entitled to summons to chapter meetings, thus excluding all modern prebendaries as non-resident.⁹

The whole dispute was embodied in the report issued by the Cathedrals Commission of 1884. The commissioners in this report proposed to supplement the old custom by new statutes which they said to a large extent represented existing custom. Against these Dean Blakesley issued a vigorous protest, to the effect that he could not give his sanction to the vague and unhistorical greater chapter which was to be created in accordance with the wishes of the prebendaries, and that he objected to the proposals to dissolve the corporation of priest-vicars, to curtail the rights of the dean, canons, and non-residentiary prebendaries in favour of the bishop, and to extend the canons' term of residence from three to eight months.¹⁰ Only one of the suggestions embodied in the supplementary statutes was

⁶ *Parl. Reports*, 1854, vol. xxv.

⁷ Order in Council, Feb. 1870.

⁸ Under Stat. 36 & 37 Vict. c. 39.

⁹ Neither position seems to be entirely free from objection historically. Though that of the dean has received the support of those who have studied the statutes with most care, and would appear to have been correct as far as the history of the cathedral since the fifteenth century is concerned, it is hardly possible to believe that had the existence of any body of canons outside the chapter been contemplated in early days there should be no statement of their disabilities even in the custom books (see also the form for the election of a dean in the Black Book and Chapter Acts, 1305, fol. 2 d.). Attendance at chapter by non-residents must no doubt have been a burden to themselves and a source of jealousy to the residents, and it is not difficult to understand why it should fall into disuse.

¹⁰ *Parl. Reports*, 1884-5, xxvi.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 102 and 104, and cf. Lambeth Palace Lib. Aug. of Church Livings, 972, fol. 114 and 472.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The library had been plundered in the war, and some of the books were supposed to have come into the possession of the corporation. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 104.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁴ It is expressly stated in the Act that the term 'canon' is to be construed to mean only every residentiary member of chapter, excluding the dean—this was, of course, an innovation.

⁵ Stat. 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113; Stat. 4 & 5 Vict. c. 39 made further provision as to the administration of revenues.

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ultimately adopted—namely, that of the creation or revival of the greater chapter, which may now be summoned by the dean for specified purposes. In all other respects the cathedral continues to be governed by the constitution of 1840.¹

While the grants to the common fund [*communa*] of the canons were very numerous about A.D. 1200,² these were for the most part grants of small quantities of land, and the grants of manors were chiefly in early times for the endowment of prebends, and later in connexion with chantries. William I granted³ to Remigius the manors of Welton near Lincoln and Sleaford, when the seat of the bishopric was translated to Lincoln; and in 1086 the bishop held both manors of the king, six canons of Lincoln holding the Welton lands under the bishop;⁴ later we hear of the prebend of Sleaford (Lafford), though the manor continued in the bishop's hands. Roger Fitz Gerold and Lucy his wife gave the vill of Asgarby as the endowment of a prebend, and William de Romara confirmed the gift of his father and mother, which gift had also been confirmed to St. Mary of Lincoln and Canon Robert de Grainvill by King Henry.⁵

King Henry I granted to St. Mary of Lincoln the church of Brand, priest of Corringham, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land as the endowment of a prebend, so that he, and his son after his death, should hold the same as a prebend of St. Mary.⁶ Bishop Robert de Chesney alienated the prebend of Canwick to the canons of the hospital of Lincoln of the order of Sempringham, and Bishop Hugh confirmed the gift c. 1190 with the consent of Haimo, the dean, and the chapter of Lincoln.⁷ In 1292 the abbot and convent of Fécamp conveyed to the dean and chapter their manor of Navenby, which they had received from Henry III in exchange for Winchelsea and Rye, because the safety of the realm did not admit of these being held by them, and King Edward I granted a licence of alienation on condition that a chantry be founded at Harby in honour of Queen Eleanor, who died there.⁸

¹ From information supplied by the chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral.

² Abstracts of over 500 charters have been printed, edited by W. O. Massingberd. *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvi, 18–96, 321–69; xxvii, 1–91.

³ *Registrum Antiq.* fol. 1, 2.

⁴ *Domesday Book*, 344. Circa 1115 (Lindsey Survey) the canons of St. Mary held in chief 14 car. 2 bov. in Welton, Riseholme and Willingham, of which the church has 4 bov. and Robert de Haia 2 bov. It will be noticed that *Domesday Book* mentions six canons holding the Welton land, though we only know of five prebends of Welton.

⁵ *Registrum Antiq.* fol. 8 and 16 d.

⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 397. The prebend of Canwick was part of the endowment of St. Catherine's Priory, *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 266.

⁸ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 321. *Cal. of Pat.* 1292–1301, p. 11; D. and C. Linc. Chart. D. ii, 51, 1; *Liber de Ordin. Cart.* fol. 10.

The manor of Normanby by Spittal was granted to the dean and chapter by Henry Beck, nephew of Bishop Thomas Beck, to maintain two chantries in Normanby church and one in the cathedral.⁹ In 1324 a licence was granted for the manor of Aunsby [Ounesby] to be alienated to the dean and chapter, who were to find three chaplains to pray for the souls of Robert de Lacy, formerly treasurer of the cathedral, Richard de Rowell, formerly canon, and Hervey de Luda, custodian of the altar of St. Peter.¹⁰ The manor of Glenthams was conveyed to the dean and chapter by three executors of John duke of Lancaster to keep the anniversaries of Kings Henry IV and V, and of the duke.¹¹ The manor of Greetwell was conveyed to the dean and chapter in 1480,¹² and the Valor shows that 100s. was paid therefrom to the chantry of Dean Robert Flemyng. The manor of Scamblesby was in the hands of feoffees in 1497,¹³ and the Valor shows that after its grant to the dean and chapter there was a payment therefrom to the chantry of Bishop John Russell. There are court rolls of the manor of Friesthorpe in 1314, 1339, and 1400,¹⁴ but nothing to show how it was acquired.

In 1303 the dean and chapter held one-fourth of half a knight's fee in Heydour, one-fifth and one-hundredth of a fee in Mumby and Theddlethorpe, one-tenth in Timberland, one-sixteenth in Lissington, one-tenth and one-hundredth in Searby, one-ninth in Screddington, one-fourth and one-twentieth in Fotherby, one-sixth in Tetford, one-tenth in Owmbly, and smaller portions in Thurlby, Hackthorn, Somersby, and Langton.¹⁵ In 1346 the return is the same with the exception of the omission of Mumby and Theddlethorpe, and the addition of half a knight's fee in Claypole, a quarter in Stoke, a quarter in Ormsby, a tenth in Thurlby, three quarters, a fifth, and one fifty-fourth in Aunsby. In 1401–2 the chapter held one-tenth of a fee

⁹ *Linc. Notes and Queries* vi, 123. *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxiv, 47.

¹⁰ D. and C. Linc. Chart. D. ii, 65, 3; *Liber de Ordin. Cart.* fol. 144 d., 145 d. John son of Baldwin Pigot had released all right in the manor, and William de Waure and William Latymer, knt., son and heir of William Latymer, knt., granted licence to alienate.

¹¹ Copy of Pat. Roll 1 Hen. V, pt. i, m. 18; D. and C. Linc. A. 4, 2. Fillingham lands were included, which afterwards were termed a manor. The manor had belonged to John son and heir of Sir Robert de Brakenbergh, who granted it in 1325 to William de Snartford and Thomas his son. D. ii, 71, 1.

¹² *Cal. of Pat.* 1476–85, p. 176. John earl of Wilts and Constance his wife gave the manor to William Heton, esq. and Dorothy his wife in 1472. D. and C. Linc. D. ii, 71, 1.

¹³ D. and C. Linc. D. ii, 86, 3.

¹⁴ D. and C. Linc. A. 4, 4.

¹⁵ *Feud. Aids*, iii.

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in Willingham, and £10 of annual rent in Boothby and Graffoe wapentakes. In 1428 no mention was made of Timberland, Claypole, Stoke, Thurlby, Screddington and Tetford, but a quarter of a fee is mentioned in Thorpe-in-the-Fallows, a quarter in Fillingham and in Hems-well, and lesser portions in North Ormsby and Utterby.¹

The date of the foundation of each prebend cannot be determined, but besides those already mentioned we find that King Stephen endowed that of Brampton.² The endowments of several other prebends consisted of the great tithes of churches, such as St. Lawrence, Lincoln, and St. Paul, Bedford, which had been granted or confirmed to Remigius by William I, or which belonged, as Caistor and Stow, to episcopal manors.

According to the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas the church was assessed in 1296 to about £1,398 3s.³ In 1536 the clear yearly value of the appropriated churches was £247 0s. 8½d., and that of the manors of Friesthorpe, Navenby, Normanby, Glentham, Fillingham, Marton, Ormsby, Croxton, Greetwell and Scamblesby in Lincolnshire and Marston in Oxfordshire, held in lay fee, was £93 18s. 7¾d. The annual septims of prebends were worth £74 10s. 7d., the vicars' estates £145 11s. 2d., and those of the choristers £34 13s. 4½d.; pensions, oblations, fabric money, and tithes, amounted to £128 7s. 6d. net, and the keeper of St. Peter's altar received £20 10s. 10d. At the same date the deanery was valued at £187 14s. 2d., and the precentorship at £8 2s. 4d., the clear yearly revenue of the chancellor was £54 1s. 5d., that of the treasurer £10 13s. 4d., and that of the sub-dean £32 12s. Of the prebends the wealthiest at this time seems to have been Leighton Manor whose clear value was £57 15s. 1d.; St. Botolph's, on the other hand, was only worth £1 a year, and Thorngate was returned as valueless. Of the others Clifton was valued at £19 4s. 2d., South Scarle at £11, Farrendon at £30 11s. 2d., Welton Beckhall at £5 2s. 1d., Welton Brinkhall at the same, Welton Ryvall at £7 7s. 5d., Welton Painshall at £5 8s. 9d., Welton Westhall at £9 6s. 8d., Heydor at £26, Corringham at £38 16s. 6d., Carlton cum Thurlby at £17 6s. 8d., Carlton cum Dalby at £12 15s., Sutton in the Marsh at £19, Asgarby at £12 10s., Louth at £36 3s. 4d., Scamblesby at £23 13s. 4d., North Kelsey at £16 10s. 2d.,

Sleaford at £11 19s. 5d., Caistor at £3 4s., Stowe in Lindsey at £10 19s. 1d., Norton Episcopi at £7 3s. 2d., Dunholme at £9 4s. 2d., Decem Librarum at £6 18s. 7d., Sexaginta Solidorum at 60s., Centum Solidorum at £4 9s. 4d., Crackpole at £4 8s. 2d., All Saints Thorngate at £4 7s. 1d., St. Martin's at 38s. 4d., Saint Cross at £4, Empingham at £25 6s. 5d., Ketton at £29 10s. 2d., the farm of Nassington at £5 2s. 2½d., Leighton Ecclesia at £13 14s., Brampton at £26 7s. 4d., Long Stowe at £33 2s. 2¾d., Bugden at £17 7s. 4d., Bedford Minor at £2 16s. 6d., Biggleswade at £42 7s. 4d., Aylesbury at £36, and Marston at £12 5s. 6d.⁴

The value of the chantries in the cathedral as given in the Valor was £177 16s. 5½d.; the list, however, even for this date is very incomplete. A register begun apparently about the year 1330 mentions the following chantries:—that of King Edward II and Queen Isabella at the altar of St. John the Baptist, of Hugh of Wells at the altar of St. Hugh, of Henry de Lexington at the altar of St. John the Baptist, of Oliver Sutton, of John Dalderby at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, of William de Tournay (Thornaco) at the altar of St. Mary, of Simon de Barton, of Hugh de Normanton, of Nicholas de Hiche, of William de Hemingburgh, of John de Widdington, of William de Aveton, of William son of Fulk at the altar of St. Denis, of Peter de Hungaria (or Hundegarde) at the altar of St. Nicholas, of William de Thorenton and of William de la Gare, of Henry de Beningworth at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, of Robert de Lascy, Richard de Rowell (or Rothwell) and Harvey of Louth at the altar of St. Mary Magdalene, of William de Lexington at the altar of St. Michael, of William de Winchecumbe at the altar of St. John the Baptist, of Ruffus called 'physicus' at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, of deceased bishops at the altar of St. Peter, of Richard de Faldingworth at the altar of St. Giles, of Geoffrey de Mawdlin, of William son of Ulf, of Gilbert of Kent, of brethren and sisters of the canons, of Geoffrey Pollard, of Henry de Mammesfeld in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, of Nicholas and Joan Cantelupe at the altar of St. Nicholas, of Bartholomew, Henry and Robert Burghersh in the chapel of St. Katherine, of Hugh Walmesford at the altar of St. Giles, of Richard Whitwell at the altar of St. Stephen, of John Bokyngham at the altars of St. Hugh and St. Katherine, of Walter de Stanreth at the altar of St. Andrew, of John Gynwell at the altar of St. Mary Magdalene, of Richard Stretton and of Hervey Beck at

¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. ix, 554.

³ This included the appropriated churches of Wel-ingore, Searby, Screddington, Tathwell, Hainton, Little Bytham, Skillington, Nettleham, Glentham and St. Nicholas, Lincoln, and Hambleton co. Rutland. Gosberton, Bottesford, Normanby and Ailesby churches are mentioned in the Valor, as well as Greetwell, Ashby Puerorum and St. Bartholomew, Lincoln, be-longing to the choristers.

⁴ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv. No valuation is given of Banbury, Bedford Major, Sutton cum Buckingham, Cropredy, Gretton, Kilsby, Langford Ecclesia, Langford Manor, St. Margaret's, Leicester, Leighton Buzzard, Liddington, Milton Ecclesia, Milton Manor, and Thame. The prebend of Stoke had been annexed to the chancellorship since about the year 1458 (Hardy and Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, 211).

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the altar of St. Katherine.¹ Of these that of Nicholas de Hiche was united with those of William Lexington and John Widdington, that of William Aveton with those of Geoffrey Pollard, Geoffrey Mawdlin, and William Hemingburgh, that of Henry de Beningworth with Richard Faldingworth's,² William Fulke's with Peter de Hungaria's, Stretton's with Wolfe's, and Stanreth's with that of Antony Goldesburgh or Goldsmith.³ The chantries of Dalderby, Normanton, Winchecumbe, Ruffus, deceased bishops, brethren and sisters, Henry de Mammesfeld and Hervey Beck do not occur again, but in the certificate drawn up prior to the dissolution of the chantries at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI there is mention of the chantries of Bishop Russell, Henry Edenstow, Robert Flemmyng and Umfraville,⁴ and yet another list of the years 1547-9 omits these and adds the chantries of William Smith, Katherine countess of Westmorland, Thomas Alford, canon, Agnes Cause, widow, Roger Benyson and Joan his wife, Richard Ravenser and William Walthan, and two 'Works' chantries, sometimes called chantries of the Fabric.⁵ In addition to all these there appear to have been chantries for the souls of Bishops Alnwick and Longlands, of Katharine Swyneford, and of Henry duke of Lancaster, and others known as Swilling's, Crosby's Colynson's, and Wellbourne chantries.⁶ With the exception of the Lancaster and Westmorland families nearly all those commemorated were connected with the cathedral, having been either bishops, deans, or canons. Most of the chantries were served by one, or sometimes two priests, but Bishop Hugh's grant in 1234 provided for three chaplains, a deacon, and a sub-deacon.⁷ Bishop Bokyngham made provision for two chaplains, and, if the chantry certificate be correct, for two poor boys to be kept at school from the ages of seven to sixteen,⁸ and the chantry founded by Bartholomew Burghersh in 1340 appears to have been the largest of all, being served by five chaplains, one of whom was master or warden;⁹ according to the chantry certificate six boys were kept at school from the revenues, and at the dissolution part of the endowment was set aside to support additional choristers, now known as the Burghersh chanters.¹⁰

¹ Printed in Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. ii, (i) cc lxi, seq.

² Duchy of Lancaster, Mins. Accts. $\frac{280}{4557}$.

³ Visitation Book, 1440, printed in Bradshaw and Wordsworth ii, (ii) 439.

⁴ Chant. Cert. 33.

⁵ Duchy of Lancs. Mins. Accts. $\frac{280}{4557}$.

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. ix, 560 and 567; *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.); and Maddison, *Vicars Choral*, 40. That of Longland cannot have had more than a few weeks' existence, as it was not founded until 1547.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. ix, 566.

⁸ Chant. Cert. 33.

⁹ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 3.

¹⁰ Maddison, *Vicars Choral*, 23.

A survey of the estates of the dean and chapter 1649-50 mentions these manors in Lincolnshire: Glenthams, Fillingham, Navenby, Normanby (2), Crosholm, Osbournby, Greetwell, Aunsby, Willingham, Southrey, Welton Panshall, Westhall with Goringhall, Beckhall, Brinkhall and Rivehall, Friesthorpe, Asgarby, Scamblesby, Maltby, Caistor, Corringham and South Scarle; also the manors of Hambledon, Empingham and Ketton in Rutland; of Gretton, Nassington and Marston St. Lawrence in Northamptonshire; of Great Paxton in Hunts; of Walton in Bucks; of Langford in Beds; of Chesterfield in Derbyshire; and of Mansfield and Edwinstowe in Notts.¹¹

DEANS OF LINCOLN

Ralph, 1092¹²

Simon Bloet, c. 1110¹³

Nigel,¹⁴ between 1123 and 1147

Philip de Harecourt,¹⁵ 1141

Adelelmus or Ascelinus,¹⁶ called fourth dean, but occurs 1163, and according to Dugdale in 1145 and 1162

Geoffrey Kirtling,¹⁷ or Kytlynge, c. 1169 and 1176

Richard Fitz Neale,¹⁸ occurs 1186, became bishop of London 1189

Haimo,¹⁹ occurs 1189 and 1194

Roger de Roldeston, or Rolveston,²⁰ occurs 1200 and 1222. According to Dugdale and Le Neve, 1195-1223

William de Tournay,²¹ occurs 1225. According to Dugdale and Le Neve, 1223-39

¹¹ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxiv, 127-131.

¹² Hen. of Huntingdon, *De Contemptu Mundi* (Rolls Ser.), 301.

¹³ Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xvi, fol. 8 d. and Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii.

¹⁴ Ibid. quoting Liber Rub. de Thorneia.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 155; Harl. Chart. 45 A, 4 (Peter de Gosla was sheriff in 1163), and Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* vi, 1278.

¹⁷ Le Neve, *Fasti*, and Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xviii, fol. 200.

¹⁸ Ralph de Diceto, *Opera*, ii, 41, and Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, and Stubbs, *Epis. Succession*.

¹⁹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E, ii, fol. 40 d. and Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 285-6.

²⁰ *Chron. and Mem. of Rich. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 511, and *Charters of Salisbury* (Rolls Ser.), 122; cf. also *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Ser.), 124.

²¹ Pat. 10 Hen. III, m. 9 d. Luard questions whether the date 1239 does not arise from a confusion of his suspension with his deprivation, but he was certainly deprived before August, 1240, when Dean Roger occurs [Boyd and Massingberd, *Linc. Final Concords*, 312, and see Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), xlv, note 2]. William de Tournay would appear to have become a monk at Louth Park before his death [*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, App. iii, 69, where *de parco jud* is probably a mistake for *de parco lud*].

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Roger de Weseham,¹ 1239 or 1240-5
 Henry de Lexington,² 1245-54
 Richard de Gravesend,³ 1254-8
 Robert Marsh,⁴ died in 1262
 William de Lessington,⁵ 1262-72
 Richard de Mepham,⁶ 1272, occurs 1274
 John de Maydestun, called dean,⁷ 1275
 Oliver Sutton,⁸ 1275-80
 Nicholas Heigham,⁹ occurs 1281, executors of his will mentioned 1288
 Philip Wilughby,¹⁰ occurs 1288-1305
 Joscelin de Kirnington,¹¹ 1305
 Reymund del God,¹² or Goth, cardinal of New St. Mary's, 1305-10
 Roger de Martival,¹³ 1310-5
 Henry de Mammesfeld,¹⁴ 1315-28
 Anthony Bek,¹⁵ 1328-37
 William of Norwich,¹⁶ 1337-44
 John de Offord, or Ufford,¹⁷ 1344-8
 Thomas de Bredewardyn,¹⁸ 1348-9
 Simon de Bresley,¹⁹ 1349. He died, according to Le Neve, in 1360
 John de Stretle,²⁰ occurs 1364; he was dead in 1371
 Simon Langham,²¹ to 1376

John de Schepey,²² 1388-1412
 John Macworth,²³ 1412-51
 Robert Flemyng,²⁴ 1452-83
 George Fitzhugh,²⁵ 1483-1505
 Geoffrey Simeon,²⁶ 1506-8
 Thomas Wolsey,²⁷ 1509-14
 John Constable,²⁸ 1514-28
 George Henneage,²⁹ 1528-39
 John Taylor,³⁰ 1539-52
 Matthew Parker,³¹ 1552-4
 Francis Mallet,³² 1555-70
 John Whitgift,³³ 1571-7
 William Wickham,³⁴ 1577-84
 Ralph Griffin,³⁵ 1585-93
 John Reynolds,³⁶ 1593-8
 William Cole,³⁷ 1598-1601
 Laurence Stanton,³⁸ 1601-13
 Roger Parker,³⁹ 1613-29
 Anthony Topham,⁴⁰ 1629-49
 Michael Honeywood,⁴¹ 1660-81
 Daniel Brevint,⁴² 1681-95
 Samuel Fuller,⁴³ 1695-9
 Abraham Campion,⁴⁴ 1700-1
 Richard Willis,⁴⁵ 1701-21

¹ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 425.
² Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), 206, and note, and *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 318.
³ Gir. Camb. *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), 207, and *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 305.
⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 131.
⁵ Ibid. and iv, 251.
⁶ Ibid. and Close, 2 Edw. I, m. 11 d.
⁷ *Mon. Ang.* viii, 1268 (note a) and 1278.
⁸ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 4, and 8 Edw. I, m. 23.
⁹ Close, 9 Edw. I, m. 8 d. and *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 341.
¹⁰ Pat. 16 Edw. I, m. 1, and Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby A^o 1305.
¹¹ Ibid. See also Memo. Dalderby, fol. 307, for account of his removal in favour of the papal nominee.
¹² D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1305-21, fol. 27.
¹³ Ibid. and Stubbs, *Epis. Succession*.
¹⁴ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. lxxxiii; D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1321-39, fol. 11.
¹⁵ Ibid. and Stubbs, *Epis. Succession*. According to *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 548, he was promoted to Norwich in 1340.
¹⁶ Ibid. and D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1342-6, fol. 19 d.
¹⁷ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1342-6, fol. 19 d. and *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 273.
¹⁸ Ibid. and Stubbs, *Epis. Succession*.
¹⁹ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1348-55, fol. 10 d.
²⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 7 and 165.
²¹ In *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 339a, is a complaint that a cardinal was holding the deanery of Lincoln in 1376. This is said in *Fasti*, ii, to be Simon Langham, and Widmore, *Hist. of Westm. Abbey*, 98, quoting the Westm. Archives, states that after Langham's disgrace on being promoted to the rank of cardinal, in 1368, he was provided by the pope to the deanery of Lincoln. By his will, which was proved in 1377, he bequeathed a 'capam de blueto blavio cum delphinis' to the cathedral. Ibid. 187.

²² D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1386-95, fol. 15 d. Ibid. 1407-1422, 26 d.
²³ Ibid. and Chapter Acts, 1448-62, fols. 10 and 20 d.
²⁴ Ibid.
²⁵ Ibid. 1479-92, fol. 18, and 1501-7, fol. 108 d.
²⁶ Ibid. fol. 111 d. and 1507-20, fol. 21.
²⁷ Ibid. fol. 45 d.
²⁸ Ibid. fol. 63, and 1520-45, fol. 74.
²⁹ Ibid. fol. 84, 166.
³⁰ Ibid. 1520-45, fol. 166, and Stubbs, *Epis. Succession*.
³¹ *Correspondence of Matthew Parker* (Parker Soc.), 482.
³² D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1545-59, fol. 398; 1559-97, fol. 68 d.
³³ Ibid. fol. 69 d. and Stubbs, *Epis. Succession*.
³⁴ Ibid. 1559-97, fol. 82 d. and Stubbs, *Epis. Succession*.
³⁵ Ibid. 1559-97, fol. 98, and Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii.
³⁶ Ibid. and *Cal. of Hatfield House MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), pt. viii, 332. Cole and Reynolds changed places—the latter, on the recommendation of the archbishop of Canterbury, becoming president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 'the rather' because he was 'employed in writing against the Jesuits and others our adversaries.'
³⁷ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1598-1640, fol. 2, 13 d.
³⁸ Ibid. fol. 12. ³⁹ Ibid. fol. 95 d.
⁴⁰ Ibid. fol. 68. His will was proved in 1655. Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii.
⁴¹ Chapter Acts, 1598-1640, fol. 211 d. and 1670-1702, fol. 77 d. There seems to have been a rumour in 1660 that the deanery had been given to Dr. Sterne (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, pt. i, 396).
⁴² D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1670-1702, fol. 78, 181.
⁴³ Ibid. 187, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
⁴⁴ Ibid. 1670-1702, fol. 230, 242 d.
⁴⁵ Ibid. 242 d. In 1715 he was made bishop of Gloucester, but was allowed to hold his deanery in commendam. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

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Robert Canon,¹ 1721-2
 Edward Gee,² 1722-30
 Edward Willes,³ 1730-43
 Thomas Cheney,⁴ 1744
 William George,⁵ 1748-56
 John Green, D.D.,⁶ 1756
 Hon. James York, D.D.,⁷ 1762
 Robert Richardson,⁸ died in 1781
 Richard Cust, D.D.,⁹ 1782-3
 Sir Richard Kaye, bart.,¹⁰ 1783-1809
 George Gordon, D.D.,¹¹ 1809-45
 John Giffard Ward, 1845-60
 Thomas Garnier, B.C.L., 1860
 James A. Jeremie, D.D., D.C.L., 1864
 Joseph William Blakesley, B.D., 1872
 William John Butler, D.D., 1885
 Edward Charles Wickham, D.D., 1894

The pointed oval twelfth-century chapter seal¹² of Lincoln Cathedral shows the Virgin, crowned, holding in her right hand a sceptre terminating in a flower, and with the left hand supporting the Child seated on her knee. The Child is of larger proportion than usual, with cruciform nimbus, and the right hand raised in benediction; in the left hand is an orb(?). The throne has projecting terminals at the sides and a plain footboard.

The legend on a concave bevelled edge runs—

✠ SIGILLV CAPITVLI SANCTE MARIE
 LINCOLINEN . . .

Another twelfth-century pointed oval seal¹³ shows the Virgin and Child designed in a manner similar to the last, but more artistic, on a carved throne; in her right hand a lily sceptre; the Child holds in the left hand an open book. Footboard with two small arches below.

The legend on a concave bevelled edge runs—

SIGILLVM - CAPITVLI - SANCTE - MARIE -
 LINCOLNIENSIS - ECCLESIE.

The n's in LINCOLNIENSIS are reversed.

A pointed oval seal of the fourteenth century¹⁴ shows in a double niche, with Gothic canopy, trefoiled arches, and open work at the sides, the

Virgin (?) holding a small model of a church, an angel addressing her. The corbel at the base is enriched with foliage. In the field, over the canopy, a crescent and estoile.

. . . CAPITVLI - ECCL'IE - LINCOLN : AD : CAVSAS :
 ET : NEGOCIA : NEC : NON : AD : ALIEN(ANDVM :)

The pointed oval seal of Dean William de Tournay¹⁵ shows the dean, full length, holding a book.

SIGI LELMI DE TOVRNA . . .

The letters v, r are conjoined.

The seal of Dean Roger de Weseham¹⁶ is a pointed oval showing the dean, full length, lifting up his hands.

✠ ROGERVS LINCOLNIENSIS ECCLESIE DECANUS.

The seal of Dean William de Lessington,¹⁷ also a pointed oval, shows the dean seated on a carved seat to the right reading at a lectern.

✠ s' MAGIST[RI] WI DE LINC

The seal of Dean John de Stretle of 1366¹⁸ represents within a carved Gothic panel, and suspended by the strap from a forked tree, a shield of arms: gyronny of eight, on a canton, a covered cup, Stretle.

SIGILL' : IOH'IS : DE : STRETELE : CLERICI -

The letters d, e are conjoined.

The pointed oval seal of Dean John de Schepey¹⁹ shows a male saint, perhaps St. John the Evangelist, enthroned, with a flight of steps and rocky sides in the foreground. On the left an unidentified figure, full length, probably the dean, on the right suspended by a strap from a tree a shield of arms, the bearings obliterated by pressure. The legend was a rhyming hexameter verse.

SHEPEYE : DECANUM IA : QZ : SANUM.

The pointed oval seal of Dean John Constable²⁰ represents in a carved niche, with a heavy canopy and tabernacle work at the sides, the Virgin, holding a long sceptre, with the Child. In base a shield of arms: quarterly 1-4 vairé, over all a bend. Constable.

s' : IOH'IS : CONSTABLE : DECANI : ECCL'IE :
 LINCOLNIE.

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

2. THE MONASTERY OF IKANHO

Amongst the Lincolnshire monasteries which are known to history the most ancient seems to

¹ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1706-52, fol. 31, and Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii.

² Chapter Acts, 1706-52, fol. 131, and *Reg. of Westm. Abbey*, 327.

³ First Fruits Bishops' Certificates, Lincs. No. 24, and Stubbs, *Epis. Succession*.

⁴ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii.

⁵ Chapter Acts, 1706-52, and Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii.

⁶ First Fruits Bishops' Certificates, Lincs. No. 29.

⁷ Chapter Acts, 1762-89.

have been the one which was built by St. Botolph at Ikanho, probably somewhere near the town of Boston. The English Chronicle dates the foundation in the year 654.²¹ This house was

⁸ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii.

⁹ Chapter Acts, 1762-89, and Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii.

¹⁰ Ibid. 1790-1811, fol. 260-1

¹¹ Ibid. and Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii.

¹² Add. Chart. 863.

¹³ B.M. Seals, l, 22.

¹⁴ Ibid. lvii, 76.

¹⁵ Harl. Chart. 44, F. 25.

¹⁶ B.M. Seals, lvii, 78.

¹⁷ Ibid. 77.

¹⁸ Add. Chart. 21, 492.

¹⁹ Wol. Chart. xi, 31.

²⁰ B.M. Seals, lvii, 83.

²¹ *Ang.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 50-1.

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not modelled, like most of the northern monasteries of the time, on the pattern of Iona; St. Botolph's travels in Gaul, before he adopted the regular life, had given him an acquaintance with other rules. It is said that when he returned to Lincolnshire, he asked the sub-king Ethelmund, whose sisters he had met in Gaul, to give him a piece of waste land on which to build a monastery; and the place at Ikanho was chosen simply because it was as yet unoccupied.¹ The rule which St. Botolph gave to his monks was an eclectic one, gathered from sources old and new; but it was apparently well kept, and when Ceolfred, the friend of Benedict Biscop, and afterwards abbot of Wearmouth, was visiting several of the English monasteries about 670, he was much edified by the learning and piety of the brethren at Ikanho.²

The monastery continued probably until the devastation of this part of the country by the Danes, near the end of the ninth century. It was never rebuilt.

3. THE MONASTERY OF BARROW

The ancient monastery 'Ad Baruae' in Lindsey was founded about the middle of the seventh century: probably between 669 and 672, when St. Chad was bishop of Lichfield, for traces of his discipline remained there in the days of Bede.³ The land on which the monastery was built was the gift of King Wulfhere (657-75), and was sufficient to support fifty families; the rule it followed was probably the same as that of the more famous house at Lastingham. When Wilfrid, bishop of Mercia, was deposed by Archbishop Theodore for some act of disobedience, he took refuge at Barrow, and ended his days there 'in all holy conversation.'⁴

This monastery was also destroyed by the Danes and never rebuilt.

4. THE ABBEY OF BARDNEY

The abbey of Bardney was the most ancient of those monasteries of Lincolnshire which survived the Danish invasions, being founded in all probability about twenty years before Crowland, and certainly not later than 697.⁵ The traditional founders of Bardney were King Ethelred of Mercia and his Northumbrian queen Osthryd; Bede, however, only says that they 'greatly loved, revered and adorned' this house,⁶ so it

is just possible that it may have been in existence before their time. The great fame of the abbey certainly dates from the day when Osthryd brought to its gate the honoured relics of her uncle, St. Oswald, whose noble example and devoted labours had done so much to secure the establishment of Christianity in the north of England. It is characteristic of the age of the Heptarchy that the Mercian monks of Bardney at first refused to admit the body of an alien prince, even though they knew he was a saint; and the legend says that the car remained outside the gates all night. But a shining column of light which rose above it, and was seen, says Bede, by some who were alive in his own day, made the monks ashamed of their prejudices; and the next morning they gave glad admission to the relics, and laid them in a costly shrine, where many signs and wonders were afterwards wrought.⁷

Queen Osthryd was murdered in 697 by certain Mercian nobles, and a few years later her husband Ethelred, like many other princes of his race, renounced the world and became a monk at Bardney. He was living there as abbot in 704, and was able to show much kindness and hospitality to St. Wilfrid, who came to the monastery in that year as a guest, bearing the papal letters which were meant to reinstate him in his see.⁸

Ethelred died in 716,⁹ and was numbered with the saints;¹⁰ and about a hundred and fifty years later the abbey was laid in ruins by the Danes.¹¹ It was remembered, however, as a great and noble house, where many men of high rank had lived and died in the service of God;¹² and when, soon after the Conquest, Gilbert of Ghent, nephew of the Conqueror, came into possession of the abbey lands, he determined to restore them to the church. In the last year of the Conqueror's reign,¹³ and with his leave, a priory was built at Bardney for Benedictine monks, and dedicated as before to St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Oswald; its foundation charter was witnessed by Archbishop Lanfranc, by Remigius bishop of

¹ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* iii, c. 11, p. 148.

² Bright, *Early Engl. Church Hist.* 410-11.

³ Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), i, 49. The date 712 is also given for his death.

⁴ He was the eldest of those five children of Penda who were canonized as saints. Bright, *Early Engl. Church Hist.* 168.

⁵ The relics of St. Oswald were removed to Gloucester Abbey in 909. *Ang. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 182-3; ii, 77-8.

⁶ The charter of Walter of Ghent declares that the monastery was 'of old time held in great veneration, as Bede testifies, on account of many miracles performed there, and the conversion of many nobles.'

⁷ The date seems to be fixed by the fact that the priory is not mentioned in the Domesday Survey, while the names of the king and his three sons, as well as that of Archbishop Lanfranc, appear on the foundation charter.

¹ Bright, *Early Engl. Church Hist.* 179.

² Anon. Hist. of Abbots of Jarrow, in *Baedae Opera Hist.* (ed. Plummer), i, 389, and cf. ii, 372.

³ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* (ed. Plummer), bk. iv, c. 3, p. 207, 'In quo usque hodie instituta ab ipso regularis vitae vestigia permanent.'

⁴ Ibid. bk. iv, c. 6, p. 218.

⁵ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* v, c. 24, p. 355 (the date of the murder of Queen Osthryd).

⁶ Ibid. iii, c. 11, p. 148.

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Lincoln, and many barons.¹ In 1115 Walter of Ghent, son and heir of the founder, raised the priory to the rank of a free abbey, confirmed all his father's gifts, and added others of his own.² The names of Gilbert earl of Lincoln, Simon de Montfort his son-in-law, Robert Marmion, Geoffrey Brito, Philip de Kyme, Henry Bek, and many others well known in the early history of this county, are found amongst the benefactors of the abbey.³

The monks were involved in several lawsuits concerning their churches and other property during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1192 the abbot secured the advowson of the chapel of Newton against William de Rochford;⁴ in 1194 the churches of Hale and Heckington were claimed by the brethren of St. Lazarus,⁵ but finally secured to Bardney; in 1199 the church of Spridlington, for a short time lost, was restored.⁶ A long course of litigation towards the end of the reign of Henry III reduced the monks to great straits, and they were not at this time fortunate enough to secure abbots who were likely to help them out of their difficulties. Peter of Barton was indeed deposed by the bishop in 1275;⁷ but he was restored for a while on appeal to the archbishop of Canterbury.⁸ In 1278 he and his convent presented a petition to Parliament, stating that their debts had brought them to the verge of ruin and begging permission to forbear for a while their wonted hospitality, and to disperse themselves to other houses, leaving but one brother to manage the estates and pay off the debts. They were referred to Chancery,⁹ but it does not seem that the petition was granted; and in 1280 Peter of Barton resigned of his own accord.¹⁰ His successor, Robert of Wainfleet, did not improve the condition of the house. His administration of discipline brought him into collision with Bishop Dalderby,¹¹ and he was accused also of dilapidation and alienation of monastic property.¹² Sentence of deprivation was passed upon him in 1303,¹³ and the house was

declared vacant by the bishop; and then began a long series of appeals to Rome and to the king, which lasted till 1318. For fifteen years the monastery was almost continuously in the hands of the king, and its revenues administered by seculars, except for a brief space in 1311,¹⁴ when the temporalities were restored to the abbot. Robert of Wainfleet resigned in 1318;¹⁵ but the house had little chance of recovering its prosperity during the time of the great pestilence and the wars with France. During the fifteenth century its condition was somewhat improved, and the abbots of Bardney were amongst those summoned to Parliament; but there were debts and difficulties again in 1440,¹⁶ and the revenue of the house in 1534—£366—seems very little for a house originally so well endowed.

The last abbot, William Marton, signed the petition to the pope to expedite the king's divorce in 1530;¹⁷ in 1534 he set his name to the acknowledgement of supremacy, with seventeen other monks.¹⁸ Two years later the brethren of this house were conspicuous amongst those implicated in the Lincolnshire rebellion. A clear account of the part they played was given at the subsequent trial by Thomas Maur, the abbot's chaplain, and several others; and there seems no reason to doubt the main facts of the story which they agreed in telling. William Wright and Thomas Harlow, serving men, who were petty captains of the insurgents, came to the abbey on 4 October, and ordered the abbot to send some of his monks to the host. Four went forth in consequence 'by command of William Wright,' and returned again after the collapse of the insurrection, when the abbot received them 'without contradiction.'¹⁹ The account is given in a quite simple and straightforward manner, without prevarication or excuse; yet there does not seem sufficient evidence to

¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xx, 278d. (Charter of Gilbert of Ghent).

² Ibid. 55. The charter of Walter of Ghent was confirmed by Hen. I, Steph., Hen. II and later kings. Ibid. 40, and *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 147.

³ Their charters may be found in Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xx. ⁴ Ibid. 48.

⁵ *Curia Regis R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 9, 10.

⁶ Ibid. ii, 200, and Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xx, 198. There were several suits also between the monks and Gilbert of Ghent the younger in the reign of Henry II; e.g. concerning free passage across the Humber, an old right of the house, which Gilbert for a while resumed; Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xx, 47.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend, 1266; *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i, 452.

⁸ Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 27.

⁹ *Arch.* xxv, 344.

¹⁰ Pat. 8 Edw. I, m. 20.

¹¹ *Chron. Abb. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), 387.

¹² *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 328b.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 62.

¹⁴ Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 10. The order of events seems to have been as follows:—Sentence of deprivation was passed in 1303, and the king's escheator seized the house. In 1308 an inquisition was held, because of the great losses and damage done to the house and the neglect of divine service there; and it was found that the abbot and certain monks had impeded the king's ministers, impounded and starved the cattle under their charge, and imprisoned some of them (Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 19d.). The king petitioned the pope to do what he could to reform the house (*Dugdale, Mon.* i, 628, charter xix); and in 1311 Robert was restored. He then began a suit against the king's escheators and their ministers, which dragged on till 1314 (*Rolls of Parl.* i, 323b, 478a), when a fresh inquiry was made, and Robert's delinquencies were more fully revealed (ibid. 328b). A last appeal to Rome proving a failure, Robert in 1317 expressed himself willing to resign (Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 19).

¹⁵ Ibid. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 3.

¹⁶ Visitations of Bishop Alnwick.

¹⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv (3), 6513.

¹⁸ Ibid. vii, 1121 (6). ¹⁹ Ibid. xii (1), 828 (7).

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account for the fact that as many as six¹ monks of Bardney were finally condemned to death, while the abbot himself was not brought to trial nor the house attainted. We may indeed guess at the means by which the abbot contrived to make his peace with my Lord Privy Seal; but it is a mere matter of private conjecture.² The six offending monks were condemned on 6 March, 1537, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered;³ the house was not surrendered till 1 November, 1538.⁴ At that time an annual pension of £66 13s. 4d. was assigned to the abbot; to ten monks annuities varying from £6 13s. 4d. to £5; to three others smaller amounts.⁵

The honourable reputation of this monastery in the early days before the Danish invasions has already been noticed. After the rebuilding by Gilbert of Ghent it was subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops of Lincoln, like all Benedictine houses which had not obtained special exemptions, and its visitation reports are unusually numerous and well preserved. It is, however, a real misfortune that its interior history has to be reconstructed almost entirely from such materials as these. If any chronicle of the abbey had been preserved, a much truer impression could be given, for the chronicler would help us to balance the criticisms of the bishops by some account of the happier side of the history of the monastery, and the good works of different abbots. It must be remembered, therefore, that the following account is very one-sided, being mainly drawn from reports which show only what was amiss in the house from time to time. Nevertheless it must be frankly owned that there was a good deal that was

seriously in need of reform early in the fourteenth and again in the middle of the fifteenth century.

It appears that the abbey of Bardney was one of those which suffered from the arrogant behaviour of Nicholas of Tusculum,⁶ the papal legate, in 1215: a very good abbot, Ralph de Rand, being deposed or compelled to resign in favour of the prior of Lenton, a man of very different character.⁷ The legate's nominee, however, only ruled the house for about a year. In 1243 Abbot Walter of Benningworth was deposed by the bishop (one authority says 'for ignorance'),⁸ and an act of interference on the part of the royal patron of the house at this time called forth one of Grosteste's most characteristic letters. The king's escheator had received orders during the vacancy to provide all necessities for the deposed abbot and those who favoured him, in greater abundance than for those whose cause had been espoused by the bishop, and Walter was to be allowed free egress and ingress to the church. Grosteste wrote to the king in great surprise at hearing of this mandate. He would not have believed the king capable of reconciling such procedure with his conscience. Whether the ecclesiastical sentence was just or unjust, the whole matter was entirely outside the royal jurisdiction, and the king, though patron of the house, had no business to interfere.⁹ The answer is not recorded: but Abbot Walter had to accept the position, and William of Halton was elected in his place.¹⁰

In 1275 Bishop Gravesend deposed another abbot, Peter of Barton, 'for his offences,' as it was stated in a letter to the pope.¹¹ But Peter appealed to Archbishop Kilwardby, who decided that the sentence against him was unjust, and had him reinstated for a while.¹² The archbishop, however, thought it necessary to visit the house, which was in great debt and distress at this time; and amongst other injunctions ordered the banishment of four of the monks for a time to other monasteries. This injunction was apparently the only one which Abbot Peter was willing to carry out, and that rather from personal feeling than zeal for reform; for two years later the new archbishop, John Peckham, had to write and order him to recall these brethren and treat them with charity.¹³ Another

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 581. There should have been seven; for seven were arrested and examined, but one escaped by an oversight. When all were let out on bail, the recognizances of one of them were not entered nor written, so that he was not summoned to the next assizes, when his brethren were tried and condemned. Sir William Parr discovered this afterwards on a visit to the monastery, and charged the abbot with the custody of the monk in question. The one who escaped was almost certainly Thomas Maur or Mower, the abbot's chaplain, who occurs in the list of excommunicates, *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 828, but not in the list of the condemned, *ibid.* xii (1), 581. The surnames are variously given, sometimes the family name and sometimes the birthplace; but there is no Thomas among those condemned from Bardney, while the name of 'Thomas Mower' appears again on the pension list at the final surrender of the house. Of those who were condemned three had actually been in the field, like Mower; the particular offence of the others is unknown.

² It seems that he was not unwilling at any rate to be an informer against his brethren. A letter containing a charge of 'lewd words' against one of them was written by him to John Heneage, and sent up to Cromwell; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1030.

³ P.R.O. Controlment Roll, m. 6.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 737.

⁵ Exch. Aug. Off. Misc. Books, 223, fol. 185 et seq.

⁶ *History of the English Church* (ed. Stephens), ii, 217.

⁷ *Hominem pessimum . . . loco viri optimi*. Spalding Register, quoted by Dugdale.

⁸ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xx, 285.

⁹ *Epist. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 308.

¹⁰ Pat. 28 Hen. III, m. 5 and 4.

¹¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i, 452.

¹² Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 27.

¹³ *Regist. Joh. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 23. The same letter orders the release of other brethren who had been imprisoned more harshly than was right or than they deserved.

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letter was written to the penitents urging them to return without delay and to fulfil their obedience,¹ but this letter was not delivered to them.² It became evident that the fault lay with the abbot, and the archbishop ordered a fresh visitation,³ whereupon Peter thought it best to resign. The visitation was made, and injunctions issued under his successor,⁴ Robert of Wainfleet. It was enjoined, in the form common on such occasions, that the rule should be better kept, and the accounts rendered regularly: faults involving severe penance were defined.⁵ The abbot was to be more faithful than his predecessors in attendance at choir, chapter, and refectory, that he might be an example of regularity to the brethren.

Unfortunately Robert of Wainfleet was not the man to restore the prestige of the abbey or to mend its fallen fortunes in any way. In 1303 he was already in difficulties with his bishop, being, like his predecessor Peter, more ready to enforce discipline upon others than to submit to it himself. The abbot of Ramsey wrote to him at this time that he might still hope for reconciliation with the bishop if he would humble himself to ask for it,⁶ but evidently he was unwilling to do so, for he was deposed before the year was out.⁷ From this time until 1318 the monks of Bardney knew very little peace. The abbot

appealed to the king, the archbishop, and the pope: he made at least four different journeys to Rome⁸ in the hope of recovering his abbey, and was once, indeed, for a short time actually reinstated.⁹ While he was in possession he was as unsparing as ever to the monks who opposed him,¹⁰ and while the monastery was in the hands of the king's officials he annoyed and impeded their administration of its revenues as far as he possibly could.¹¹ During the short time when the temporalities were restored to him (probably between 1310 and 1312) his dilapidations and waste of the monastic property were worse than ever; it was alleged in 1315 that the losses of the house due to his maladministration amounted to 10,370 marks; and that if something was not done speedily to prevent his doing any further mischief, the utter ruin of the abbey was inevitable.¹² His last appeal to Rome was made in 1316, but it was evidently a failure, for in 1317 he expressed himself willing to resign on a competent pension. This was granted to him for the sake of peace,¹³ and Robert of Gains-

¹ *Regist. Joh. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 41.

² *Ibid.* i, 102. The second letter, six months later than the first, threatened the abbot with excommunication if he did not receive the monks again within eight days; another order was given to release a monk from prison, and no injury was to be done to any of the offenders.

³ *Ibid.* i, 408. It is evident that the archbishop saw that his predecessor had been taken in by fair words. This visitation was to be completed 'with the counsel of the bishop elect of Lincoln' (Oliver Sutton).

⁴ *Ibid.* iii, 823. It is dated 22 Sept. 1284.

⁵ These faults were (1) incontinence, (2) theft of anything important or frequent petty theft, (3) malicious conspiracy against superiors or any seditious conduct, (4) injury of a brother by word or deed, (5) disobedience and attempted apostasy. Only the abbot and one appointed confessor could give absolution for these sins, and that only once; and the culprit was to be separated from the company of his brethren until his penance was complete.

⁶ *Chron. Abbat. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), 387. A monk of Bardney had been sent to Ramsey to work out his penance; as it seems, according to the wishes of Bishop Dalderby, but in some points connected with the affair the abbot had evidently given cause of offence. The abbot of Ramsey, writing in the hope of preventing a complete breach, says of the bishop—'He loves your person as a father, but your works are hateful to him.' The bishop's authority was disregarded at the same time by the visitors of the order, who had sent another monk of Bardney to perform his penance at Ramsey without leave of the diocesan. *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby*, 75.

⁷ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby*, 62.

⁸ Before 1307, *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 25; in 1310, *Pat. 4 Edw. II*, pt. i, m. 18; in 1312, *Pat. 5 Edw. II*, pt. ii, m. 11; in 1316, *Pat. 10 Edw. II*, pt. i, m. 22. The Patent Rolls show that he had been at the court of Rome three times at least before his deposition, in 1284, 1291, and 1299, and this may possibly have been one of the complaints brought against him.

⁹ The king gave orders for the abbot to receive a fitting dwelling, outside the abbey, and 6s. 8d. daily from its property in 1307. *Close*, 5 *Edw. II*, m. 30. In 1311 Robert was restored at the request of the pope, *Pat. 4 Edw. II*, pt. i, m. 10; a complaint lodged by one of the king's officers (date uncertain) speaks also of his restitution by the archbishop of Canterbury—whether at the same time or another it is difficult to say. *Rolls of Parl.* i, 478a. In both cases the bishop withheld his consent.

¹⁰ A certain brother, Simon of Hanworth, was imprisoned by the abbot for more than a year, in the dark, his feet bound by iron chains to a post: he was also accused of having stolen goods of the monastery. He cleared himself at last of these charges, and was released by the order of the presidents of the Benedictine order. *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby*, 215 d.

¹¹ *Rolls of Parl.* i, 478a, and *Pat. 2 Edw. II*, pt. i, m. 19 d.

¹² *Rolls of Parl.* i, 328b. In the same year Bishop Dalderby wrote to the king stating that the house had been vacant since 1303, and begging him as patron to do what he could on its behalf.

¹³ The troubles and disorder of the house demanded that great care should be taken of procedure. First the monks had to make their oath of obedience to Robert as abbot: they were then absolved for all disregard of his authority in the past. The abbot formally renounced his appeal against the bishop's jurisdiction, and then made his resignation. The prior and the remaining brethren of the convent made submission to the bishop, and were free at last to elect a new abbot. Brother Robert, 'worn out with age and infirmity,' received a much handsomer

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borough, a monk of Spalding, was elected abbot in his place. But it may be easily imagined that it was some time before the monastery was reduced to order and peace after such a long season of unrest.¹

Two visitation reports of Bishop Bokyngham are preserved, one dated 1383, the other somewhat earlier.² The injunctions are the same as those delivered to many other monasteries, and may be merely a formal reminder of the principal duties of the religious life; at any rate it seems that there was at this time no grave irregularity. The buildings were to be repaired; certain legacies and pensions not properly secured to the house were to be attended to; six boys were to be educated in the monastery; the clothing of the monks was to be free from all superfluous ornament; no hunting dogs were to be kept; better servants were to be engaged for making bread and beer, that the brethren might not be tempted to eat and drink outside the enclosure.

Bishop Gray visited the house before 1435. He ordered the rule and constitution of the order to be read daily in Latin and English; no women were to be admitted within the enclosure except the mothers and sisters of the brethren, and a certain Joan Martyn and her daughter were to be rigorously excluded. He noticed that there had been dissension at the visitation, and ordered its authors to do fitting penance.³

The state of the house in the middle of the fifteenth century was distinctly unsatisfactory. Bishop Alnwick visited it three times; the first time in January, 1437,⁴ when he was received by the abbot and fifteen monks. On this occasion he dealt mainly with the question of finance, as the house was in debt and difficulty. It appears that at some time previous to this the monks of Bardney had received as a privilege of very doubtful value the right to live independently, each on a fixed income, boarding themselves and keeping private servants. The bishop now proposed to them that they should abandon this privilege of their own accord, and return to the use

pension than he deserved: the fruits of the church and manor of Steeping, the vill of Firsby, and the cells of Partney and Skendleby; the 'Nova Camera' by the infirmary to live in; a chaplain and an esquire to serve him; and an honoured place in the community. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 356-7; and Dugdale, *Mon.*i, 635.

¹ In 1318 the bishop instituted an inquiry as to certain 'dissensions' amongst the monks of Bardney. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 371. It is not wonderful that such should have occurred after a time of anarchy: and it is evident from records already quoted that Robert, with all his faults, had contrived to keep the favour of a certain number of the brethren.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 184, 258 d.

³ Ibid. Memo. Gray, 202.

⁴ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 32 et seq.

of a common refectory, letting their servants also eat at one common table, to see if expenses could thus be reduced. After deliberation the brethren agreed to try this plan. Of three brethren who had been suspended from voting in chapter and other common rights at the last visitation, one now made his submission, and was restored; the other two, who were still negligent of their duty, were to have only one kind of flesh or fish daily until they showed true penitence.

The visitation was continued 19 March, when it was acknowledged that the finances of the house were already improved by the new arrangement. There were other points, however, which needed attention. The abbot owned that he, the cellarer, and the sub-cellarer, did not attend the choir regularly—they were too much occupied, and when a few of the monks were ill or being bled, that left a very small number to keep up the divine office. The infirmary was much abused. The brethren went there on slight pretext, and sometimes turned it into a regular guest house, entertaining their friends there till late at night, and drinking great quantities of beer. The church and manor-houses were ruinous. The obedientiaries, especially the sacrist and almoner, were unfaithful to their trust, and made money for themselves and their servants⁵ out of the common funds. Women visited the house freely, and ate and drank with the monks, to the great cost and scandal of the monastery. The brethren were dainty over their food, and on days of abstinence would not come to the refectory unless three kinds of fish were provided, disdaining the red herrings and stock fish which were the ordinary fare of mediaeval monks in Lent. There was no scholar at the university, and the house was still seriously in debt, and could not afford a barber or a cobbler. Games of chance were sometimes played at night, which kept some of the brethren from mattins. Only two of them, however, in the midst of this general laxity and neglect of rule, were actually charged with incontinence; though it was suggested by one brother that a woman servant at Southrey, where the monks went to be bled, was a source of danger, and should be dismissed.

There were numerous complaints of brother Thomas Barton, who was sub-cellarer, almoner, and pittance. He withheld their yearly portions from the brethren, and yet lived at ease in the infirmary, receiving his friends there, and serving them with the best food. Indeed he was said to be the author of all the troubles of the house. He defamed the brethren to strangers, and the late abbot on his death-bed had said to him: 'Thou hast never been faithful in any office. If I had done according to thy mind, I should not this day have left a monk here, young or old.'

⁵ Mention is made of the *pistor, faber, janitor, sutor*, and others.

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The bishop delivered injunctions dealing with all these points, and ordered Thomas Barton to be imprisoned until further notice.¹ There was another visitation in 1440, when it was noticed that there had been discords in the house on other points. There may have been some improvement, as very little was said. Brother Thomas Barton was to be let out of the prison where he had been confined for his misdeeds, but on no pretext whatever was he to leave the house.² He seems, however, to have speedily recovered his influence with the abbot, for in 1444 the monks were again loud in their complaints against him.³ It was also alleged that in spite of the late injunctions the abbot had sold certain manors without consulting the brethren.

It may be that at this final visitation of Bishop Alnwick (of which the injunctions are not preserved) Thomas Barton was more severely dealt with. The general standard of observance throughout the monastery seems to have improved, and one of the monks was even sent by the bishop to visit another monastery in his name.⁴

No other visitations are preserved, except that of Bishop Atwater in 1519. His visitations were carefully made, and it is some satisfaction, therefore, to find that he had not such grave work to do in this abbey as Bishop Alnwick. Hunting dogs were to be removed; the books used in choir were out of repair by the carelessness of the chanter; the 'Lady Mass' was not as regularly attended as it should have been; two monks had been out without leave, and were irregular in coming to mattins. The injunctions ordered reform on all these points: the brethren were to keep themselves from secular conversation, to admit no women, and to grant no more corrodies.⁵

Very little is known of the state of the monastery between this time and the outbreak of the Lincolnshire rebellion, but at any rate nothing evil is recorded. As to their share in the insur-

rection, it is quite impossible now to discover how far they really approved or sympathized with its aims or its promoters. Like the monks of Kirkstead and Barlings (as will be seen hereafter), and some of the Yorkshire monks in the Pilgrimage of Grace, they were compelled 'to go forth to the host,' whether they would or no. It would not be a matter for much wonder if, after their scruples as to the propriety of bearing arms were overruled, they went cheerfully enough to aid what seemed to many at that time the cause of true religion. Most of them were probably of the middle class,⁶ and may well have shared the sentiments of their friends and relations in the world. We are here, however, dealing only with facts, and so far as facts go there is no clear evidence at all as to the actual opinions of the monks of Bardney. There is no proof that they were in any way instigators of the rebellion; they went into the field under compulsion; they were conspicuous there only because they wore the habit of religion. Their punishment seems, therefore, to have been a very severe one, and its object was doubtless rather to deter others from following their example than to satisfy any real demands of justice.

The original endowment of the abbey by Gilbert of Ghent included the vill of Bardney and Osgodby, with land at Steeping and Firsby, and the churches of Bardney, Firsby, Partney, Skendleby (Lincs.) and Edlesborough (Bucks.), with tithes of several parts of his demesne.⁷ Walter of Ghent added the churches of Barton (with chapel of All Saints), Stainton, Kirkby Laythorpe, and Hunmanby (Yorks.) with all its chapels,⁸ and the chapel and hospital of Partney, as well as mills and lands in divers places, including the manors of Steeping, Edlington, Hagworthingham, and Barton, and the free passage of the Humber.⁹ Other benefactors added at the same period the churches of Folkingham, Lusby, Edlington with its chapel, Irnham, Scampton, Steeping, Wainfleet, Hagworthingham, Spridlington, Claypole, Boultham, Sotby, Baumber, Hale, Heckington, with Gedling and Laxton (Notts) and Hertesholm, as well as small parcels of land chiefly within the

¹ This may be gathered from the injunctions of 1440: there are none preserved for 1437.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Alnwick, 37.

³ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 24. 'Brother Thomas Barton is intolerable to the brethren.' 'Brother Thomas Barton sings the psalms too fast and makes a discord.' 'He consumes all that he has charge of in food and drink and tithes, and calls in the secular powers to help him.' 'He appropriates money to himself,' &c.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Alnwick, 56.

⁵ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), fol. 51. A curious complaint was made at this visitation:— 'That the monks' barber, contrary to ancient custom, shaved seculars in the shaving house of the monastery; and—still worse!—'for the most part he puts the seculars before the monks, to the injury of the brethren.' The bishop enjoined that in future 'he was not to shave seculars any more in that place, or to prefer them to the monks, but to do his shaving of the brethren diligently.'

⁶ Their names in the pension list suggest this.

⁷ Charter of Gilbert of Ghent (recited by his son Walter), Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, fol. 278 d.

⁸ Wold Newton, Burton Fleming, Reighton, Argam, Middleton on the Wolds, Fordon, Muston, Buckton, and Barksdale, are named *ibid.* 8 and 55.

⁹ *Ibid.* 55, 64. In a document of the fourteenth century mention is made of the 'cells' of Partney and Skendleby. The cell of Partney is probably the same as the hospital named in the foundation charters. The cell of Skendleby may have been no more than a manor-house for the accommodation of one or two monks who served the church. As both 'cells' together formed only a *part* of the pension of one retiring abbot, they could not have been large or important houses.

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counties of York and Lincoln.¹ The advowsons of most of these churches were retained until the fourteenth century, as appears from the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV, the Patent Rolls, &c.; but the heavy losses sustained by the monks during the fourteenth century² no doubt compelled them to alienate some of their property without hope of recovery. Henry son of Walter Beck of Lusby granted to the abbey all his lands in Lusby, *c.* 1240; the grant no doubt including the manor.³

In 1291 the income of the house in temporals was assessed at £126 7s. 2½*d.*, in spirituals it is not possible to give an exact value, but the profit of so many rectories probably amounted to another £100 at least. In 1303 the abbot of Bardney held one knight's fee in Calceby, Swaby, and Cawthorpe; one quarter in South Langton, one-eighth in Barton, and smaller fractions in Burton-by-Lincoln, Winceby, Potterhanworth, and Hagworthingham.⁴

In 1346 he was returned as holding the same, except the parcels of land in Winceby Burton, and Barton⁵; in 1428 almost the same as in 1303,⁶ and a share with several others in a knight's fee at Aby and Strubby.

In 1534 the clear income of the abbey was £366 6s. 1*d.*,⁷ including the profits of the rectories of Bardney, Barton, Skendleby, Steeping, Edlington, Hale, Heckington, and Hunmanby; and the manors of Bardney with Southrey (including the manor of Seny Place), Monks-thorpe (in Great Steeping), Partney, Bardney Hall (in Barton-upon-Humber), Edlington and Lusby.⁸

The monastery was at this time bound to pay 30s. 2½*d.* annually to two poor men to pray for the soul of John Cooke, archdeacon of Lincoln; and 10s. had to be distributed annually on the anniversary of the said John.⁹

ABBOTS OF BARDNEY

St. Ethelred, ex-king of Mercia, made abbot about 704, died 716¹⁰
Kenewin,¹¹ occurs 833

¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, 8 (confirmation charter of Pope Alexander III) and elsewhere in the same chartulary. The largest of these gifts was the vill of 'Buteyate,' from Robert Marmion.

² Especially in the time of abbots Peter Barton and Robert Wainfleet.

³ *Linc. Notes and Queries*, vi, 121.

⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 130-65.

⁵ *Ibid.* 200-35.

⁶ *Ibid.* 257-305. The land in Burton-by-Lincoln appears also in 1401: *ibid.* 248.

⁷ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 81.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 641, quoting Mins. Accts.

⁹ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 81.

¹⁰ See Florence of Worcester *Chronicon* (English Hist. Soc.), i, 48 and note, and *Ang. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 38 and 39.

¹¹ Ingulf's Chronicle in *Rerum Angl. Script.* (ed. Gale), i, 11.

Ralf,¹² prior in 1087, abbot 1115

Ivo,¹³ occurs about 1133

John of Ghent,¹⁴ elected 1140, occurs 1147 and 1150

Walter,¹⁵ occurs 1155 to 1166

John, occurs 1167¹⁶

Ralf of Stainfield,¹⁷ occurs 1180

Robert,¹⁸ occurs 1191

Ralf de Rand,¹⁹ occurs 1208, deposed 1214

Peter of Lenton,²⁰ intruded 1214

Matthew,²¹ occurs 1218, died 1223

Adam de Ascwardby,²² elected 1225, occurs 1231 and 1240

William of Ripton²³

Walter of Benningworth,²⁴ elected 1241, deposed 1243

William of Hatton,²⁵ elected 1244

William of Torksey,²⁶ elected 1258, died 1266

Peter of Barton,²⁷ elected 1266, resigned 1280

Robert of Wainfleet,²⁸ elected 1280, resigned 1318

Richard of Gainsborough,²⁹ elected 1318, died 1342

Roger of Barrow,³⁰ elected 1342, died 1355

Thomas of Stapleton,³¹ elected 1355, died 1379

¹² Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, 40. Ralf had previously been a monk of Caroncous.

¹³ In Browne Willis's list, as from Cott. MS. Vesp. E, 18. Pat. 3 Rich. II, m. 16, recites a charter said to be of Henry III, but obviously Henry I, in which the king grants the abbey to Ivo as abbot, and speaks of Walter of Ghent as still alive.

¹⁴ Date of election is in Browne Willis; occurrences in Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, 13, and Lans. MS. 207 E (Holles collection), 157.

¹⁵ Cott. MS. E, xx, 15, 22; Lans. MS. 207 E, 163, 173, 197.

¹⁶ In Browne Willis's list. A confirmation charter of 'T. archbishop of Canterbury' (in Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, 29) may refer to this John if T. means Thomas, but if the archbishop is Theobald it may refer to the earlier John.

¹⁷ Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, 49.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 48.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 49; and Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 83.

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 623; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Series), iii, 40, 41.

²¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, 33*d*; and Pat. 7 Hen. III, m. 2.

²² Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Hugh of Wells and Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, fol. 47.

²³ He occurs on Browne Willis's list, but Adam's name is found up to 1240, and Walter was elected in 1241.

²⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosteste.

²⁵ Pat. 28 Hen. III, m. 5 and 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 42 Hen. III, m. 5.

²⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

²⁸ Pat. 8 Edw. I, m. 20.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 11 Edw. II, m. 12.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 16 Edw. III, m. 14.

³¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 45.

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Hugh of Braunston,¹ elected 1379, resigned 1385
 John of Haynton,² elected 1385
 John Woxbrigge,³ elected 1404, died 1413
 Geoffrey Hemingsby,⁴ elected 1413, died 1435
 John Wainfleet,⁵ elected 1435, died 1447
 Gilbert Multon,⁶ elected 1447, resigned 1466
 Richard Horncastle,⁷ elected 1466, resigned 1507
 William Marton,⁸ last abbot, elected 1507

There is a fine thirteenth-century seal of Bardney Abbey,⁹ the obverse of which is evidently of earlier art than the reverse, and may be of the date of the foundation. The *Obverse* shows St. Oswald crowned, seated on a throne, the sides of which terminate with small stars, and the feet with animal's claws; feet on a rectangular footboard; in the right hand a sceptre fleur-de-lizé, in the left hand a small cross.

SIGILLUM . SANCTI : OSWALDI . REGIS . BA AI

The *Reverse* is a smaller pointed oval counter-seal, showing a section of the abbey church with three arched niches, in the centre the Virgin, seated, holding the Child; on the left St. Peter, full length, with keys and book; on the right St. Oswald crowned, full length. In base, under a trefoil arch, the abbot half-length to the right, praying.

SECRETUM . PETRI . ABBATIS . DE . BARDENAI

There is another seal¹⁰ with obverse similar to the last, and reverse a small oval counter-seal, being the impression of an ancient oval gem, slightly convex. Full-length figure of a deity on an estrade. Very imperfect.

. . . . LEGE . LECTA

The legend when complete probably read 'Tecta lege, lecta tege.'

There is also a seal of the fourteenth century.¹¹ The pointed oval obverse represents the patron St. Oswald, crowned, seated on a carved throne under a trefoiled arch, pinnacled and crocketed with niches of four stories at the sides; in the right hand a sceptre fleur-de-lizé, background diapered

lozengy, with a small pierced cinquefoil in each space. In base, under a carved, round-headed arch, with trefoiled panels in the spandrels, a shield of arms, a cross pattée between four lions rampant. Bardney abbey. The reverse represents St. Paul, full-length, with sword and book on the left, and St. Peter, full-length, with key and book on the right, under two trefoiled canopies, pinnacled and crocketed, supported on slender columns. Background of fine diaper-work, lozengy, with a small star or cross in each space. In base, under a carved round-headed arch, with arcading at the sides, the abbot, half-length to the left, with a pastoral staff, praying, between the initial letters R.G., which probably refer to Richard de Gaynesburgh, abbot 1318-42, in whose time the matrix was apparently made. In the field above on the left a crescent, and on the right an estoile; at each side a wavy sprig with trefoil leaves and roses.

S' COMVNE : ABBATIS : ET : CŌVENTVS : MON :
 AP'LORVM : PETRI : ET : PAULI :

The seal *ad causas*¹² is pointed oval, under a pointed arch, pinnacled and crocketed, supported on slender columns, the patron St. Oswald, with crown and sceptre, full-length, turned slightly to the right. In the field on the left the keys of St. Peter, on the right the sword of St. Paul.

S' ABBAT' ET CŌVEN RDENEYA AD CAVSAS

The pointed oval seal of Abbot John de Haynton¹³ shows the abbot full-length in a finely-carved and canopied niche, with tabernacle work at sides; in the right hand a book, in the left hand a pastoral staff. On the carving at the sides two shields of arms, on the left a cross glory, between four lions rampant—Bardney abbey—on the right crusily a lion rampant debriused by a bend, Hayntone?

5. THE ABBEY OF PARTNEY

It seems clear that there was a monastery at Partney during the seventh century; two of its abbots were well known to the Venerable Bede.¹⁴ One of these, Deda, 'a very truthful man,' repeated to the historian a description of the personal appearance of St. Paulinus, given to him earlier by an old man whom the saint had baptized. The other, Aldewin, was the brother of Ethelwin,¹⁵ who was bishop of Lindsey in the time of Theodore: he had probably been educated in the monastic schools of Ireland.¹⁶ The

¹² Harl. Chart. 44 A, 10.

¹³ B. M. Seals, lxvi, 81.

¹⁴ The name of 'Peartaneu' given in Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* bk. ii, c. 16, p. 117, has been confused with Bardney, but the identification has been pronounced impossible by Mr. W. H. Stevenson.

¹⁵ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* bk. iii. c. 11, p. 149.

¹⁶ Ibid. bk. iii, c. 27, p. 192, and bk. iv, c. 12, p. 229. Ethelwin and another brother Ethelhun had certainly been educated in Ireland.

¹ Pat. 3 Rich. II, m. 21.

² Ibid. 8 Rich. II, m. 10.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Repingdon, 57 d.

⁴ Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, 281 d.; and Harl. MS. 6,952, fol. 46 (transcribed from Linc. Epis. Reg.).

⁵ Pat. 14 Hen. VI, pt. ii.

⁶ Ibid. 26 Hen. VI, pt. i. John Bracy seems to have been first elected, and his election accepted by the king, but ultimately the temporalities were restored to Gilbert Multon.

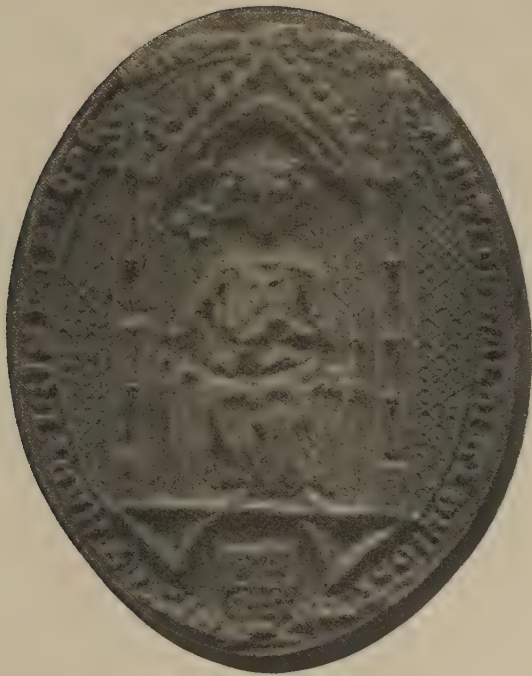
⁷ Ibid. 6 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 5.

⁸ Harl. MS. 6,953, fol. 14 (transcribed from Linc. Epis. Reg.).

⁹ Harl. Chart. 44 A, 7, and 53 D, 50.

¹⁰ Ibid. 45 A, 52.

¹¹ Ibid. 44 A, 8.



BARDNEY ABBEY (*Obverse*)



BARDNEY ABBEY (*Reverse*)



BARDNEY ABBEY



CROWLAND ABBEY



KIRKSTEAD ABBEY

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

name of the founder of the abbey is unknown: nor is there any reason for connecting it with Bardney. It was probably destroyed by the Danes and never rebuilt. There was a hospital at Partney in the eleventh century, which will be dealt with in its proper place; but this cannot very well have been of the same foundation.¹

6. THE ABBEY OF CROWLAND

The origin and foundation of the monastery of Crowland are veiled in obscurity. Until the first quarter of the nineteenth century was past, a history purporting to have been written by Ingulf, the first Norman abbot, from the muniments of the house and the materials of his predecessors,² was accepted as a genuine and valuable chronicle. Later scholarship has, however, rejected it.³

In 714 an anchorite of widespread fame died at Crowland. Guthlac was the son of a Mercian lord, and when he grew up he became the leader of a band of youths who lived a life of fighting and plunder. At the age of twenty-four he suddenly repented, and entered the double monastery of Repton. But he craved for solitude and a more austere life. At the end of two years he left Repton, with the leave of his superior, and in 699 took refuge with two followers at Crowland, then a lonely island in the marshes. The story of his life was written before 757 by a certain Felix,⁴ at the will of Ethelbald, then king of the Mercians, who, when a fugitive from the wrath of King Ceolred, had come to visit Guthlac.

In 1051 there was a monastery at Crowland, which at that time seems in some way to have been subject to the abbot of Peterborough.⁵ In that year, at the will of Abbot Leofric, Edward the Confessor appointed Ulfcytel, a monk of Peterborough, abbot of Crowland. When in search of materials for his *Ecclesiastical History*,

Orderic Vitalis came to Crowland for a stay of five weeks, on the invitation of Abbot Geoffrey (1109-24). He put together the traditions of the monastery, which he learnt from Ansgot, the sub-prior, and some of the older monks.⁶ They told him that after the death of Guthlac in 714, Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, founded a monastery on the island of Crowland, and gave a charter setting forth the bounds of its possessions in the marshes. In those days an abbot named Kenulph bore a great reputation. There had never been a break in the monastic life of the house. In the Danish invasions in 870 Crowland, like other monasteries, was burnt, and its possessions were occupied by lay lords. In the reign of King Edred (946-955) a clerk of London, Turketyl, a kinsman of Osketul, archbishop of York, had great possessions, which he longed to use in God's service, and he begged that Crowland might be given to him. The king granted his request, he was received by the monks of Crowland and chosen as their abbot. He gave his lands at Wellingborough, Elmington, Worthorp, Cottenham, Hokington, and Beby to the monastery. He was the familiar friend of Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold, and had their advice and help. Six abbots ruled Crowland between the death of Turketyl and the accession of Ulfcytel, in 1051. During the abbacy of Osketul the bones of St. Neot were brought to Crowland. The monastery of Pea-kirk was united to Crowland, and ruled by Abbot Wulgeat after 1044. Whether these traditions had any foundation in fact, it is difficult to decide. It is not improbable that Ethelbald should have founded a monastery at Crowland, but at that time monastic life in England had greatly degenerated. It is not impossible that Crowland was refounded at the same time as Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney, but the silence of writers of the tenth century is very baffling. Two documents of which Orderic made mention were most probably forgeries.⁷ After the Conquest, when many of the older monasteries lost some of their possessions, the claim to be founded several hundred years ago by a Saxon king was an obvious advantage. It was of the utmost importance to be able to show that the relics of the monastery were genuine. There can scarcely be a doubt that the interesting story of the destruction of Crowland by the Danes, the sparing of the boy Turgar by Jarl Sidroc, and the return on the next day of the younger monks who had been sent away with the relics of St. Guthlac, the charters and jewels of the house, grew out of the imagination of the fourteenth-century writer. His object was to find a clear proof of the continuity of the history of Crowland. The reputation for hospitality

¹ The editors of Dugdale call Partney a *cell* of Bardney, apparently confusing the ancient monastery with the later hospital, which was called a cell of the abbey in the fourteenth century. Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 635, and vi, 1,621.

² *Historia Croylandensis (Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores)*, ed. W. Fulman, i, 1-107.

³ *Quarterly Rev.* xxxiv, 289-98; *Arch. Journ.* xix, 32-49, 114-133. The most complete exposition of the forgery is to be found in Liebermann's article in 'Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde,' *Neues Archiv.* xviii, 225-67.

⁴ *Vita S. Guthlaci auctore Felice*, ed. W. de Gray Birch.

⁵ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Ecclesiastica* (ed. A. Le Prevost), ii, 285; cf. also *Vitae Abbatum Croylandiae*, printed in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (ed. John Nichols), iii, 138. Had the dependence not been a fact, it would not thus have been admitted at Crowland; cf. *Ang. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 170, where it is stated that Edward the Confessor gave Crowland to Leofric, abbot of Peterborough.

⁶ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Ecclesiastica* (ed. A. Le Prevost), ii, 268-90.

⁷ *Neues Archiv.* xviii, 250.

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which afterwards made 'Courteous Crowland'¹ proverbial may have suggested to him the story of the kindly welcome given to Turketyl on his first visit to the poor old monks. The account of the founding of a cell at Spalding by Thorold de Bukenhale in 1051 occurs for the first time in his work,² and the charter granted by Thorold is another obvious forgery. About 1085 Ivo Tailbois founded a cell at Spalding for the monastery of St. Nicholas at Angers.³ As the abbot of Crowland then held two carucates and a granary at Spalding,⁴ strained relations with the monks of Spalding were inevitable. It is possible that Ivo Tailbois deprived Crowland of part of its lands for his foundation, and after the lawsuits of the thirteenth century a claim to prior possession would easily have occurred to the writer of Ingulf's history.

As it is impossible to warrant the truth of much that is contained in the histories ascribed to Ingulf and Peter of Blois,⁵ there is but little to record of the earlier abbots of Crowland. Abbot Ulfcytel began to build a new church, and received much help from Waltheof, then earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, afterwards earl of Northumbria.⁶ He gave the vill of Barnack, noted for its quarries.⁷ After the earl's unjust execution in 1076 his body was brought to Crowland and buried in the chapter-house.⁸ It was the deliberate policy of William I and Lanfranc to get rid of English abbots, and at the mid-winter council of 1085 Ulfcytel was deposed, apparently for no other reason than that he was English, and sent to the monastery of Glastonbury.⁹ In his stead William appointed Ingulf, prior of the Norman monastery of St. Wandrille. He was by birth an Englishman, and had been in William's service as a clerk. On his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he became a monk at St. Wandrille. In spite of some misfortunes the monastery prospered under his rule.¹⁰ The possessions, according to the Domes-

day Survey, consisted in Lincolnshire¹¹ of the manor of Holbeach and Whaplode, two carucates in Spalding, the manors of Dowdyke in Sutterton, Langtoft and Baston, berewicks in Drayton and Algarkirk (Alfgare), and a bovat in Burtoft, the manor of Bucknall; in Leicestershire¹² of two carucates in Sutton and two in Stapleton, the manor of Beby; in Northamptonshire¹³ of the manor of Worthorp and lands in Elmington, Edinton, Wellingborough, and Badby; in Huntingdonshire¹⁴ of the manor of Morborne, and also a hide and a half in Thurning; in Cambridgeshire¹⁵ of the manors of Hokington, Cottenham and lands in Drayton; and of three fisheries in Wisbech. The property was valued in money at £57 1s. 4d., and had increased by £3 2s. 4d. since the time of Edward the Confessor.

In response to the entreaties of Ingulf, William allowed Ulfcytel to leave Glastonbury for Peterborough,¹⁶ from which he had come to be abbot of Crowland in 1051. Ingulf translated the body of Waltheof to the church; and it is recorded by Orderic Vitalis that miracles were often worked at the tomb.¹⁷ In 1091 a serious fire destroyed part of the church, its vestments and books, and some of the monastic buildings.¹⁸ A new church 'of most beautiful work' was begun by Ingulf's successor, Geoffrey, prior of St. Evroul, who was appointed by Henry I in 1110.¹⁹ In the opinion of Orderic Vitalis, himself a monk of St. Evroul, he was a man of great learning and a zealous ruler of the monastery. The miracles which are again said by Orderic to have occurred at the tomb of St. Waltheof doubtless brought in much money for the building fund. In 1124 Geoffrey was succeeded by Waltheof, an English monk of Crowland,²⁰ and brother of Gospatric, formerly earl of Northumbria. The body of St. Guthlac was translated in 1136.²¹ Accusations were brought against Abbot Waltheof by the monks, and in 1138 he was deposed at the synod of London by the papal legate, Alberic.²² Godfrey, prior of St. Albans, was chosen as his successor, and is said to have introduced into the monastery the customs of St. Albans.²³ During his abbacy, in or about 1141, the cell of Freiston was founded and endowed by Alan de Croun.²⁴

¹ *N. and Q.* 1st series, vi, 281, 350.

² The compiler of *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense* (ed. J. A. Giles, Caxton Soc.), to which the editors of the *Mon.* iii, 206 refer, borrowed from Ingulf, cf. *Neues Archiv.* xviii, 236, 237. In the chartulary of Crowland, written about the middle of the 14th century (Wrest Park MS. 6), a note of the foundation of the cell at Spalding is scribbled in on fol. 254v. in a later hand, doubtless after it had become accepted in the monastery. The Sheriff Thorold undoubtedly gave Bucknall to Crowland, cf. *Dom. Bk.* fol. 346b.

³ *Mon.* iii, 208.

⁴ *Dom. Bk.* fol. 346b.

⁵ *Neues Archiv.* xviii, 225-267.

⁶ *Ord. Vital. Hist. Eccles.* (ed. A. Le Prevost), ii, 285. Waltheof was so great a benefactor that in a list of monasteries drawn up at Southwark Priory about 1208 he was accredited as the founder. Cf. W. de Gray Birch, *Fasti Monastici Aevi Saxonici*, 13.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 285.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.* Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv, 600.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 286.

¹¹ *Dom. Bk.* fol. 346b.

¹² *Ibid.* 231.

¹³ *Ibid.* 222b.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 204.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 192b.

¹⁶ *Ord. Vitalis, Hist. Eccles.* ii, 285.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 286, 287.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 286. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 37.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 287.

²⁰ *Bibliotheca Topog. Brit.* (ed. John Nichols), iii, 139.

²¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, April, ii, 54.

²² *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 139. *Simeoni Monachi Opera Omnia* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 299.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Mon.* iv, 124. For the date cf. Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 28; 'post liberationem regis Stephani presente Gaufrido abbate.'

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Edward, prior of Ramsey, was appointed abbot in 1142 and ruled for thirty years.¹ He obtained from Stephen in 1142 an important charter confirming the lands and possessions of Crowland, and defining the bounds of the surrounding marsh, which was again confirmed by Henry II early in 1155.²

In 1142 Stephen also granted the right of holding a fair at Crowland.³ In 1147 the abbot obtained from Eugenius III a bull confirming all the possessions of the monastery, and taking it under his special protection.⁴ He was an able and vigorous ruler, and increased the possessions, ornaments, and books of the monastery. The church and monastic buildings were again in great part destroyed by fire, but the re-building was well advanced before his death.⁵ Under his successor, Robert of Reading, prior of Leominster, the whole of the nave was finished.⁶ His abbacy was marked by the beginning of the first of those great lawsuits which are so special a feature in the history of Crowland. The lords and men of neighbouring manors looked with covetous eyes on the marshes of the monastery. Indeed, the fen-lands were so profitable in those days that Hugh the White, a monk of Peterborough, described the site of his house as a veritable paradise. 'The marsh,' he wrote, about 1150, 'is very necessary for men, for there are found wood and twigs for fires, hay for fodder of cattle, thatch for covering houses, and many other useful things. It is, moreover, productive of birds and fishes.'⁷ Some of the

marshes of Holland had already been drained, and converted into fertile arable land, and, accordingly, the men of Holland greatly desired rights of common in the marsh of Crowland that they might have sufficient pasturage for their cattle.⁸ They attempted to secure them by violent occupation, and it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that these troublesome disputes ceased. Yet the oft-renewed struggle had its compensations in the succession of vigorous and able abbots, in the absence of dissension within the house, and in a keen interest in historical study.

Early in 1189 a false report of the death of Henry II reached England. A conspiracy was at once set on foot among the men of Holland. Gerard de Camville, Thomas of Moulton, and other enemies of Crowland united under the leadership of Nicholas, prior of Spalding, meeting sometimes in the prior's barn at Weston, sometimes in Holbeach church.

According to the usual custom at Rogation-tide, a proclamation was made on Spalding bridge, by the abbot's command, that the men of Holland and others should keep their cattle off Crowland marsh because the hay was growing. As it was disregarded the abbot's servants impounded the cattle. On 12 May over 3,000 men came in arms to the marsh. At Asendike they were met by the abbot, who sued for peace, fearing an attack on the monastery itself. The invaders divided the marsh among the vills which they represented, and encamped for fifteen days. They dug the turf, cut down most of the woods and alderbeds of Crowland, and pastured their cattle in the meadows. The abbot and monks scarcely ventured forth from the gates of the monastery, but they managed to send a messenger to one of the justices, Geoffrey FitzPeter, who was then in Northamptonshire. He sent four knights to investigate the outrage, and each body of men replied that they were there by their lord's orders. The abbot secretly made his way to London with the charter of Henry II to show to the justices, who commanded Geoffrey FitzPeter to give the abbot full redress. A number of the trespassers were imprisoned, and both parties were bidden to appear at Westminster at Michaelmas. Meanwhile Henry II died on 3 September. The knights, in alarm, made their peace with the abbot, but the prior of Spalding persisted in his claim, stating that he had occupied his own marsh, which was of the fee of William de Romar. This time the abbot had left the charter at Crowland. Accordingly, an inquisition was ordered, and sixteen knights were chosen to make view of the marsh. The trial was twice postponed on account of the abbot's

¹ *Historiae Croylandensis Continuatio* (ed. W. Fulman, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*), 451, 452.

² This is the earliest genuine charter of Crowland, cf. *Neues Archiv*. xviii, 253. It is the first document in the chartulary, compiled about 1366 (Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 23v. 24). The bounds were 'de Croylande usque ad Asendyke, et sic usque ad Aswyktofte, et sic per Shepee usque Tydwarthare, et inde usque ad Normanneslonde, et sic per aquam de Neen usque ad Fynset, et sic usque ad Greynes, et ita ad Folwardstakyng, et inde sicut Southlake cadit in aquam de Welande, et sic ex altera parte aquae usque ad Aspathe, et inde usque Warwarlake, et sic usque ad Harenholte, et sic sursum per aquam de Meugerlake et inde sicut Apynholte cadit in Welonde.' The charter, granted at Stamford, is undated, but from the witnesses and the place, it must be assigned to the early part of 1142; cf. J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 159. The charter of Henry II, also undated, is said to have been granted to Abbot Robert, but was probably granted early in 1155. For the date cf. J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 160.

³ Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 25, on the feast of St. Bartholomew, the three preceding and three following days. St. Bartholomew was the patron saint of St. Guthlac, and the monastery was dedicated to St. Mary, St. Guthlac, and St. Bartholomew.

⁴ Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 49.

⁵ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 452.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores* (ed. Joseph Sparke), pt. iii, 2.

⁸ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 453-6. The first few lines occur also in Wrest Park MS. 6, with this reference, 'sicut scribitur in libro armarioli Croilande qui dicetur Ysidorus Ethimologiarum circa finem.'

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illness, and he died on the vigil of Easter, 1190. Richard I was then in Normandy, and his chancellor, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, obtained leave from him to appoint as abbot his own brother Henry, then a monk of Evesham.¹ After the chancellor's disgrace and expulsion from England in 1191, the cause was resumed at the instigation of William de Romar, and Abbot Henry was summoned to Westminster to hear the verdict on the view made of the marsh. Fearful of the fate which had overtaken his brother, he had himself essoigned on the first day for illness on the road, and on the second for being confined to his bed. Four knights were sent to view him, but as they did not come on the appointed day, the abbot left Crowland and set out for London. After two or three postponements the verdict was at last pronounced. Because the abbot was not found in bed when the knights came to view him, judgement was given that he should for a time lose his seisin but not his right, and the seisin was given to the prior of Spalding, who speedily entered upon it. In the middle of the winter in 1193 the abbot set out to see King Richard, and arrived at Spire fifteen days before he was ransomed.

On 22 January Richard I granted a confirmation of the bounds of the monastery,² and wrote to the justiciar, Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, ordering that the abbot of Crowland should have seisin of his marshes. But in 1195 the abbot of St. Nicholas, at St. Angers, persuaded Richard I that his cell of Spalding had been wronged, and the question was reopened. Abbot Henry again crossed the seas, and followed Richard from place to place in Normandy praying for a settlement in his favour. A final judgement was given on 2 November, 1195. In 1202 the abbot of St. Nicholas, at Angers, again attempted to get seisin of the marsh, another vexatious trial followed, and the abbot of Crowland and a monk of Spalding pursued John from one place to another in Normandy, outbidding each other in presents. On their return to England an indecisive judgement was given. A monk of Crowland was sent to John in Normandy, and for 100 marks obtained, on 1 April, 1202, a confirmation of Richard's warranty for seisin of the marsh, and of the charter of Henry II setting forth the bounds of Crowland.³

Abbot Henry was soon involved in a costly suit with the abbot of Peterborough, who put forward a claim to the southern marsh, called Alderland, and in 1206 succeeded in securing rights therein to the detriment of Crowland.⁴ The impounding of the abbot's cattle on his own marsh of Goggisland, by Hugh de Wake, lord of Deeping, forced him into another suit, which,

however, was settled at Lincoln in his favour in 1234, and at the same time an agreement was made with Simon, prior of Spalding, about rights of common in their respective marshes.⁵

In 1216 Crowland suffered, like a number of other monasteries, in the civil strife. Savaric de Mauleon was sent by John to arrest certain knights and servants of the king, who were in hiding. They arrived at Crowland on 30 September, and broke into the monastery. Armed men rode into the cloisters, monastic buildings, and church, and while mass was being celebrated they dragged men away from before the altar and carried them off.⁶ They also took away as their booty a great number of beasts and cattle.

Abbot Henry's rule of forty-six years was marked by progress in many directions. Much rebuilding went on in the monastery, and on the manors belonging to it.⁷ A Wednesday market in the manor of Wellingborough was obtained from John in 1201.⁸

Costly ornaments, books, and vestments were provided for the church. In 1196 the body of St. Guthlac was again translated.⁹ Learning and literature flourished. One of the monks, by name William of Ramsey,¹⁰ dedicated to Abbot Henry a life of St. Guthlac in hexameters, a metrical life of St. Neot,¹¹ and an account in prose of the translation of St. Neot, which took place in 1213. When the bones of St. Waltheof were translated in 1219, William compiled a 'Vita Waltheofi.' In 1199 Edward, a monk of Evesham, compiled at Crowland a life of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury,¹² and about 1213 Roger of Crowland added to this compilation by interspersing the archbishop's letters.¹³ A copy of his work was sent by the abbot to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, at the time of the translation of St. Thomas, in 1220.¹⁴ Yet no continuous history of the monastery, or of national affairs, seems to have been written at Crowland, so that when the prior compiled his work in the middle of the fifteenth century he complained that only a few facts had been committed to writing, 'and not in any direct historical order, but only as anything new took place at intervening periods.'¹⁵

Abbot Henry was the last monk chosen from another house, and the right of free election,

⁵ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 475-6; Wrest Park MS. 6, 38v.

⁶ *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 232.

⁷ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 477.

⁸ Chart R. 35 Edw. I, m. 4.

⁹ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 463.

¹⁰ *Neues Archiv.* xviii, 251; T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials* (Rolls Ser.), i, No. 926.

¹¹ *Neues Archiv.* xviii, 252; Hardy, i, No. 523.

¹² T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 342.

¹³ *Ibid.* 344.

¹⁴ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 474.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 545.

¹ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 457-71.

² Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 24v.

³ *Ibid.* fol. 24v.

⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 39; *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 471-2.

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subject to the king's confirmation, was obtained either from Henry III or Edward I. As in other Benedictine houses, the *congé d'élire* was granted by the king on the news of an abbot's death. When the monks' choice was made, it was then notified to him for his assent, and he signified it to the bishop of Lincoln.¹ At the same time he sent a mandate to the escheators to restore the temporalities which fell into the king's hands during the vacancy. At the installation of the abbot, the chapter of Lincoln claimed his cope, and in the fifteenth century one not worth more than five marks was thought good enough for the occasion.² The archdeacon of Lincoln claimed a palfrey or five marks, but in 1248 the house secured an exemption from Innocent IV.³ In the fifteenth century the earl marshal had established his right to a palfrey, and the king to a corrody of 40s. a year for a clerk, until a benefice was found for him.⁴

The house prospered greatly under the three abbots who ruled it from 1236 to 1280. Its property was developed, Aswyk and Dowdike were enclosed and reclaimed from the marsh, the manors were well stocked and profitable.⁵ The right of holding a market and fair in the manor of Whaplode was obtained in 1255,⁶ a market and fair in Baston,⁷ and a market at Crowland in 1257.⁸ In 1253 rights of free warren were granted in ten manors.⁹ A manor in Gedney was first leased and then purchased from Walter of Thurkelby in 1262,¹⁰ and in spite of the efforts of his widow and heirs and of the chief lord to oust the abbot, after two costly lawsuits he was left in peaceful possession in 1268.¹¹ Another manor in Gedney was leased for thirteen years for 320 marks down, and then granted to the monastery by Henry of Stanhow in 1270.¹² In 1267 the church of Whaplode was appropriated,¹³ and, in consideration of the help given by Richard, bishop of Lincoln, the abbot and convent granted him their patronage in the church of Sutton.¹⁴ In 1276 Simon de Lindone granted

the advowson of the church of Eston,¹⁵ which his father had successfully disputed with the monastery in 1249.¹⁶ The house was involved in several important lawsuits in defence of its rights. The abbey of Peterborough was worsted in 1247,¹⁷ and again in 1268.¹⁸ In 1278 the prior of Spalding failed to prove his claim to 100 acres of wood and 1,760 of marsh in Weston, Moulton, and Spalding,¹⁹ and Thomas of Moulton to 20 acres of wood, 190 acres of marsh in Weston, and 90 in Moulton.²⁰ Yet, in spite of the immense cost of so much litigation, and the heavy exactions of both crown and papacy in the reign of Henry III, the abbots seem to have kept the house clear of debt. Abbot Thomas Welles journeyed to the papal curia,²¹ and found Innocent IV at Lyons. From him he obtained, doubtless at great cost, several bulls, one of protection and general confirmation of the possessions of Crowland,²² two others securing the house against the exactions of archdeacons on their visitation of the churches appropriated to it,²³ others protecting the house from the obligation of appointing nominees to benefices.²⁴ There is no record in the chronicles or elsewhere of financial difficulties, such as occurred in many other monasteries in the thirteenth century. Building went on. The farmery was the work of Richard Bardney,²⁵ the central tower and the chapel of St. Martin were built under Ralph de Meresh, and the serious damage done to the west front and nave in a great gale was repaired.²⁶ Internal dissensions are not recorded. In the division of property between the abbot and convent, which, as in other Benedictine houses, probably took place soon after the Norman Conquest,²⁷ the abbots seem to have received a very large share. In the thirteenth century they were generous in their dealings with the convent, the revenues of the obedientiaries were increased by Richard Bardney,²⁸ and again by Thomas Welles,²⁹ the manor of Dowdike was assigned by Thomas to the pittance to provide milk for supper in the summer and tunics every year.³⁰

¹ e.g. *Cal. Pat.* 8 Edw. I, m. 5, m. 3; 5 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 16, 19.

² *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 513.

³ Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 52.

⁴ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 513. ⁵ *Ibid.* 479.

⁶ A market on Saturday, a fair for eight days, beginning on the vigil of the Assumption of the Virgin. *Chart. R.* 39 Hen. III, m. 3.

⁷ A market on Thursday, a fair for five days, beginning on the vigil of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. *Chart. R.* 41 Hen. III, m. 1.

⁸ A market on Wednesday. *Chart. R.* 41 Hen. III, m. 1.

⁹ Crowland, Langtoft, Tetford, Baston, Burthorp, Whaplode, Holbeach, Dowdike, Bucknall, and Halington, co. Linc. *Chart. R.* 35 Edw. I, m. 4.

¹⁰ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 480. Wrest Park, M.S. 6, fol. 116 v. 117.

¹¹ Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 117 v. 118.

¹² *Ibid.* 119 v. 120.

¹³ *Ibid.* 80, 80 v.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 194 v.

¹⁵ Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 208.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 208, 208 v.

¹⁷ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 477.

¹⁸ Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 40.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 37.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 38.

²¹ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 479. He is said to have been taken prisoner in Italy, but there is apparently some confusion in the mind of the writer, as Innocent IV was at Lyons from 2 Dec. 1244 until 1253. In the lives of the abbots, *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 140, he is only said to have been taken prisoner on his way to the papal curia.

²² Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 51.

²³ *Ibid.* 52 v.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 53.

²⁵ *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 140.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ e.g. the church of Wellingborough was appropriated to the office of the sacrist in 1123 and 1148. Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 222.

²⁸ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 479.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

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They were revered by their monks as men of holy life, who cared no less for the spiritual welfare of the house than for its temporal interests. Abbot Thomas was a stern ascetic and a great preacher who was heard by the people on feast days as well as by the monks in chapter.¹ Such was his reputation that miracles were said to have been worked at his tomb.² Ralph de Mersh was called the good: 'He was duteous to God and scrupulously careful in the observance of religion, bountiful and generous to the world, faithful and cheerful to all, and blameless in his life.'³

Richard of Crowland was elected in 1280. At a vast outlay and expense he began the new work of the quire, and built the manor house of Dowdike, and the halls of Langtoft, Wellingborough, and Morborne.⁴ In the Quo Warranto trials in 1281, he successfully defended those claims and rights of the monastery which were in question.⁵ In 1294 he was called upon to defend the rights of Crowland to the advowson of Whaplode,⁶ and he gave 40 marks to Robert de Hakebeth for his quitclaim.⁷ Only four years earlier the revenues from the church had been recovered on the death of a papal nominee who drew 80 marks a year from it.⁸ The abbot and convent had apparently seized the occasion to diminish the vicar's portion from 60 marks at which it was fixed in 1268⁹ to £20,¹⁰ thus increasing the revenues of the rectory which accrued to them to £73 6s. 8d.¹¹ In 1291 the temporalities were assessed at £423 7s.,¹² and the house drew over £250 from its spiritualities,¹³ and at the beginning of the fourteenth century was selling on an average as much as 30 sacks of wool each year at the rate of 12 marks a sack.¹⁴ In 1299¹⁵ and again in 1300,¹⁶ for fines paid to the exchequer, licence was granted to the abbot and convent to acquire more property in mortmain. The abbot was summoned to attend the great Parliament of 1295, and although it was shown in 1322,¹⁷ and again in 1341,¹⁸ that the

abbots of Crowland did not hold their lands by barony, their successors continued to receive regular summons.¹⁹

Early in November, 1303, the abbot resigned,²⁰ and on the 13th for a fine of 40 marks Edward I granted the custody of the abbey during the vacancy to the prior and convent,²¹ thus protecting it from the escheators. However, it was a grant limited to a particular case, and at the next vacancy the crown again entered into possession.

For twenty years the monastery was under the rule of Simon of Luffenham. In 1307 for a fine of £20 he obtained from Edward I a very important confirmation of a number of charters affecting the rights and property of the monastery.²² He attended the general council at Vienne in 1311,²³ and was again abroad in 1314.²⁴ Before 1315 the house was visited by an epidemic disease of which thirteen monks died in fifteen days.²⁵ In 1324 Simon was deposed by Henry Burgersh, bishop of Lincoln, because he had favoured his kinsfolk at the expense of the house.²⁶ During the vacancy²⁷ there were in the monastery forty-one monks, of whom three were novices, fifteen persons who held corrodies, five of them being clerks, and only thirty-six servants, a comparatively small number in a great Benedictine house.

After the election of Henry of Casewick, a petition was sent to Edward II that an allowance might be made out of the profits drawn for the crown by the escheators for the maintenance of the monks, the holders of corrodies, and the servants, their clothes, shoes, linen, and necessities, and for the lights in the church.²⁸ Accordingly the king directed the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to search the rolls and find out what allowance was usually made during a vacancy at Crowland. They reported that they had found two vacancies and none whatever was made. The king held that a charge for maintenance was reasonable, and ordered an inquisition to be made into the numbers in the house during the vacancy. As the result of an inquisition held at Stamford on 19 March, 1328, 6d. a day was allowed for the prior, 3d. for each monk and holder of a corrody, 2d. for each servant. The clear weekly profit to the crown was £8 1s. 6d.,²⁹ over £7 being charged for maintenance.

Henry of Casewick was an able and vigorous ruler. In 1327, by an important act of the chapter,

¹ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 479.

² *Ibid.* 480.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 481.

⁵ *Placita de Quo Warranto* (Rec. Com.), 103.

⁶ *Wrest Park MS.* 6, fol. 78.

⁷ *Ibid.* 79.

⁸ *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 515.

⁹ *Wrest Park MS.* 6, fol. 80 v.

¹⁰ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 62b.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.* 66a, &c.

¹³ *Ibid.* 62b, &c.; *Wrest Park MS.* 6, fol. 54.

¹⁴ W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ed. 1905, 640.

¹⁵ For a fine of 10 marks, 3 roods of land in Wigtoft and the advowson of the church there. *Cal. Pat.* 28 Edw. I, m. 23.

¹⁶ By Reginald de Celer of 2 messuages, 23 acres of land and 10 acres of meadow in Crowland, Langtoft and Baston; by John Wygan of 5 acres in Langtoft; by Robert Foulman of 6 acres in Holbeach; by John and Alice Milys of 3½ acres in Whaplode; by Stephen Walren of 2 acres of land in Whaplode. *Cal. Pat.* 20 Edw. I, m. 26.

¹⁷ *Madox, Hist. of the Exch.* i, 531.

¹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 15 Edw. III, iii, m. 12.

¹⁹ *Mon.* viii, app. 1635.

²⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 32 Edw. I, m. 29.

²¹ *Ibid.* 31 Edw. I, m. 7.

²² *Chart. R.* 35 Edw. I, m. 4.

²³ *Cal. Pat.* 5 Edw. II, i, m. 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 8 Edw. II, i, m. 22.

²⁵ *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis* (Rolls Ser.), app. 397. 'Litera a domino Simone abbate Crulondiae pro morte confratrum suorum Ramesiae directa.' He wrote when the plague was raging, asking for prayers, so the mortality may have been still greater.

²⁶ *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 141.

²⁷ *Mon.* ii, 121.

²⁸ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 482.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

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the master of the works was relieved of the charge of keeping the abbot's buildings in repair, his obligations were strictly defined,¹ and the endowment of his office was increased by the abbot.² In pursuit of a policy of further expansion, in 1327, for a fine of £20, a licence was obtained to acquire lands and rents not held in chief to the value of £20.³ In 1334 licence was acquired to appropriate the church of Drayton,⁴ but it was not acted upon.

The monastery was again involved in a number of lawsuits. In 1332 Abbot Henry sued the prior of Durham for £108, the arrears of a rent of 9 marks which in 1307 was guaranteed to the convent of Crowland for giving up their rights in the town and church of Ederton.⁵ The prior of Durham pleaded that, as the agreement was made at Stirling, it was illegal, but the abbot recovered the annuity, 27 marks of arrears, and £10 for damages. On several occasions he had to contend against the hereditary foes of the monastery. In 1329⁶ he complained to the crown that the prior of Spalding, with the men of Spalding and Moulton, cut to pieces beams which were placed to strengthen the dikes which prevented the abbey from being submerged and washed away. They destroyed the dikes and the arable land was flooded. They extorted tolls and customs from persons coming to Crowland fair, and assaulted the officers appointed by the abbot to collect tolls and profits in his manors of Spalding, Holbeach, Whaplode, and Sutton. In 1332⁷ Thomas Wake of Liddell and the men of East and West Deeping and Barholm prevented the bailiffs from holding the fair, which at that time lasted for seventeen days, and from collecting tolls and other dues, and hindered merchants from attending. The abbot complained also that they had mowed the rushes on his meadows at Langtoft, Baston, Pinchbeck, and Spalding, and carried them away as well as his turves and hay. At Baston they had broken into his close and house, driven away 10 horses, chased 40 horses, 120 oxen, 300 cows, and 3,000 sheep from several of his manors to West Deeping. There they impounded them until he paid fines to the amount of £500 for their release. But in 1332 Thomas Wake had a countercharge against the abbot.⁸ With seven of his monks and many other men he rescued some beasts which Thomas Wake had lawfully impounded, carried away his goods at East Deeping, seized six boats on the Welland at Crowland and assaulted his servants. At the Parliament which met at Westminster early in 1332, Edward III inhibited both parties from injuring each other. On 22 July he issued a

commission of oyer and terminer, because there were at that time in the parts of Holland assemblies of armed men of the abbot of Crowland and the prior of Spalding, Ebulo Lestrangle and Thomas Wake.⁹

The maintenance of causeways, bridges, and dikes in the marshes had long been a source of strife. In a petition to Parliament in 1335, the men of Holland and Kesteven stated that the ways between Crowland and Spalding were in a very dangerous state, and that this could be remedied if the abbot of Crowland would make a causeway on his soil between Crowland and a manor of his called the Brotherhouse, on the understanding that he and his successors should take tolls for its construction and maintenance.¹⁰ Negotiations with the abbot followed,¹¹ but with no result.¹² As dikes to protect the lands of one owner hindered the flow of water into the fisheries of another, quarrels were inevitable. The abbot of Crowland firmly maintained his rights. Thomas Wake again attempted to rob him of profit in his marshes by making a dike for the convenience of the men of Deeping. In 1342 it was destroyed by the abbot accompanied by four of his monks and a number of his men.¹³ The people of Spalding were no more successful in 1349. They built a causeway on the abbot's land, so that the waters overflowed his marsh of Goggisland, and the abbey and town were 'in danger of drowning.' The abbot gave orders that the causeway should be broken down in several places, and was afterwards discharged by the jury before the sheriff of Lincoln on that count.¹⁴ At the same inquisition he also proved that he was in no way bound to maintain a causeway between Crowland and Brotherhouse.

In 1344 the monastery was in serious financial difficulties. Owing to raids on the manors and granges by men who carried off goods and drove away animals and cattle to places unknown, it was so much impoverished that the abbot and convent could not pay their creditors or provide for their own maintenance.¹⁵ Accordingly Edward III took the abbey and its possessions into his special protection, and committed the custody during his pleasure to John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, and William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, to apply the issues and profits, saving reasonable sustenance for the abbot and convent and their servants, in discharge of the debts and relief of the estate of the house, by view, aid, and counsel of the abbot and more experienced monks.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 6 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23 d.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 8 d.

¹² Dugdale, *Hist. of Imbanking and Draining* (ed. 1772), p. 214.

¹³ *Cal. Pat.* 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 34 d.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Hist. of Imbanking and Draining* (ed. 1772), p. 214.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26.

¹ *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 73.

² *Ibid.* 74.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1 Edw. III, iii, m. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.* 8 Edw. III, i, m. 7.

⁵ *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 78.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 3 d.

⁷ *Ibid.* 6 Edw. III, ii, m. 34 d.

⁸ *Ibid.* pt. i, m. 7 d.

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The abbot made a vigorous effort to prevent encroachments of the crown. In 1338 he bargained with Edward III, on condition of granting a corrody to his yeoman, John of Ashmeresbroke, that on his death the monastery should be in no way bound to receive another royal nominee.¹ He urged that the lands of the house were held in free alms, and were therefore exempt from any such service to the crown. His contention was true, and in 1346 he only owed service for two knights' fees in Langtoft,² and with others for one-third of a fee in Gedney besides one-tenth of a fee in Witham. In 1284-5 the abbot held the vill and site of Crowland in free alms, he also held with others the vill of Gedney, and 4 carucates of land in Holbeach and Whaplode, 1 carucate in Pinchbeck, and 2 carucates in Spalding. In 1303 he held three fees in Langtoft, and one-third with others in Gedney. In 1428 he held three-quarters of a fee in Bucknall.

There is no record of the visitation of the Black Death at Crowland, and the effects do not appear to have been particularly serious either on the temporal prosperity of the house or in permanently diminishing the numbers of the monks. It is true that the numbers had fallen from forty-one³ in 1324 to about twenty-seven under Abbot Ashby,⁴ but in 1445 there were again about forty-one.⁵

When Henry of Casewick died in 1358 the prior and convent made a fine of 100 marks to have the custody of the monastery during that vacancy.⁶ Little is known of the welfare of the convent during the twenty years of Thomas of Barnack's rule, but he is said to have triumphed over his enemies.⁷

Although there were serious disturbances in several of the eastern counties in 1381 and the following years, discontent among the bondsmen of Crowland is only recorded in the manor of Wellingborough in Northamptonshire. In 1383 they besieged the abbot and his servants in the manor house and threatened to burn it.⁸

Under the three abbots who ruled from 1378 to 1427, Crowland was engaged in another succession of lawsuits about its possessions in the marshes. In 1389 the commons of Holland and Kesteven again petitioned for a division between their

marshes.⁹ Accordingly a commission was appointed to make inquiry that stone crosses or posts might be set up to mark the boundaries. The result was that new crosses were erected at Kenulfston, Wode-lode-Graynes, and other places. Nevertheless the king's half-brother, Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and his servants, committed a number of outrages. They drove away cattle from the manor of Langtoft, fished in the Welland from Kenulfston to Brotherhouse, destroyed the fishing-nets of the monastery, beat the abbot's servants at Deeping Market and threw them from their boats into the water. In 1390 and again in 1391 the abbot presented complaints in Parliament against the earl, and the earl made counter-charges; but John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, took up the abbot's cause very warmly. The abbot and the earl were several times cited before the council, but though the abbot always appeared, the earl failed to present himself on every occasion. He chose a steward of Deeping who was guilty of further outrages in 1392. In the autumn the abbot again complained in Parliament. John of Gaunt exerted all his influence, and peace at length prevailed for a short time. At Whitsuntide, 1394, the men of Deeping invaded the marsh in arms, and destroyed the cross at Kenulfston.¹⁰ Abbot Thomas of Overton hastened to London to lay his grievance before the king, and, largely owing to the support of John of Gaunt, a grand assize was held to investigate the matter. Many of the men of Deeping were seized and taken in chains to Lincoln Castle, where they remained till their friends and neighbours had set up another cross at Kenulfston.

In 1413 Abbot Thomas was stricken with blindness, and the monks had no longer a powerful protector like John of Gaunt. The men of Holland saw a chance of trespassing with impunity.¹¹ Armed men from the vills of Moulton and Weston occupied an island called 'Le Purceynt' within the bounds of the abbey for nearly a year. They fished, fowled, plundered the nets and everything they could find, and burnt the fishing-house at Sandistowe to the ground. Men from Spalding fished in the Welland as far as Crowland, dug turves in the marsh of Goggisland, cut sedges and bulrushes, and prevented the entry of the tenants of Crowland. The abbot had wished to resign on account of his blindness, but the monks prevailed on him to continue in office. With the consent of Repingdon, bishop of Lincoln, the management of the affairs of the house was deputed to the prior, Richard Upton. He was a man of considerable experience, and had formerly been prior of the cell of Freiston for ten years.¹² He also bore a reputation for learning, and had taken the degree of bachelor of divinity at Cambridge.

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 12 Edw. III, ii, m. 33. Abbot Ralph had a similar struggle with Henry III in 1268, and John Delebuche was then admitted on condition that another corrody should not be demanded by the crown on his death. *Wrest Park MS.* 6, fol. 30v. Nevertheless Edward II had sent Peter le Saucer to the monastery.

² *Feudal Aids*, iii, 213.

³ *Mon.* ii, 121. The numbers may have been greater before the epidemic which visited the house between 1304 and 1315. cf. p. 110.

⁴ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 498.

⁵ *Linc. Alnwick's Visitations of Monasteries*, 64 d.

⁶ *MS. Cole* xlv (B.M.), 45.

⁷ *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 141.

⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 7 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 8 d.

⁹ *Hist. Croyl. Con.* 483-91.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 492-3.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 501.

¹² *Ibid.*

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He firmly determined to end the disputes about the marsh, and gained his purpose by the production of the forged charters and other documents, which were used for the first time as evidence in a lawsuit.¹ His first step was to excommunicate all persons who infringed the liberties of the church of St. Guthlac, plundered its property, or invaded its possessions.² The sentence was pronounced with the leave of the bishop of Lincoln, in virtue of a privilege which was then said to have been granted by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, but which had never been mentioned or used on any previous occasion. Afterwards, in the words of the chronicler, 'he manfully girded up his loins as though about to fight against beasts,' and hastened to London to prosecute the men of Spalding, of Moulton, and Weston, taking with him the charters of Ethelbald, Edred, and Edgar. The charters of Ethelbald and Edred were inspected and confirmed in 1393,³ and again in 1399,⁴ but they had not been officially recognized by any previous kings. It must be concluded that these and other Saxon charters were forged soon after the middle of the fourteenth century.⁵ The writers showed ignorance of the language of an old English diploma and of the history of the rights which were claimed,⁶ but their ignorance was shared by all who afterwards accepted them. About the same time, before 1360, the history of Crowland was compiled and ascribed, with a stroke of genius, to Ingulf, the first Norman abbot.⁷ The object of the writer seems to have been to provide a setting for the Saxon charters, and a defence of the rights of the monastery. With vivid imagination and keen insight he wrote a delightful story, weaving into it traditions which at that time may well have gained acceptance as history among the monks of Crowland.⁸ Another monk about the same time compiled a continuation of the history to 1135, which purported to be written by Peter of Blois at the request of Abbot Henry Longchamp.⁹ It is only extant to 1117. It may well have been based on materials then at Crowland, which have now disappeared, but it contains a full share of amusing fiction.

The suits dragged on for nearly two years, and the expenses exceeded £500. The prior

fell sick in London from vexation and despair.¹⁰ His counsel was a skilled lawyer named William Ludington. According to the story current at Crowland St. Guthlac appeared one night to Ludington with cheering promises of success. The next day he succeeded in agreeing with the counsel for the other parties to submit the question to arbitration. Two arbitrators were chosen on behalf of the abbot and convent of Crowland, and two for the men of Moulton and Weston, and William Ludington and John Cockayne, both justices of the common pleas, acted with them. After an examination of the evidence and muniments at Crowland, they gave their award early in September, 1415. The island called 'Le Purceynt' was adjudged to be within the bounds of Crowland, and the men of Moulton and Weston were excluded from common of pasture, piscary, or turbary therein. They were condemned to rebuild the fishing-house at Sandistowe before 1 November, to pay 40 marks to the abbot and convent for damages, and to enter into recognizances to pay £200 before 25 December. The award of the arbitrators in the suit against the men of Spalding and Pinchbeck on 30 October, 1415, was equally favourable, and the rights of the abbot and convent in the marsh of Goggisland were strictly safeguarded.

In spite of serious damages to property and the heavy cost of the lawsuits, there was much activity in other directions. Abbot Thomas bought the fee of Shelton in the manor of Gedney about 1398,¹¹ and also part of a knight's fee in Baston called the fee of Beaumont,¹² and thus added 36 marks to the rental of the house. He obtained from Henry IV a charter granting the custody of the monastery to the prior and convent in each successive vacancy on condition of a payment of £20, and thus excluded the escheators, who, in the words of the chronicler, 'raged like lions, committed waste in the manors, and made heavy exactions.'¹³

Abbot John had the great bells of the church recast, and provided vestments, thuribles, and other ornaments.¹⁴ Abbot Thomas repaired the bells in the central tower and built a new brew-house and bakehouse.¹⁵ The finances of the monastery were so flourishing that several of the obedientiaries were able to expend their surplus revenues and gifts from their friends on further benefactions.¹⁶ Laurence Chateres, the kitchener, found £40 for the building of the west side of the cloister, £20 towards building a farmhouse on the manor of Dowdike, £26 for a set of black vestments, and £40 to provide milk of almonds on the days when only fish was eaten.

¹ *Neues Archiv*. xviii, 255-7.

² *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 502-12.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 17 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1 Hen. IV, ii, m. 7, 8.

⁵ It is noteworthy that they do not occur in the chartulary (Wrest Park MS. 6), which from an entry on fol. 23v. seems to have been compiled c. 1366. However, on fol. 21v. a list of the Saxon kings, to whom the forged charters contained in Ingulf's *History* were attributed, has been added in a later hand.

⁶ *Neues Archiv*. xviii, 255-7.

⁷ *Ibid.* xviii, 257-62.

⁸ *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* (ed. W. Fulman), i, 1-107.

⁹ *Ibid.* i, 108-32.

¹⁰ *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* (ed. W. Fulman), i, 502-12.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 496; Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 121.

¹² *Ibid.* 496.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 492.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 496.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 497-8.

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Ten marks were therefore assigned to the master of the works, almoner, pittance, sacrist, chamberlain, and cellarer. Each in turn was bound to supply three pounds of almonds and good bread and honey, a pound of almonds sufficing for each eight or nine monks. William Crowland, master of the works, built the western cloister, the north and south transepts, which he vaulted and glazed, the reredos of St. Guthlac's altar, the Lady chapel, and the frater, and he rebuilt the western part of the nave. Towards his work he received £270 from benefactors outside the monastery. Simon Eresby gave the reredos of the altar of St. John the Evangelist, and two silver-gilt thuribles which cost 40 marks. Abbot Upton¹ rebuilt the abbot's hall and the west side of the court leading to the water-gate. He added many valuable books to the library. To the vestiary he gave a reliquary worth 100 marks and some most costly vestments. When John of Freiston was sacrist he hired workmen to embroider a 'Jesse' vestment valued at 300 marks, a blue cope embroidered with eagles in gold, and some beautiful albs.

Abbot John Litlington was elected in 1427, and ruled the monastery for forty-three years. The question of the liability to repair embankments again became very prominent. There was already friction with the people of Moulton when a priest of that vill met the receiver of Crowland going along an embankment belonging to Moulton.² After violently abusing him he threw him into the marsh, and as the monk was an old man he with difficulty escaped alive. The abbot appealed to William Gray, bishop of Lincoln, who cited the priest and compelled him to do public penance on a great festival before the high altar at Crowland. The people of Moulton next complained to William Bondvill, lord of that manor, of the overflow of water from the precinct of Crowland because the embankments were out of repair; in consequence their meadows and pastures were so swamped that they could not pay their rents.³ Bondvill impleaded the abbot for the damage to himself and his tenants. Abbot John hastened to London to defend himself, and after a great outlay of money on both sides the matter was referred to Crowland for a final settlement in 1433. The award was that the abbot should rebuild the embankment between Brotherhouse and Whaplodesdike and keep it in repair for forty years, but if the rainfall was very excessive he was not to be held responsible for any overflow.⁴ In 1439 there were heavy storms, and the water overflowed the embankment on the south side of the precinct, which happened to be out of repair, and inundated the common lands of Whaplode. Accordingly the abbot was presented for default before the commissioners of

sewers, who pronounced that he was bound to repair the embankments.⁵ With great efforts the abbot succeeded in getting the judgement reversed. At an inquisition held at Bolingbroke, before the sheriff of Lincoln, the jurors swore that the abbots of Crowland, their men and tenants, had never repaired the embankments, 'either for the safety of the lands adjoining, or for the purpose of keeping out the water running between the embankment or for the easement of the people . . . or any one of them, nor ought of right to repair the same . . . but only for their own easement, advantage, and profit, at their own will and pleasure.'⁶

In 1433, too, in spite of the award of 1415, the people of Spalding again trespassed in the marsh of Goggisland.⁷ With some difficulty the abbot brought them to justice, and recovered £90 for damages and £10 for costs. A few years later there were serious quarrels with the lord of Deeping, John earl of Somerset.⁸ Another very expensive suit was against Thomas Dacre, lord of Holbeach, who encroached on the abbot's manorial rights in Whaplode.⁹ By consent of both parties the question was transferred from the grand assize at Lincoln to the arbitration of the bishop, William Alnwick, and on 2 September, 1448, Dacre's rights were restricted to the punishment of his own few tenants in Whaplode.¹⁰

In the lapse of years the boundaries of the marsh of Alderland had disappeared, and the abbot of Crowland, anxious to avoid strife with the abbot of Peterborough, proposed an arbitration.¹¹ However, the arbitrators met several times without coming to any conclusion, and the abbots failed to agree. After the payment of large fees and further heavy expenses the matter was left unsettled in 1448.

In 1446 Litlington won a suit in the Court of Arches against the vicar of Whaplode, who had tried to make the abbot liable for the repair of desks and stalls in the chancel.¹² About 1451 he successfully defended his rights as lord of the manor of Baston.¹³

Crowland escaped injury during the Wars of the Roses. Henry VI visited the monastery in Lent, 1460, and granted a charter confirming the liberties of the vill of Crowland.¹⁴ In 1461 the approach of the Lancastrian army, which had marched from the north pillaging churches and committing sacrilege, filled the country with terror.¹⁵ Many refugees came with their valuables to Crowland. Vestments, jewels, treasures, charters, and muniments of the monastery, were hidden away. There were daily processions and

¹ *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* (ed. W. Fulman), i, 514-15.

² *Ibid.* 516.

³ *Ibid.* 516-17.

⁴ *Ibid.* 517.

⁵ *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* (ed. W. Fulman), i, 519.

⁶ *Ibid.* 520.

⁷ *Ibid.* 517.

⁸ *Ibid.* 518-19.

⁹ *Ibid.* 521.

¹⁰ *Mon.* ii, 122.

¹¹ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 525-6.

¹² *Ibid.* 521.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 530; *Mon.* ii, 123.

¹⁵ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 531.

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prayers for protection. The approaches were guarded by stakes and palisades. Hearing of Edward's march northwards, the army turned back when within six miles of Crowland.

In the Parliament of 1461 all charters of privilege granted by the Lancastrian kings were cancelled. Accordingly, Abbot John obtained in 1466 for 40 marks a confirmation of the right of custody during a vacancy, and also a further confirmation of charters of the monastery.¹

The prior, writing soon after his death, judged that 'in his time the observance of the monastic rule flourished to such a degree that it might not unworthily have been called a very castle of the Gospel, and one worthy to be entered by our Lord Jesus, and where mystically the sisters Mary and Martha had together taken up their abode. For while one part of the officers was diligently intent upon the careful performance of their respective duties, the others, bestowing all due attention upon the service of God, were occupying themselves in the quiet pursuits of contemplation amid the mystic embraces of Rachel.'² Visitations of the bishops of Lincoln on the whole suggest a high standard of life. In 1431 Bishop Gray³ enjoined that the rule of silence should be kept, and those who indulged in taunts and reproaches were to be punished. The prior and other officers were bidden to be affable, modest, discreet, and intelligent in administering correction, and officers who made themselves hateful were to be removed. The sacrist was ordered to repair the buildings of his office, 'lately very ruinous,' especially the house provided as a dwelling for the parish chaplain. The kitchener was to supply the monks with healthy and sufficient food in such quantities that there might be plenty for them and for alms afterwards. The almoner was to distribute the fragments among the poor, not to his own servants. The pittancer was to provide a servant to cater for the monks who were at Dove-dale to be bled. The master of the works and the sacrist were to provide horses for monks who went to visit their kinsfolk or to receive holy orders from the bishop, and the abbot was to find servants for them. The barber was to be provided at the common expense. The monks were to get their allowance for clothes and spices at the right time. Their friends and relations were to be lodged, according to their rank, at the common expense. Freiston Cell was to be better served and administered. The abbot was bidden to make to the chapter a clear annual financial statement of the position of the house between 29 September and 11 November. He was warned against granting corrodies, pensions, and annuities, and against cutting down the woods of the monastery, without the consent of the

convent and the bishop of Lincoln, except for necessary repairs, and then only with the advice of three monks. Nine years later, when Alnwick⁴ visited the monastery, there were thirty-six monks who made depositions. The abbot stated that all his monks were professed except three novices, and that there were two scholars at Cambridge. The prior and most of the monks replied that all was well. The complaints were that the almoner and master of the works did not each provide two horses for the monks, that sick and aged relations of the monks and the servants of the convent used to be received and supported at the 'Sisterhouse' in the office of the almonry, but the custom had fallen into disuse, and lastly that the prior of Freiston was away from his cell.

An important step was taken in 1428 when a licence was granted to the abbot and convent of Crowland to appropriate in mortmain two messuages in the parish of St. Giles, Cambridge.⁵ It was represented to Henry VI that some of the monks were continuously sent to the university of Cambridge to study canon law and theology, but as there was no hostel for the Benedictine order, they were compelled to lodge with seculars. A condition of the grant was that other Benedictine houses should be able to build rooms for their monks. The site embraced the principal portion of the present Magdalene College, and until the Dissolution was known as Buckingham College.⁶

Litlington was a great benefactor to the monastery.⁷ The nave was vaulted and gilded at his expense, the windows were glazed, and a gilded reredos and screen were provided for the high altar. The large organ and the small one in the choir were his gifts. He gave to the vestiary nine embroidered copes of cloth of gold valued at £240, a set of red vestments, a processional cross, chalice, water-bottles, and candelabra of silver gilt; he erected new buildings in the court of the monastery, and a number of tenements in Crowland which he gave to the convent, and repaired all his manor-houses and tenements. Shortly before he died he built a fair hostel for distinguished guests, and had five new bells cast in London and brought by water to Crowland at a total cost of £160. There was much activity too among the obedientiaries, who expended their revenues on building and gifts to the sacristy.⁸

The interest shown at Crowland in the writing of history at a time when it languished utterly in other monasteries is very conspicuous. A monk who at the death of Litlington had held the office of prior for many years devoted his moments of leisure to compiling a history of

¹ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 534; *Cal. Pat.* 5 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 20.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* Gray, fol. 128.

⁴ *Linc. Alnwick's Visitation of Monasteries*, 64 d.

⁵ *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 88.

⁶ R. Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Cambridge*, ii, 351.

⁷ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 535.

⁸ *Ibid.* 536.

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the monastery from the accession of Stephen until the abbot's death in 1470.¹ His sources, as he explained in the very charming and modest conclusion of his work, were the scattered annals of the house, and the charters and deeds, some even then 'aged and worm-eaten,' which he found among the muniments. The events of his own time he read 'more truthfully still in the book of experience.' He was painfully conscious that his style was very inferior to that of the authors of the earlier history of the house whom he believed to be Ingulf and Peter of Blois, and he has suffered from the advantage which the picturesque writer has always had over the student whose pen is fettered by his scrupulous regard for accuracy. He confessed that he had wished to leave a memorial of his name that his readers might pray for his soul, but he forbore of his own accord, for he would not appear to covet an undue meed of praise.²

A more ambitious monk began to write after the death of Litlington. His outlook was wider than the prior's, and he wrote a general history of his times from 1459 to 1486,³ digressing occasionally to relate what was happening at Crowland. His work is a valuable authority for the reign of Edward IV. Another monk continued his history with the avowed object of setting an example to those who should come after him, but unfortunately the manuscript ends abruptly, and part of his work is lost.⁴

The abbacy of John of Wisbech passed without one lawsuit, and the historian commented 'that he enjoyed the singular and especial privilege and piece of good fortune which never fell to the lot of any of his predecessors.'⁵ Like Litlington he was a great builder within the abbey and without.⁶ At Buckingham College he built chambers for the scholars of Crowland. He abolished the old custom, 'or rather corruption,' of giving away knives on St. Bartholomew's Day to all who asked for them. As there was a vast concourse of people at the fair, it had become a very expensive matter. A fire in the vill of Crowland diminished the rental of the monastery by twenty marks, but in compassion for the poor tenants the abbot gave divers sums of money towards the rebuilding.

Perhaps an unwarranted sense of security, coupled with an enthusiasm for learning, led the monks to elect Richard Crowland.⁷ He was a student and a writer of books, and gave to the library several manuscripts written at his expense and by his own hand.⁸ In 1478 he obtained

two bulls from Sixtus IV. In virtue of the first the convent was able to farm manors, churches, and other possessions for ten years without the leave of the ordinary.⁹ On account of a lack of monks of the age to take the order of priest, the other bull allowed them to be ordained as soon as they had reached their twenty-second year.¹⁰

In the opinion of the historian, advantage was taken 'of the simple innocence and innocent simplicity' of the abbot.¹¹ Three hundred men of Deeping trespassed in the marsh of Goggie-land, seized the reeds that had been collected by the men and tenants, and either beat or threw into the water all the people they met. Emboldened by success, they assaulted the vill of Crowland, and the abbot in turn met them in the nave of the church to answer their importunate demands. Presumptuous officials of the manor of Deeping fined the abbot heavily for cutting the embankments to avoid an inundation of the parts of Holland, and distrained upon his grain from Langtoft and Baston. At Whaplode the tenants and parishioners cut the trees which grew in the churchyard and attacked Lambert Fossdyke, the steward of the monastery, who was compelled to bar himself into the sacristy of the church.¹²

With the prospect of three serious lawsuits, in January, 1484, the monks elected Lambert Fossdyke as successor to Richard Crowland. He was a bachelor of law, and would have rendered useful service to the monastery, but within two years he died of the sweating sickness.¹³ During his rule the turbulent men of Moulton and Weston again claimed rights within the precinct of Crowland, and laid a complaint against the monastery.¹⁴ The judges who were sent to try the case found that they had never possessed the rights of common to which they laid claim. However, provision was made against the overflow of water from the precinct into Holland. Fossdyke was succeeded by the prior, Edmund Thorpe, a bachelor of divinity. He sought to secure and maintain his rights by tact and conciliatory conduct.¹⁵ At Moulton he obtained the support of the family of the Welbys, and their influence over the inhabitants kept the peace. He showed much patience in his dealings with the men of Deeping, who were also restrained by the Lady Margaret Beaufort, to whom the manor belonged. The fresh dispute with the monks of Peterborough about the marsh of Alderland was settled between 1480 and 1484 by the arbitration of Rotherham, archbishop of York, greatly to the detriment of Crowland. The abbot and convent were bound to pay £10 a year to Peterborough until they had purchased

¹ His work is the *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 451-546. It was evidently a complete work, but unfortunately there are several gaps in the text, (a) from about 1254 to 1281, (b) from 1281 to 1327, (c) from 1328 to 1388.

² *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 545-6.

³ *Ibid.* 549-81.

⁵ *Ibid.* 553.

⁷ *Ibid.* 560.

⁴ *Ibid.* 581-93.

⁶ *Ibid.* 560.

⁸ *Ibid.* 569.

⁹ Wrest Park MS. 6, fol. 56.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 569.

¹² *Ibid.* cf. also *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 95.

¹³ *Ibid.* 569.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 576.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 576.

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lands of that value for the said monastery, or procured the appropriation of the church of Brinkhurst.¹ Accordingly Abbot Edmund exerted all his influence to obtain the appropriation, which was finally concluded at the expense of Crowland in 1486.²

With this settlement the last instalment of the history of Crowland ends abruptly, and there is but little to record until the dissolution.

The last abbot, John Wells, or Bridges, ruled the house from 1512 until 1538. The visitation of Atwater,³ bishop of Lincoln, in 1519, shows that he was very arbitrary and unpopular. He then kept in his own hands the emoluments of the cellarer and receiver, so that they were officers only in name. In consequence the monks got neither soup nor pudding. Sick monks who were away with leave could not get the customary allowance of food and drink. One very old monk was denied the privileges which were his due. The bishop ordered the abbot to make full amends, and also to remove the janitor who spent much of his time in the town of Crowland, and sent pilgrims to Walsingham astray.

An anxious desire to appease Cromwell and Henry VIII appears in the abbot's correspondence in 1534, 1538, and 1539.⁴ Demands were made on him for leases and grants which were beyond his power to satisfy. There is no record of any discussions among the monks about the progress of affairs, and they certainly swallowed any scruples which they may have had. In June, 1534, the abbot and thirty-two monks subscribed to the royal supremacy.⁵ On 25 March, 1537, the abbot sent a present of fen fish to Cromwell, begging him 'to be good and favourable lord' unto him and his poor house.⁶ Between 1535 and 1539 he granted over thirty small annuities,⁷ some of them possibly for sums of ready money with the object of providing for the future.

On 4 December, 1539,⁸ Cromwell's commissioners arrived at Crowland, and the surrender was signed by the abbot and twenty-eight monks. Probably for his compliance John Bridges was awarded the large pension of £133 6s. 8d., and the rest of the monks received sums varying from £10 to £5 a year.⁹

The clear value of the possessions of Crowland, including the cell of Freiston, in 1535 amounted to £1,093 15s. 10½d.¹⁰ Of this sum about £160 was drawn from spiritualities. In the hands of the crown-bailiffs four years later

the property brought in £1,434 11s. 4½d.¹¹ The rectories belonging to the monastery were Crowland, Whaplode, Sutterton, Langtoft, Tetford, and Baston, in Lincolnshire; Wellingborough in Northamptonshire; Hokington in Cambridgeshire; and to the cell of Freiston, Freiston, Butterwick, Burton Pedwardine, and Claxby in Lincolnshire; Stonesby in Leicestershire; and South Warnborough in Hampshire. There were charges on a number of other churches. The manors were Cottenham, Hokington, Dry Drayton in Cambridgeshire; Crowland, Gedney, Whaplode, Aswyke, Holbeach, Spalding, Dowdike, Langtoft, Baston, Manthorpe, Bucknall, Freiston, and Claxby in Lincolnshire; Wellingborough in Northamptonshire; Morborne in Huntingdonshire.

ABBOTS OF CROWLAND¹²

Ulfcytel, 1051
Ingulf, 1085-6¹³
Geoffrey, 1110¹⁴
Waltheof, 1124
Godfrey, 1138
Edward, 1142
Robert of Reading, 1175
Henry de Longchamp, 1191
Richard Bardney, 1236
Thomas Welles, 1247
Ralph de Mersh, 1254
Richard Crowland, 1281
Simon of Luffenham, 1303
Henry of Casewick, 1324
Thomas of Barnack, 1358
John of Ashby, 1378¹⁵
Thomas of Overton, 1392
Richard Upton, 1417
John Litlington, 1427
John of Wisbech, 1470
Richard Crowland, 1476
Lambert Fosdyke, 1484
Edmund Thorpe, 1485
Philip Everard, 1497
William Gedding, 1504
Richard Bardney, 1507
John Wells *alias* Bridges, 1512

A seal of the date 1392¹⁶ is in shape a pointed oval and represents St. Bartholomew on the right, holding a book, and giving to St. Guthlac on the left a triple-thonged whip. Between the two figures there is a bird, one of the emblems of St. Guthlac, to the right on a bush. Overhead

¹¹ *Mon.* ii, 124-6.

¹² The list of abbots compiled by the editors of the *Monasticon*, ii, 96-104, has been checked. References are only given when a correction is needed.

¹³ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv, 600; Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* (ed. A. le Prevost), ii, 286-7.

¹⁴ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* (ed. A. le Prevost), ii, 287.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1 Ric. II, pt. v, m. 26.

¹⁶ B.M. Cast, lxvi, 93.

¹ *Hist. Croyl. Cont.* 576.

² *Ibid.*

³ Linc. Atwater's Monastic Visit. 47 d. 48.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, Nos. 272, 338; xiv (1), 54.

⁵ *Ibid.* vii, 769.

⁶ *Ibid.* xii (1), 729.

⁷ *Bibl. Topog.* iii, 120.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 631.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 85-7.

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is a carved canopy; below the feet of the figures an arched footboard.¹ The legend is—

SIGILL' : COMMUNE : ABBATIS : ET : CONVENTUS
CROYLANDIE

A seal of Abbot Edmund Thorpe is attached to a deed dated 1487.² It represents the Virgin and Child in a canopied niche, with a smaller niche on each side, now broken away. In base, under a carved arch, is a half-length figure of the abbot with pastoral staff.³ The legend is imperfect.

7. THE CELL OF ST. PEGA

It seems very doubtful whether this was ever a monastery in the strict sense of the word. St. Pega, the sister of St. Guthlac, is said to have occupied a cell somewhere near her brother's monastery, and the traditional site of her hermitage is in Northamptonshire. But the chronicle of Ingulf⁴ asserts that her cell was on the east side of the monastery of Crowland; and also that on the rebuilding of the abbey Abbot Turketyl established in the cell of St. Pega, and to her honour, a community of learned clerks, who were to keep the canonical hours day and night, and to be maintained by the abbey, though they were not monks. Seculars who wished to embrace the regular life at Crowland were sometimes tested here first. Some years later, however, when nearly all these clerks had become monks, Turketyl decided that it would be better not to have a regular community at St. Pega's, as it might prove prejudicial to the abbey. He therefore withdrew the remaining clerks, and appointed a single priest to serve the chapel of St. Pega at the expense of the monastery. There was still a chapel of St. Pega within the precincts of Crowland in 1434⁵; but never again a community of clerks to serve it.

8. THE ABBEY OF STOW

The monastery of St. Mary, Stow, was founded early in the eleventh century for secular clerks⁶; and its revenues were augmented a little later by the generosity of Leofric, earl of Mercia, and his wife Godiva.⁷ The Eynsham registers contain a copy of an agreement between Ulf,

bishop of Dorchester, and Leofric and his wife, for the enlargement of the house, and for the establishment therein of the same services as were customary in the church of St. Paul, London. The bishop was, as of old, to have two-thirds of all offerings made in the monastery, and the monks to have the third part.⁸ King Edward the Confessor and Pope Victor confirmed the gifts of the earl and countess.⁹

After the Conquest Bishop Remigius found that the house had been for some time desolate by the carelessness of its rulers; and in 1091 he determined to convert it into a Benedictine abbey.¹⁰ It is probable that this arrangement was planned in the lifetime of the Conqueror and received his sanction, as the charter of William Rufus contains a confirmation of his father's gifts.¹¹ With the permission of the king, the lands and revenues of the abbey of Eynsham were annexed to the new monastery at Stow, on condition that the abbots should be appointed with his consent, and all their lands should be held direct from him.¹² Remigius issued a charter in which he ordained that Columbanus should be the first abbot; and handed over the site of the abbey to the monks 'in the hope that Mary, the mother of God, for the sake of his gifts to her Son, would help him, who was sore athirst for the water of life, to pass from hope to open vision; if he might be found worthy to behold the King in His beauty.'¹³ Rufus bade the monks to be obedient to Columbanus as they had been to the bishop; he sent another letter to Remigius to sanction the transference of the Eynsham lands, adding, 'See that I hear no more outcry, for on this condition only have I suffered the change of place.'¹⁴

These arrangements, so carefully made and confirmed, were not, however, destined to be permanent. In 1109 Henry I issued a new charter,¹⁵ at the desire probably of Robert Bloett, Remigius's successor,¹⁶ for the restoration of the abbey of Eynsham. The monks of Stow were soon afterwards transferred thither, and the estates of their church were annexed to the see of Lincoln.

9. THE PRIORY OF SPALDING

The priory of Spalding it is said was founded in 1051, when Thorold of Buckenhale, sheriff of Lincoln,¹⁷ and a special benefactor of

¹ W. de Gray Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, i, 526.

² Harl. Chart. 44c, 63.

³ W. de Gray Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, i, 527.

⁴ *Rerum Angl. Script.* (ed. Gale), fol. 40.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gray, 128.

⁶ The founder was evidently one of the bishops of Dorchester; if the suggested date, 1040, be correct it would have been Eadnoth III. Henry of Huntingdon and Roger of Howden assign the foundation to Leofric and Godiva; but in their agreement with Ulf they only undertake to augment the house, and speak of it as existing 'of old' before their time; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 13.

⁷ Ibid. Charters 1-3.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 13, Charters 1-3, and Harl. MS. 258, fol. 3.

⁹ Harl. MS. 258, fol. 3b.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 13, Charter 7.

¹¹ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, ii (i), 1.

¹² Harl. MS. 258, fol. 3b.

¹³ Ibid. fol. 4.

¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 5.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. and Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, vii, 195.

¹⁷ The Chronicle of Abbot John of Peterborough, though untrustworthy, calls him brother of Countess Godiva; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 206. The above story is doubtful, as Tailbois held Spalding in 1086 and Thorold was a Norman.

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Crowland Abbey, granted the manor of Spalding to that house for the relief of its necessities. Sustenance was thus provided for six of the brethren, and their departure from the parent abbey lessened for a while the expenses of the refectory.¹ In 1059 Earl Algar moved the abbot to give the monks of Spalding the little wooden chapel of St. Mary, and himself bestowed on them certain lands and rents for their support.² But in 1071 Ivo Tailbois, who had been standard-bearer at Hastings, apparently married the heiress of Spalding, and came to live in the neighbourhood. If the chronicle of Crowland may be believed, he seems to have had his full share of that Norman arrogance which marred the first days of the Conquest, and despised the monks of Spalding because of their Saxon blood. 'By the instigation of the devil,' says Ingulf, he was roused to such an extremity of hatred and fury against them that he did everything he could think of to annoy and vex them; and being his near neighbours they were indeed very much at his mercy. He would lame their cattle, kill their swine, and browbeat all their tenants and servants in his manorial courts, until at length, worn out by the hardships of their position, after vain efforts to propitiate his servants with gifts, the brethren of Spalding returned to the mother house, taking with them all their movable property. For a good while after this a single monk was sent to celebrate the divine office and mass at the wooden chapel of St. Mary, for the sake of the village folk who worshipped there: but when he was drowned one day on his way to perform this duty, in the floods caused by a great storm of rain, no other was willing to take his place, and the services ceased. Then Ivo, 'being greatly overjoyed because the Lord Himself seemed to be fighting for him against Crowland,' sent to the abbot of St. Nicholas, Angers, and offered him the manor of Spalding for the support of a prior and five monks, promising to have a fair and sufficient cell prepared for them. The offer was accepted, and Spalding became a cell of St. Nicholas.³ William I confirmed the charters of Ivo.⁴ Countess Lucy, the widow or heiress of the founder,⁵ renewed the gift in 1129, and her

charter was in turn confirmed by William de Romara, her son by another marriage.⁶ The abbots of Crowland made vain efforts all through the twelfth century to recover the property; but the priory was never restored to them. Indeed, for a while it was rather worse than lost: the priors of Spalding were their open rivals and enemies. At the end of the reign of Henry II the chronicler of Crowland asserts that all the most powerful men of the wapentake of Elloe, with the prior of Spalding at their head, marched into the abbot's enclosures, dug up turf, cut down woods and alder-beds, and depastured their cattle on his meadows. A long and tedious suit followed, as to the marshes on which Crowland was built, and the influence of William de Romara and other powerful friends of Spalding was used against the abbot, and he was threatened with the loss of the best part of his lands. Ultimately, however, in 1193, judgement was given in favour of Crowland.⁷

The property of the priory increased very much during the twelfth century. To the original gifts of Ivo Tailbois, William de Romara, son of Countess Lucy, and his grandson after him, with other benefactors, added lands and churches of considerable value,⁸ and the monks were soon involved, as a natural consequence, in many lawsuits. Thomas of Moulton, who had granted the church of Weston to the monks on the day of his father's burial,⁹ reclaimed it in 1198,¹⁰ while the prior in 1195 secured the advowson of the churches of (Gate) Burton and Lea against Roger de Trihamton.¹¹ About the same time the abbot of Peterborough had to

problems, which it is not, however, within the province of this paper to unravel. The chartulary of Spalding last quoted (Add. MS. 35296) supports the traditional account of her, calling Ivo Tailbois her first husband, and Wm. de Romara her son (by her second marriage), and names her as countess of *Chester* in her confirmation charter, implying a third marriage with Ranulf de Meschines. The three marriages are not chronologically impossible, though of course there may have been more than one Lucy. Her confirmation of the manor of Spalding to the monks from St. Nicholas shows that her sympathies were more with her Norman husbands than her Saxon ancestry. She was remembered as 'foundress' of Spalding as long as the house stood; and in 1534 gifts were still distributed on her anniversary to thirty poor persons in the vills of Moulton and Alkborough—'namely, 3½ ells of woollen cloth called "duds" at 8*d.* the ell, with 28*s.* as the price of 7 quarters of beans called "pardon beans" ' (*Valor Eccles.* [Rec. Com.], iv, 97).

⁶ Add. MS. 35296, fol. 9*a*.

⁷ Ingulf's *Chronicle* (ed. Gale), i, 453 et seq. The chronicle, however, says Prior *Nicholas* led the men of Elloe, which must be a mistake, as Nicholas was not prior till after 1193, unless there was another prior of the same name earlier.

⁸ Add MS. 5844, fol. 196*d.* 220.

⁹ Ibid. 196*d.*

¹⁰ Ibid. 197.

¹¹ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 4.

¹ Ingulf's 'Chronicle,' in *Rerum Angl. Scriptores*, i, 65, gives this account, with the year 1051. The charter of Thorold, quoted p. 72, and in Lans. MS. 207 c. fol. 126, has this date, but the Chronicle of Abbot John has 1052.

² From the Chronicle of Abbot John, in Dugdale, iii, 215.

³ For the above, see Ingulf's *Chronicle* (ed. Gale), i, 72. The historical value of this chronicle has been discussed in connexion with the abbey of Crowland: and it is only necessary to say here that the above account of events preceding the gift of Spalding manor to Angers may be partly drawn from the imagination of the chronicler.

⁴ Add. MS. 35296, fol. 8.

⁵ The ancestry and personality of Countess Lucy, and her various marriages, present some interesting

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resign all claim to the church of Hautberg¹ (Alkborough); in 1205 Roger de Lacy quit-claimed the church of Addlethorpe to the prior;² the church of Holbeach was lost in 1224.³ In 1234 there were new troubles in connexion with Crowland Abbey. The abbot complained that the prior took and imparked his cattle and exceeded his rights in common of pasture on Crowland marshes. The prior agreed to offend no more in this respect. The abbot undertook, however, not to impark the cattle of the prior or of his men of Spalding and Pinchbeck in the same marshes.⁴ In the same year a baker of Crowland, one of the abbot's men, was caught selling bread in the market of Spalding against the prior's assize, and was put on the tumbrel. The abbot complained that his liberties were invaded, and that he ought to have the punishment of his own subjects. It was agreed finally that if such a thing should occur again the man should, on the first offence, be pardoned; for the second offence, delivered over to the abbot's bailiff; for the third, he should undergo the penalty of the tumbrel at Spalding, and lose for ever the protection of the abbey.⁵ These disputes between the two houses continued throughout the thirteenth century; in 1283 they could not agree as to their respective duties in maintaining the bridges, gutters, dikes, and ditches of Spalding,⁶ and as late as 1329 the abbot accused the prior of having cut in pieces the beams placed to strengthen the dikes which defended the abbey, and extorted tolls and customs from those who came to Crowland Fair.⁷ At last, however, in 1332 a final agreement was made, and the two monasteries formally entered upon a league of brotherhood. Henceforward each was to share the spiritual goods of the other, the divine office, and all prayers, masses, meditations, vigils, &c.; a monk who died in either house was to have his absolutions and requiem celebrated in both, and each should strive to reclaim and reform apostates from the other.⁸

The priory of Spalding grew in wealth and importance. In the thirteenth century the priors claimed lordship in the vills of Weston, Spalding, Moulton, and Pinchbeck, with wreck of the sea for three leagues along the coast, free warrens and fisheries in several places,⁹ and their income

in 1294 amounted to £515 os. 7d.¹⁰ The monks became more and more desirous to be free of all subjection to the parent abbey of St. Nicholas at Angers. The history of their gradual emancipation is interesting, but can only be briefly sketched here. The priors had been at first sent direct from Angers, and were placed and displaced entirely at the abbot's will; and when they were recalled to France they were wont to carry away with them all the money they could collect together.¹¹ In consequence of these proceedings, the bishop of Lincoln, Hugh of Wells, and Ralf earl of Chester, as patron of the house, invited the abbot to a conference, and explained to him the many disadvantages which this system produced.¹² An agreement was made in 1232 that in future the priors of Spalding should be elected in England and instituted by the diocesan, so as to have full administration in things temporal and spiritual; but the right of visitation was reserved to the abbot on condition that he did not make his visits too expensive and burdensome. Novices were still to be professed at Angers unless the abbot of his own free will chose to allow them to make their profession at Spalding, and four monks from the abbey were to be maintained at the priory, being under obedience to the prior, but liable to be recalled by the abbot from time to time. A pension of 40 marks a year was to be paid to the abbey.¹³

This arrangement, however, did not give complete satisfaction to either party. Before 1241 Pope Gregory IX, at the instance of the abbot of Angers, had published two bulls against the prior of Spalding for not sending his novices to the mother-house for profession,¹⁴ and for not going there himself for visitation,¹⁵ as well as another addressed to the bishop of Lincoln ordering him to inquire into the quarrel, and informing him that the abbot had excommunicated the prior for disobedience, while the prior complained that the abbot exceeded his rights.¹⁶ A new agreement was made in 1242, and confirmed by Pope Innocent IV in 1245.¹⁷ It was very similar to the previous one, only that now the abbot agreed to visit the priory every three years and to receive the profession of novices there instead of requiring them to come to Angers; his stay, however, was not to exceed a month, nor was he to bring more than fifteen mounted attendants with him. The pension was to be increased to 60 marks on account of the great expense incurred by the abbot in forwarding his suit at the apostolic see. The

¹ Harl. MS. 742, fol. 270.

² Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 61.

³ Ibid. 173. Other suits concerned the vill of Wilton, and the churches of Pinchbeck and Belchford.

⁴ Ibid. 286.

⁵ Ibid. 267.

⁶ Pat. 11 Edw. I, m. 22 d.

⁷ Similar complaints had been made in 1275. Harl. MS. 7 and 2, fol. 9 d. Ibid. 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 29 d.

⁸ Add. MS. 35296, fol. 438 d.

⁹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 271.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 5844, fol. 94.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 215 (from a register of Spalding).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. and Add. MS. 35296, fol. 11 d.

¹⁴ Add. MS. 35296, fol. 12 d.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 13.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 14; and *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 76.

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bishop of Lincoln was to see that all these arrangements were faithfully carried out, and arrears of pension paid.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century the priory suffered some losses from inundation,¹ a recurrent difficulty with all houses near the Lincoln coast. In the reign of Edward II the monks of Spalding were in trouble on other accounts: in 1314 for usurping the possession of Deeping manor during the minority of Thomas Wake;² in 1316 they were charged with carrying corn and other victuals to the Scots³; in 1316 and 1318 they had difficulties about getting in their rents and market tolls⁴; in 1324 they were accused of harbouring and selling the goods of a traitor.⁵ The outbreak of the French wars brought anxiety and loss to all monasteries dependent on foreign abbeys, and to Spalding among the rest, as its exemption from the mother-house was not yet complete. In 1275 the king confiscated the 40 marks due to Angers,⁶ and the prior seems to have thought this a convenient opportunity for escaping altogether from subjection to foreigners. He expelled the four alien monks who were quartered on his house, and though at first the king ordered him to take them back again,⁷ the intercession of Henry de Lacy, as patron of the priory, brought about an agreement which made the monks of Spalding virtually independent. The king ordered the house to be released by the escheator and granted it the privilege of governing itself in future on condition that the pension due to Angers was paid to the exchequer instead, and that no aliens were received without his consent.⁸ The priory was again seized in 1325, but, after a series of inquiries as to its patronage, released in 1327 on payment of the arrears of pension.⁹ At the conclusion of peace the proctor of St. Nicholas tried again to assert his rights. From 1327 to 1329 a series of royal writs was issued, ordering the prior to pay all arrears since the conclusion of peace.¹⁰ It was not, however, long before war began again, and in 1339 the pension was transferred once more to the exchequer.¹¹

¹ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 21 d.; *Cal. of Pap. Petitions*, i, 213.

² Pat. 7 Edw. II, m. 9 d.

³ Harl. MS. 742, fol. 321.

⁴ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 29 d.; 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 34 d.

⁵ Harl. MS. 742, fol. 321 d. On this charge, and that of sending victuals to the Scots, the prior was fully acquitted after inquisition.

⁶ Add. MS. 35296, fol. 42 d. ⁷ Ibid. 43.

⁸ Ibid. 44. The process of election in the fourteenth century was rather unusual. Three monks were to be chosen as electors by the abbot of Angers and convent of Spalding: they took to themselves eight more, and these eleven elected one amongst themselves who had power to nominate the prior. Ibid. 76.

⁹ Ibid. 46 d. 55.

¹⁰ Ibid. 55 d. 64.

¹¹ Harl. MS. 742, fol. 60.

In 1341 the prior obtained exemption from attendance in Parliament for himself and his successors on the plea of all these expenses lately incurred. In 1397 a bull of Pope Boniface IX set the priory free for ever from all subjection to Angers.¹² The abbot was no doubt more easily reconciled to this mandate by the fact that he had long ceased to reap any profits from his English property.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century the monastery was considerably in debt, owing to the mismanagement of its revenues,¹³ but it appears to have recovered from this during the last fifty years before the suppression. In 1534 it was one of the richest monasteries in Lincolnshire. The prior had long enjoyed the right of using the ring and pastoral staff, in consideration of the dignity of the house,¹⁴ and there were still nineteen monks in it beside the prior and sub-prior, when the Act of Supremacy was passed.¹⁵

In 1526 great efforts were made by the bishop of Lincoln to induce Prior Thomas (Spalding) to resign his office: as it seems, because Cardinal Wolsey was desirous of appointing some one else to suit his own 'honourable pleasure and purpose.' The bishop wrote to Wolsey at this time saying that the prior was himself good and gentle, but had been induced by others (notably the abbot of Peterborough) to resist all persuasion on this point, and was determined to die prior of the house.¹⁶ In 1528 there was a rumour that he had died, and the abbot of Bardney wrote to John Heneage to solicit the cardinal in favour of one of his own monks.¹⁷ Thomas Spalding, however, signed the acknowledgement of supremacy in 1534: but evidently resigned or died some time between 1534 and 1540, for the name of the prior who heads the pension list is Richard Elsyn *alias* Palmer.¹⁸ This monastery was not actually implicated in the Lincoln Rebellion, but it was reported that the prior had refused to contribute any men to the royal forces, on the ground that he was a 'spiritual man.'¹⁹ Either this report was not true, or the prior managed to make his peace with Cromwell, whose friend he seems to have been;²⁰ at any rate he was not brought to trial. The house was finally surrendered in 1540; the prior receiving a pen-

¹² *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v. 76. The subjection had, however, been once at any rate a convenience to the prior, when he wished to escape a summons to the general chapter of the order in England. Add. MS. 35296, fol. 69.

¹³ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower).

¹⁴ *Cal. of Pap. Petitions*, i, 395.

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1024 (p. 394).

¹⁶ There are two letters of the bishop to Wolsey on this subject, one of 1526, and the other of 1528. Ibid. iv (2), 2391, and 4796.

¹⁷ Ibid. 3964.

¹⁸ Ibid. xiv (2), 652. 'Thomas' occurs prior in 1531 and 1532. Ibid. v, 278 g. 17, 1285 vi.

¹⁹ Ibid. xi, 567.

²⁰ Ibid. x, 218.

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sion of £133 6s. 8d., and the monks amounts varying from £12 to 26s. 8d.¹

The priory of Spalding was not liable to episcopal visitation until the fourteenth century, when it was freed from all subjection to Angers. Until this time the abbot of St. Nicholas had the right of visitation, for the correction of the house, as has been already seen : though during the French wars it was impossible to exercise this right. Before 1232, when the first agreement was made for the partial exemption of the house, its condition is said to have been somewhat unsatisfactory, as the priors were liable to be recalled at the abbot's pleasure, and had little interest therefore in their charge. One of them, Herbert, who ruled from about 1149 to 1156, is said, however, to have taken pains to increase the revenue of the priory, and obtained the appropriation of the churches of Spalding, Pinchbeck, Moulton, and Alkborough.² At the death of Ralf de Mansel in 1229, Bishop Hugh of Wells interfered to settle a disputed election, when the sub-prior and several monks appealed against the candidate nominated by Ralf earl of Chester, as patron of the house; and Simon of Hautberg was finally appointed.³ It was only three years later that the convent gained the right of election, so Simon became the first independent ruler of the house. He was prior for more than twenty years, and his name was long remembered at Spalding. He came of a knightly family, and from his earliest years was devoted to study; and the house flourished under his rule. He was one of the most magnificent prelates in England; on one occasion he invited the king to dinner with him in London and entertained him so royally that the bishops and abbots who heard of it complained loudly, fearing some fresh taxation: and the prior's own diocesan even threatened to depose him. Nevertheless he did not get his house into debt.⁴

John the Almoner, who ruled the priory from 1253 to 1274, made himself very unpopular in the neighbourhood: it was alleged in 1275 that he had exceeded the bounds of his free warren, had given shelter to felons in the priory, and had maliciously detained certain persons until they paid or granted him whatsoever he desired: he had also let a bridge fall down, to the great loss of the country-side.⁵ None of these accusations

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv (2), 652.

² Add. MS. 5844, fol. 48.

³ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.*

⁴ Add. MS. 5844, fol. 48; and *Lans. MS.* 1049, fol. 112.

⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 271-6. The seneschal of the prior, it is said, took Robert son of Reginald and his two sisters, and had them maliciously detained in the priory until they made a fine with the prior in a cask of wine worth 40 shillings. 'Gilbert Fitz-Stephen was unjustly accused of felony' and detained 'until he swore that all his life long he would not oppose the prior or any of his men in any assize,' &c. A third case of the same kind is given.

were, however, made matter of inquisition, because the prior was already dead: so they cannot be considered as proved. William of Littleport, the next prior, was a great builder.⁶ Clement of Hatfield, who died in 1308, left behind him a good reputation for his government of the house and management of its property.⁷

Bishop Burghersh issued a commission of inquiry in 1333 as to the causes of discord at the election of Thomas of Nassington.⁸ Regular visitations probably began after 1397, when the priory was finally made independent. An allusion is made in the visitation of 1438 to certain injunctions lately delivered by Bishop Gray, who had ordered the rebuilding of certain parts of the monastery. The visitation of 1438 was conducted by Bishop Alnwick. The prior, Robert Holland, allowed that he had not rebuilt the hall or refectory, as directed by Bishop Gray, and it was found by this time that other repairs were needed also. The order of the house was fairly good for the fifteenth century, when the standard of life, secular and religious, was generally low: a certain number of monks always ate in refectory, and there was no neglect of the divine office; a scholar seems to have been maintained at each university.⁹ Sixteen of the brethren, indeed, answered *omnia bene* to the bishop's questions. But the prior, some alleged, was not careful of the interests of the house, and did not show his accounts or consult the brethren duly in the disposal of property;¹⁰ he was too often away from the monastery.¹¹ He had allowed wine to be sold in the cloister, a practice which brought in many seculars: he did not help his brethren to maintain the dignity of the religious life, for there was sometimes laughter at the chapter of faults. A few individual complaints about food, or the loss of pittances, or the insolence of the prior's servants, or the neglect of prayer and study, need not cause us much surprise: such complaints may be found at all times in the best regulated monasteries. More serious was the accusation against two brethren of being too familiar with women, of revealing to them the private affairs of the monastery, and of spreading ill-sounding opinions, through

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 209 (note); from the chronicle of Robert of Boston—not a very good authority when he stands alone; but the same account is found in *Lans. MS.* 1040, fol. 112 (Bishop Kennet's transcription of a register of Spalding).

⁷ Add. MS. 5844, fol. 54; and Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 209.

⁸ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* Burghersh, 267 d.

⁹ It was complained that the last monk who went to Oxford took with him certain goods and silver belonging to the monastery, and had returned without them. Whence, perhaps, we may gather that the career of a monastic scholar had some homely points in common with that of seculars then and since.

¹⁰ Some of these accusations he denied.

¹¹ He said himself he was never away a whole week at a time.

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ignorance of holy scripture. One of the chaplains was accused of bringing women into the house.¹

In 1519 Bishop Atwater found that the ornaments of the church needed repair. The prior did not consult his brethren duly as to the disposal of property, but placed more confidence in the advice of certain seculars, who bore themselves *nimis elate* towards the monks in consequence. The bishop enjoined that the seniors should be consulted, and that an instructor in grammar should be provided.² It is evident that the house was on the whole in good order, and the rule kept. A few years before the dissolution, the monastery seems to have suffered some disadvantage from the personal character of the prior, who was 'good and gentle,' wrote Bishop Longlands, but unwilling to see his office pass to more capable hands—an infirmity which other heads of houses have shared with him before and since.³ It is not clear whether it was this prior or his successor on whose behalf Cromwell wrote to Bishop Longlands in 1536; most probably the latter. The bishop seems to have designed a visitation of the house, and was somewhat roughly reminded that it belonged to Cromwell's cure and not to his, 'being nouth founder nouth benefactor of the same.' The priory had been lately visited by the royal commissioners, who had reformed all that was necessary: and the prior and convent were to be left in peace.⁴ They had to find, a few years later, that the king and his vicar-general were harder patrons than the bishop.

At the time of the dissolution a considerable amount of money was distributed in alms from this monastery, in fulfilment of various bequests. On the five vigils of our Lady 42s. was distributed to the poor: an annual dole of 5s. 3d. was given in memory of two benefactors, and of 23s. 4d. in memory of five deceased priors, as well as 60s. on the anniversary of William Littleport in particular: £4 18s. was paid out in cloth and 'pardon beans' for the soul of Countess Lucy the foundress.⁵

The original endowment consisted of the extensive manor of Spalding with its appurtenances and the church.⁶ Ralf earl of Chester and Lucy the countess gave in addition the churches

of Belchford, Scamblesby, and Minting,⁷ William de Romara gave the church of Bolingbroke and a moiety of East Keal,⁸ Wido Laval the church of Addlethorpe,⁹ Roger de Trehamton the churches of Gate Burton and Lea.¹⁰ When King John confirmed the charters of Spalding in 1199 they had lordship in Spalding and Pinchbeck, the manors of Alkborough, Langtoft, and Wilbeton (Wyberton), with the above churches (except Minting and Scamblesby) as well as Weston, Moulton, Pinchbeck, Surfleet, Sibsey, Stickney, Hautberg (Alkborough) with Walcote chapel.¹¹ By 1236 their lordship, with free warren, extended over Weston and Moulton as well as Spalding and Pinchbeck.¹² In 1294 the revenue of the priory was valued at £271 13s. 7d. in temporals and £243 6s. in spirituals.¹³ In 1284 the prior of Spalding held the vills of Spalding, Weston and Pinchbeck, with some exceptions, and sixteen and a half bovates in Long Sutton and Lutton and eight bovates in Moulton which Thomas son of Lambert of Moulton held of him¹⁴: in 1303 one third of a knight's fee in Kirkby Laythorpe, and Evedon, and one sixth in Wyberton:¹⁵ in 1346 the same.¹⁶ In 1534 the temporals of the priory were valued at £740 2s. 9d. including the demesne land in Spalding and Weston, and the granges of Halmer, Thornham, New Hall, Ambreyllathe, Sutton, Gannock, Pinchbeck, Pinchbecklathe, Graves, Moulton-cum-Golwell and Goll, Weston-cum-Westonlathe, Caldbyche, Wykeham, Wyberton, Alkborough, Wytham-cum-Obthorpe, Kirkby, Stickney, Belchford, Lincoln, Ludford, Donnington; in spirituals at £138 14s. 6d., including the rectories of Spalding, Pinchbeck, Moulton, Weston, Sibsey, Alkborough, and the chapel of Cowbit.¹⁷ The Ministers' Accounts amount to £933 10s. 2d.¹⁸

PRIORS OF SPALDING

Nigel,¹⁹ occurs temp. Henry II
Herbert,²⁰ occurs 1149 and 1156
Reynold,²¹ elected 1176
Geoffrey²²
Warin,²³ occurs 1182
Jocelyn,²⁴ occurs 1195 and 1198

⁷ Add. MS. 5844, fol. 218.

⁸ Ibid. 214-215.

⁹ Ibid. 216.

¹⁰ Ibid. 220; and Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 4.

¹¹ Cartae Antiq. D. 5 & 6.

¹² *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 217.

¹³ Add. MS. 5844, fol. 94.

¹⁴ *Feud. Aids.* iii, 369-70.

¹⁵ Ibid. 147, 159.

¹⁶ Ibid. 203, 241.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 97.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 208.

¹⁹ Add. MS. 5844, fol. 205.

²⁰ Ibid. 35296, fol. 421; Harl. MS. 742, fol. 270.

²¹ Ibid. fol. 421.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid. fol. 39.

²⁴ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 4; Add. MSS. 5844, fol. 197, & 35296, fol. 39.

¹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 58. There were some complaints of debt, but no one was quite sure about them, since the accounts were not shown. The prior was ordered to show them in future according to the rule.

² Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), 48 d.

³ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, iv, 2391 and 4796. He was still alive in 1555, so that he could not have been so very old in 1528. His incapacity must have had other causes. (Pension List in Add. MS. 8102.)

⁴ Ibid. x, 218.

⁵ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 98.

⁶ Add. MS. 35296, fol. 8.

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John the Spaniard¹

Nicholas,² occurs 1203-4

Ralf Mansel,³ occurs 1224, died 1229

Simon of Hautberg,⁴ elected 1229, died 1253

John the Almoner,⁵ elected 1253, died 1274

William of Littleport,⁶ elected 1274, died 1294

Clement of Hatfield,⁷ elected 1294, died 1318

Walter of Halton,⁸ elected 1318, occurs till

1332

Thomas of Nassington,⁹ elected 1333, died

1353

John Esterfield,¹⁰ elected 1353, occurs till 1396

John of Moulton,¹¹ elected 1404, died 1421

Robert Holland,¹² elected 1421, occurs till

1438

William of Pinchbeck¹³

Thomas II,¹⁴ occurs 1462

Thomas III,¹⁵ elected 1475, occurs till 1492

Robert,¹⁶ occurs 1504 and 1509

Robert Boston,¹⁷ occurs 1522

Thomas Spalding,¹⁸ occurs 1515 to 1534

Richard Elsyn¹⁹ or Palmer, occurs 1540

The common seal of Spalding²⁰ is thirteenth-century style of work, the obverse representing the Virgin with crown seated on a carved throne, the Child on the left knee. In base, under a pointed arch, slightly trefoiled with gables of church-like structure at the sides, the prior half-length to the left in prayer.

SIGIL . . . ARIE : ET : BEATI . . . HOLAI

SPAL . . . GIE.

¹ Add. MS. 35296, fol. 39.

² Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 57, 61. There may have been an earlier Nicholas, prior in 1189, if Ingulf gives the name correctly. The priors dative seem to have been changed very often.

³ Ibid. 173.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

⁵ Add. MS. 35296, fol. 421; Lansd. MS. 1040, fol. 112.

⁶ Lans. MS. 1040, fol. 112. Called William le Bedel, in *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 390.

⁷ Add. MS. 5844, fol. 83.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 75.

⁹ Ibid. Memo. Burghersh, 267*d*.

¹⁰ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 58.

¹¹ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 57.

¹² Ibid. Inst. Flemmyng, 15*d*; Visitation of Alnwick, 1438 (Alnwick Tower.)

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 208 (from *Bibl. Top. Brit.*).

¹⁴ Pat. 2 Edw. IV, pt. iv, m. 29-30.

¹⁵ Pat. 17 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 5*d*.: and Add. MS. 35296, fol. 443*d*. This is certainly not the same person as Thomas II, for in 1492 he is called expressly Thomas III, and said to be in the seventeenth year of his prelacy.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 208; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 663.

¹⁷ *Lincs. N. and Q.* v, 36.

¹⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 695; and *Valor Eccles.* iv, 97. Called Thomas White in the pension list.

¹⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 652.

²⁰ Add. Chart. 21112.

The reverse represents St. Nicholas standing on a carved corbel, with mitre, pall, and pastoral staff; the right hand is broken away.

SIGIL . . . PIT'LI : BEA . . . MARIE

ET BE . . . NGLE.

The borders are beaded.

10. THE PRIORY OF BELVOIR

According to the received tradition the priory of Belvoir was intended at first to be an independent abbey. It was begun by Robert de Toden, lord of Belvoir, on land near his own castle, in 1076; but, being hindered by secular employments from completing the work, he was advised by Archbishop Lanfranc to hand over the unfinished buildings to the primate's old friend and companion, Abbot Paul of St. Albans, for a cell to that abbey. The abbot was to complete the monastery and place four monks there to pray for the soul of the founder, who was received at the same time, with his wife, into the fraternity of St. Albans.²¹ The agreement was carried out, and Robert de Toden was buried at his death in the chapter-house of the priory.²² It never became a very large or important cell, but it had many honourable names amongst its benefactors, several of whom were buried, like the founder, in its church or chapter-house. The first William d'Albini was laid in the chapter-house, and Oliver d'Eyncourt beside him. The second William d'Albini, and the fourth of that name, were buried in the priory church, with their wives.²³

There is nothing very unusual or striking in the history of the house. The church of Redmile, given to the priory by William d'Albini,²⁴ was claimed in 1258 by Robert de Roos and his wife,²⁵ and, though the dispute was settled in favour of the prior, other members of the same family seem to have been discontented with this result, and were accused in 1295 of trespassing on the property of the monks at Redmile and Belvoir, of assaulting their men and carrying off their corn.²⁶ William de Roos, however, in 1308 made his peace with the prior, and granted him the advowson of the church of Woolsthorpe.²⁷

The list of priors of this house is a very long one. It seems that they were frequently changed or transferred to other cells. A few of them are worthy of special mention. Roger of Wendover, prior in the early part of the thirteenth

²¹ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 44. *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Ser.), i, 57.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 289, Charter ii. From a register of the priory, containing a list of the benefactors and patrons of the house buried in the church or chapter-house.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 46.

²⁵ Ibid. fol. 82.

²⁶ Pat. 23 Edw. I, m. 10*d*.

²⁷ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 99.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

century, was the first of the chroniclers of St. Albans, but at Belvoir he certainly did not distinguish himself, except by 'dissipating the goods of the church in reckless prodigality, and following in all things the footsteps of his predecessor, Ranulf the Simple, whom all men hold blameworthy for his scandalous dilapidations.'¹ He was deprived of his office by William, twenty-second abbot of St. Albans, in 1226.² William of Belvoir, second prior of that name, ruled the priory with great success during the difficult period of the great pestilence, and, in spite of the burden of debt which he inherited from his predecessors, left the house in good estate, having planted trees, repaired the conventual buildings, and performed many other good works.³ Simon Southrey, prior in 1396, was recalled to the mother-house by Abbot John Moot, and made claustral prior there.⁴

The monks of this house seem to have been frequently in a state of poverty and debt. Sometimes this may have been through the mismanagement of the priors, as in the case of Roger of Wendover; and the career of William of Belvoir, already noticed, shows how much can be done or undone in this respect by one man. But the revenues of the house were never very large, and when Abbot John Moot was collecting contributions from the cells to pay off the debts of the abbey to the king and the pope, Belvoir, like Wallingford, was only expected to send 40s., while Tynemouth sent £7 and Bynham £4.⁵ Every cell was expected to pay something towards the expense of maintaining at Oxford scholars from the abbey,⁶ and a small present had to be sent if possible to each newly elected abbot.⁷ During the few years immediately preceding the dissolution of monasteries this priory was not actually in debt or money difficulty,⁸ but it had ceased to be able to support even four monks as at first. Richard Belvoir, a monk of the house, who was examined in 1538 with reference to the advowson of an appendant church, testified that for the last few years there had been no one living at the priory except the prior and himself, and that he did not remember

having more than two or three companions at any time, who were sent to and fro at the discretion of the abbot of St. Albans.⁹

The cell of Belvoir was surrendered with the parent abbey in 1539.¹⁰ Of its internal history very little can be traced. The priors, as in the case of all cells of St. Albans, were presented by the abbot and instituted by the diocesan, but the right of visitation was reserved to the former.¹¹ They took an oath of obedience to the abbot, promising to maintain the privileges of the mother-house, and not to alienate any property of the cell, or grant any corrodies, without leave.¹² They had, however, full jurisdiction over the brethren under their charge, presiding at their chapter, hearing their confessions, and inflicting suitable punishments when necessary.¹³ Apostates from the cell were at first sent back to the abbey for their penance; but Abbot Thomas de la Mare, at the end of the fourteenth century, ordered that in future they should return to the house they had forsaken.¹⁴ Priors of cells had to attend the yearly general chapter of the abbey,¹⁵ and there is plenty of evidence that the cells were regularly visited by the abbot in person.¹⁶ There are no records of any serious troubles at Belvoir which called for the abbot's notice, except the case of Roger of Wendover. A prior was removed at the end of the thirteenth century by Abbot John III, but the chronicler especially remarks that it was done without any sufficient cause.¹⁷ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were several very good priors in charge of Belvoir. We are especially told that the house was in good estate just after the great pestilence, when so many monasteries were in a disorganized and unsettled condition. William of Belvoir not only managed to clear off heavy debts, but set an example of true piety and devotion; and after thirty-three years of active life he resigned his office that he might spend the rest of his days like a true monk, in prayer and contemplation in his own cell.¹⁸ It was at his own desire, too, that Simon Southrey, half a century later, was recalled to the mother-house, 'wearied with worldly cares,' and wishing for a more secluded life than he

¹ *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Ser.), i, 270-4.

² *Ibid.* and Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

³ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 129. The debt is said to have amounted to £733, and Prior William contrived to leave a balance of £40 to his successor.

⁴ *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 436.

⁵ *Ibid.* 468.

⁶ There are several records of penalties imposed on priors for default of this payment (*Ibid.* ii, 312, 448). Belvoir paid 32s. 9d. in the time of Whethamstede (John de Amundesham, *Ann. Mon. S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 309).

⁷ *Gesta Abbatum*, ii, 187; iii, 468.

⁸ An account of receipts and expenditure for Belvoir in the year 1527, when Cardinal Wolsey was abbot *in commendam*, shows that there were no debts at that time (Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 292).

⁹ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 138.

¹⁰ Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the Engl. Monasteries*, ii, 308 (date of surrender of St. Albans).

¹¹ *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Ser.), i, 275-7.

¹² *Ibid.* ii, 443.

¹³ *Ibid.* 95.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 415.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 447.

¹⁶ Notices of visitations are scattered through the chronicles of St. Albans, and it is specially noticed of Abbot William of Heyworth that he, being in debt at his accession, lived for some years at Bynham, Hatfield, and Belvoir, to lessen the expenses of his household, but did not visit the cells *capitulariter* (*Ibid.* iii, 494).

¹⁷ He did the same to all the cells except Wymondham (*Ibid.* ii, 51).

¹⁸ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 129.

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had perhaps found possible at Belvoir.¹ A later prior, Richard Hall, must have had a good reputation for orthodoxy, for in 1453, when heresy was so rife, he received a licence from Bishop Chedworth to 'preach the word of God' anywhere in the diocese.² John Hatfield, prior from 1465 to 1480, was also held in some esteem at the mother-house, for he was deputed by the abbot to settle certain disputes in the troublesome cell of Tynemouth.³ John Guildford, during the same century, had the privilege of burial in St. Albans Abbey, 'on account of his merits.'⁴ The record of this house during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seems therefore to be good, so far as we can judge. At the time of the dissolution alms were still distributed to the poor at the priory gate every week to the value of 43s. 4d. annually; on Maundy Thursday, 6s. 8d. in addition, and on anniversaries of different benefactors, 51s. 4d.⁵

The original endowment of Robert de Toden included the vill of Horninghold (Leics.), and 4 carucates of land near the castle of Belvoir, with tithes in divers places.⁶ William d'Albini and other benefactors added the churches of Horninghold, Barkstone, Redmile, Claxton, Plungar, Swinford, Ashby, and Hose (Leics.), with Tallington and Aubourn⁷ (Lincs.). The churches of Redmile, Swinford, and Ashby were lost before 1277,⁸ but the others were still held by the priory in 1534.⁹ No large benefactions were made later, except a legacy of £55 16s. 8d. from John de Belvoir, canon of Lincoln, for whom a chantry was undertaken by the monks.¹⁰

¹ *Gesta Abbatum*, iii, 436. At the next election Simon Southrey, being then prior, received four votes, though he never became abbot (*Ibid.* 486-7).

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Chedworth, 5 d.

³ *Registrum Willelmi Alton* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 239.

⁴ John de Amundesham, *Ann. Mon. S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 437.

⁵ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 116.

⁶ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 44.

⁷ *Ibid.* 46. Vicarages were ordained for all these Leicestershire churches under Belvoir in the time of Hugh of Wells (Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells).

⁸ Archbishop Kilwardby inspected the charters of the priory, and pronounced their title good in the cases of Claxton, Hose, Plungar, Barkstone, Tallington, Aubourn, and Horninghold; the others are not mentioned (Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 86). The church of Woolsthorpe was granted in 1308 for a short time, and that of (Hogges) Norton also; but neither of these gifts was in perpetuity (*Ibid.* fol. 99, 111).

⁹ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 116.

¹⁰ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 110. An interesting benefaction of books from Sir Richard de Luton is printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 292, and shows us what was considered a valuable contribution to a monastic library in the fourteenth century. Besides divers service books, it comprised a tractate on grammar, homilies for a year, Æsop's Fables, a tractate on the seven sacraments, a book of 'cases in which a priest cannot absolve his own parishioner,' another on the art of the *serpent*, another on the manner of mixing

The prior in 1303 held part of a knight's fee in Uffington, Tallington, and Caswick, and one-eighth in Aubourn. In 1346 the former holding was said to be one-fourth of a fee.¹¹ In 1534 the clear value of the priory was £98 19s. 5d. in temporals and spirituals.¹²

PRIORS OF BELVOIR

Temmaer,¹³ occurs *temp.* Hen. I
Brientius,¹⁴ occurs *temp.* Stephen
John,¹⁵ occurs 1169
Simon,¹⁶ occurs between 1174 and 1195
John,¹⁷ occurs between 1183 and 1195
Nicholas,¹⁸ occurs 1195
Simon,¹⁹ died 1204
Ranulf the Simple²⁰
Roger of Wendover,²¹ occurs 1224, deposed 1226
Martin of Bosham,²² instituted 1226, occurs 1240
Geoffrey,²³ occurs 1251
Ralf of Wallington,²⁴ occurs 1264 and 1269
William of Huntingdon,²⁵ occurs 1270 and 1277
Reyner,²⁶ instituted 1277, occurs 1285
Minion of Barton²⁷
Roger of Hanred,²⁸ occurs 1287, died 1295

and making colours, another on 'the virtues of simple medicines' with many antidotes of proved virtue, &c., for which gift the anniversary of the donor was to be kept with *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and *Requiem*, each priest in the monastery saying one mass, and those in minor orders fifty psalms each.

¹¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 166, 167, 210, 211.

¹² *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 116.

¹³ *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland* (Hist. MSS. Com.), iv, 130.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 99.

¹⁵ Madox, *Formulare Angl.* 251.

¹⁶ *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 113, 146.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 43.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 287. The list in Dugdale is from various sources, but where the names in it conflict with entries in the Linc. Epis. Reg. or other reliable sources, they have been passed over.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Ser.), i, 270.

²¹ *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 143; and Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

²² *Ibid.* where he is called 'Martin, brother of Winemer, formerly archdeacon of Northants' (*Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 131). He is called Martin of Bosham in *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Ser.), i, 274.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 287.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 153; Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 87.

²⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend; and *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 125.

²⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 287.

²⁸ *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 133. The two following names in Dugdale's list are omitted, as Roger's death is noted under the institution of Peter of Maydenford.

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Peter of Maydenford,¹ instituted 1295, transferred 1299

John of Stakethorn,² occurs 1303 to 1317

William of Belvoir I,³ instituted 1319.

John of Kendal,⁴ instituted 1320, occurs 1329

William of Belvoir II,⁵ instituted 1333

William of Stenington,⁶ occurs 1361 to 1367

Richard of Belvoir,⁷ occurs 1367 to 1384

Stephen,⁸ occurs 1386 to 1390

Simon Southrey,⁹ occurs 1390 to 1396, resigned about 1397

John Savage,¹⁰ instituted 1397

William Hall,¹¹ instituted 1400, occurs to 1414

John Guildford,¹² occurs from 1414 to 1423

John Wyteby,¹³ occurs 1430 to 1441

Robert Ouresby,¹⁴ instituted 1433

William Alnwick,¹⁵ instituted 1435

Richard Hall,¹⁶ occurs 1453

John of Banbury,¹⁷ occurs 1459

John Hatfield,¹⁸ occurs 1465 to 1480

Anthony Zouch,¹⁹ occurs 1485

John Thornton,²⁰ occurs 1498

Robert Ashby,²¹ occurs 1498

John Clare,²² occurs 1516

Ralf Eyton,²³ occurs 1520

Henry,²⁴ occurs 1525

Thomas (Randyll ?),²⁵ occurs 1531

Thomas Hamtyll²⁶

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 21. He was made prior of Beaulieu 1299 (Ibid. 104).

² *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i, 601; *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 104, 121, 149.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 79.

⁴ Ibid. 359; *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 120.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Burghersh, 50 d.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 287; William occurs also in 1346 (*Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 146). This may be either William of Belvoir or of Stenington.

⁷ Ibid. and *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 122 and 173.

⁸ Ibid. and *Gesta Abbatum*, iii, 436.

⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Beaufort, 13 d.; and *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 173.

¹² Ibid. ¹³ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 137.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gray, 10.

¹⁵ Ibid. 13. ¹⁶ Ibid. Memo. Chedworth, 5 d.

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 287.

¹⁸ *Registrum Willelmi Albion* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 30, 145, 239.

¹⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 287.

²⁰ Ibid. ²¹ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 137.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 287.

²³ Ibid. He is also said to occur 1530; but the deposition of Richard Belvoir in 1538 shows that Priors Hamtyll and Randyll had been the last two in office, and one had ruled the house nine years.

²⁴ *Rep. on MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, iv, 112.

²⁵ 'Thomas' is given in Dugdale *Mon.* iii, 287, under 1531; it is uncertain whether his name was Randyll or Hamtyll.

²⁶ Sloane MS. 4936, fol. 138; *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36. In a list of obits of priors of this house are named also John Langley, Andreas, John Biwell, and

11. THE PRIORY OF ST. LEONARD, STAMFORD

If the priory of St. Leonard, Stamford, was indeed built upon the site of the monastery founded by St. Wilfrid in 658, it might claim to be the most ancient religious house in Lincolnshire, with the exception of Barrow. The identification is, however, very uncertain, and is supported only by documents of late date. The same authority—a manuscript of the fifteenth century, written under the direction of a prior of Durham who died in 1446—states that the house, destroyed in the Danish invasion, was refounded by William Carileph, bishop of Durham, with the co-operation of the Conqueror, in 1082, and by them bestowed upon the prior and convent of Durham.²⁷ The only thing that can be said with certainty is that it was from a very short time after the Conquest a cell of Durham.

The priors of the house were presented by the prior and convent of Durham, and instituted by the bishop of Lincoln.²⁸ They seem to have been very frequently changed, and a visitation of Bishop Alnwick, dated 1440, shows the reason why. In this year there were only two monks in the house. The prior, Robert Barton, stated that the income of the house was so small in proportion to its liabilities that it was difficult to make ends meet, and that was why the priors never wished to stay there. A former prior had undertaken to pay a pension of £6 a year to Crowland in exchange for the church of Edenhall, and this was now a heavy burden on the house, and involved the loss of four small

John Revey; as the date is only given by the month and day, it is uncertain where they should be placed. In the *Rep. on MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, iv, 130, 137, and 146, Priors Eustace and Richard of St. Clare occur also undated.

²⁷ Land for a monastery was certainly given to St. Wilfrid by Alchfrid, son of King Oswy of Northumbria, at a place called Stamford (Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* bk. v, c. 19). The question is whether this was Stamford on the borders of Lincolnshire, or another town farther north. As Peck pointed out (*Antiquarian Annals of Stamford*, ii, 7 et seq.), it is not historically impossible that it may have been Stamford, Lincolnshire, because the battle of Windwaedfield was past, and Oswy was overlord of this district by 658. But there is no clear proof. The only authority, as it is said above, is the statement of Prior Wessington: 'In Stamford is a cell in honour of St. Leonard, founded first by St. Wilfrid, afterwards by King William the Conqueror and William bishop of Durham' (Ibid. iv, 7).

²⁸ The bishop seems to have claimed the right of visiting this cell at an early date. There is a memorandum of Bishop Sutton dated 1292: 'Ingram de Chaton, prior of St. Leonard's, to have time till he can speak with the prior of Durham touching the visitation of the bishop' (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 12 d.). No other notices of visitation are preserved, however, except that of Bishop Alnwick.

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pensions due to it from other churches. The other brother, John Hexham, simply stated that they did not get up to mattins, being so few.¹

The prior and convent of Durham continued to hold the cell until the dissolution. Its value in 1291 was £28; ² in 1534 it was £25 1s. 2½d.,³ while in the Ministers' Accounts the total given is only £7 10s. 9½d.⁴

PRIORS OF ST. LEONARD'S

Walter,⁵ presented 1222
 William Elvet,⁶ resigned 1261
 Geoffrey de Castro,⁷ presented 1261, died 1262
 William of Wearmouth,⁸ presented 1262
 John of Burford,⁹ resigned 1272
 William of Massam,¹⁰ presented 1272
 Nicholas,¹¹ died 1277
 William de Rybus,¹² presented 1277
 Peter of Seggefeud,¹³ resigned 1221
 Geoffrey of St. Botulf,¹⁴ presented 1291, resigned 1292
 Ingram of Chaton,¹⁵ presented 1292, resigned 1293
 Geoffrey of St. Botulf,¹⁶ confirmed 1293, died 1302
 Robert of Killingworth,¹⁷ presented 1302
 John Fossum,¹⁸ resigned 1333
 Robert de Cambehowe,¹⁹ presented 1333, resigned 1338
 Nicholas of Lusby,²⁰ presented 1338, resigned 1346
 Robert of Halden²¹ (or Hexham), presented 1346, resigned 1352
 John of Langton,²² presented 1352, resigned 1354
 John de Castro Bernardi,²³ presented 1354, resigned 1366
 Robert of Claxton,²⁴ presented 1366, resigned 1373
 John of Billesfield,²⁵ presented 1373, resigned 1375
 John of Hemingburgh,²⁶ presented 1375
 John Swineshead,²⁷ presented 1419
 Richard Barton,²⁸ S.T.B., presented 1440

¹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 82 d.

² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

³ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 142.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 472.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

⁶ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. ¹¹ Ibid. ¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. Inst. Sutton, 2.

¹⁴ Ibid. ¹⁵ Ibid. ¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 16 d.

¹⁸ Ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 52. ¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. 76. ²¹ Ibid. Inst. Bek, 23.

²² Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 53. ²³ Ibid. 65.

²⁴ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 15 d. ²⁵ Ibid. 57 d.

²⁶ Ibid. 73. ²⁷ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 102.

²⁸ Ibid. Inst. Alnwick, 83.

John Garrard,²⁹ resigned 1443

John Forman,³⁰ presented 1443

John Manby,³¹ resigned 1494

William Yondall,³² presented 1494, resigned 1496

Robert Beattes,³³ presented 1496, died 1501

Henry Thewe,³⁴ S.T.B., presented 1501

Christopher Wyllie,³⁵ died 1530

Stephen Morley,³⁶ presented 1530

Richard Whelpdon,³⁷ occurs 1534

12. THE PRIORY OF FREISTON

The priory of Freiston was probably founded soon after the year 1114. It was in that year that Alan de Creoun presented to Crowland Abbey the church of Freiston,³⁸ and later on, according to Peter of Blois, placed there a prior and monks.³⁹ A few years after the monastery was built he increased the endowment by further gifts.⁴⁰

The house has very little history apart from Crowland. In 1283 a commission of oyer and terminer was issued against certain persons who broke through the doors of the monastery into the church, stole the keys, and consumed the victuals provided for the household, and for some time maintained themselves in the priory at the expense of their unwilling hosts.⁴¹

The priors of this house were not presented to the bishop for institution, and consequently few of their names can be recovered. One of them was cited before the bishop in 1416 for withholding altarge and oblations from the vicar of Butterwick.⁴² Not long after this, Bishop Gray, visiting the abbey of Crowland in 1431, discovered that the number of monks at Freiston had dwindled to seven; and these were all aged and infirm, and unable to maintain the divine office in a seemly manner day and night. He gave orders that as soon as possible the original number should be made up, and that they should be young men, able to keep the choir: at the same time enjoining that they should be properly fed and provided for that they might continue to serve God dutifully and contentedly.⁴³ In 1440, however, when Bishop

²⁹ Ibid. 91.

³⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Alnwick, 91.

³¹ Ibid. Inst. Russell, 34 d.

³² Ibid. ³³ Ibid. Inst. Smith, 47.

³⁴ Ibid. ³⁵ Ibid. Inst. Longlands, 29 d.

³⁶ Ibid. ³⁷ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 142.

³⁸ Foundation Charter, Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 125. The year is said to have been that of the refounding of the new abbey church of Crowland, 1114.

³⁹ Petri Bles. *Contin. ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rerum Angl. Script.* (ed. Gale), i, 119, 125.

⁴⁰ Charter ii, Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 126.

⁴¹ Pat. 11 Edw. I, m. 19 d.

⁴² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Repingdon, 156.

⁴³ Ibid. Memo. Gray, 128.

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Alnwick made inquiries, the number had not yet been made up, and a monk of Crowland said that the fall of the house was daily expected, through the negligence and non-residence of the prior.¹ We may presume that a reform was effected at this time, as the cell continued until the dissolution of the mother house in December, 1539.

The original endowment of the cell included the churches of Freiston, Butterwick, South Warnborough, Stonesby, and Burton Pedwardine, with divers parcels of land.² In 1291 its revenue amounted to about £32 9s. in temporals and spirituals.³ In 1534 it was valued at £167 8s. 1½d. clear annual income.⁴ The Ministers' Accounts give a total of £105 15s. 9d. exclusive of the rectory of Freiston which was worth £44 18s. 3d. a year.⁵

PRIORS OF FREISTON

John,⁶ occurs 1158

Nicholas,⁷ occurs 1208

John Sutton,⁸ occurs 1503

Richard Sleaford,⁹ occurs 1534

13. THE PRIORY OF DEEPING

The priory of Deeping was founded and presented by Baldwin Fitz Gilbert to Thorney Abbey in 1139.¹⁰ The gift was confirmed by Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln, and by Pope Alexander III.¹¹

Like all small cells of the greater abbeys, this house has very little independent history. The priors were presented by the abbot without reference to the diocesan, and the right of visitation was reserved. Some trouble about the tithes of the two churches of Deeping brought the priory under the notice of the diocesan about 1299. The tithes of the two churches were said to be so confused that it was not possible to collect them without damage or discontent either on the part of the rector or the monks. It was agreed that in future the tithes from St. James's Church should go entirely to the priory, and the tithes of St. Guthlac's to the rector.¹²

An inquisition taken in 1324 during a vacancy at Thorney found that the priory had no temporalities, and that from the time of King

Richard I its issues had not been seized by the escheators during avoidance of the parent abbey.¹³

The cell was dissolved at the final surrender of Thorney Abbey in December, 1539. A pension of £8 was reserved to the last prior of Deeping.¹⁴

The endowment of the priory consisted of the two churches of Deeping, St. James and St. Guthlac, with lands in the same vill.¹⁵ Its temporalities mentioned in the Taxatio of 1291 only amount to £1 15s. 1d.¹⁶ No valuation is given in the Ministers' Accounts at the dissolution, because the priory had been granted to the Duke of Norfolk.¹⁷

PRIORS OF DEEPING

Jocelyn,¹⁸ occurs in the twelfth century

James Nassington,¹⁹ occurs 1299

Thomas of Gosberkirk,²⁰ occurs from 1329 to 1347

John de Charteris,²¹ occurs 1358 and 1365

William Lee,²² last prior.

14. THE PRIORY OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, LINCOLN

The priory of St. Mary Magdalene at Lincoln was probably founded some time during the reign of Henry II,²³ as a cell of St. Mary's Abbey at York; the name of the founder is unknown. It was only intended to support a prior and one or two monks, to look after the estates belonging to the abbey; and near the time of the dissolution the abbot stated he was not bound by the foundation to keep any monks there at all.²⁴ As might be expected, the history of the cell is uneventful.

In 1275 the abbot was accused of having closed the king's highway and other common land on his manor at Lincoln; probably on the land where this priory stood.²⁵ Not long after this, the lands belonging to the abbey at Sandtoft and Henes were annexed to those at Lincoln.

In 1312 the abbot had to complain that certain men had assaulted one of his monks

¹³ Close, 17 Edw. II, m. 23.

¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 621.

¹⁵ Dugdale *Mon.* ii, 529.

¹⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 53b, 72b.

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 597.

¹⁸ Harl. MS. 3658, fol. 17 d.

¹⁹ Ibid. fol. 20.

²⁰ Ibid. fol. 52 d. and Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 20.

²¹ Harl. MS. 3658, fol. 21 d.

²² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 621.

²³ This is only a conjecture of Tanner's, there is no charter extant to prove it. Picot, son of Colsuan gave 4 acres of land and the church of St. Peter, Lincoln, to St. Mary's Abbey (Sympson, *Lincoln*, 363).

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 943.

²⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 310.

¹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 64 d.

² Foundation Charter.

³ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), iv.

⁴ *Valor Eccles.* iv, 85-86.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 126.

⁶ Lans. MS. 207, C, fol. 270.

⁷ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 94.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 125.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Cott. MS. Nero, cvii, fol. 79.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 597.

¹² Harl. MS. 3658, fol. 20 (a chartulary of Deeping).

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in the cell of 'La Maudeleyne without Lincoln.'¹ In 1461 the church of St. Peter *ad fontem* was appropriated to the priory.² The episcopal registers tell us nothing of the history of the house, as the right of visitation and of appointing priors was entirely in the hands of the abbot. In 1531 King Henry VIII wrote to the abbot to say that he considered this cell to be a 'mean to provoke liberty and conversation not decent and meet for religious persons'; and in replying the abbot explained that he was not bound to keep any monks there, and was quite willing to recall the prior and brethren, and to support three more students at the university from the revenues of the house.³ It is a little difficult to understand the purpose of these two letters and the events which followed. At any rate nothing was done immediately, either by the king or the abbot, for in 1533 the latter wrote to Cromwell, acknowledging that the prior of St. Mary Magdalene had managed his house 'so liberally' that he had brought the abbey into great expense and trouble. It was not intended, however, as yet, to put him 'from his good governance,' but only to admonish him 'to look the better to it.'⁴ Then there are two letters dated 1535 which sound strangely contradictory. There is one from the abbot to the king, almost identical with that which is dated 1531, only the persons are changed. It is 'we,' the convent of York, who now find the cell 'a mean to provoke liberty and conversation not decent and meet for religious persons'; and it is the king who is asked to call home for ever the brethren resident at Lincoln, that the revenues might be applied as before suggested.⁵ Yet in the same year the abbot writes to Cromwell, speaking of the king's letter, and saying that the brethren at York are much divided in opinion as to the suppression of the cell.⁶ A year later Sir Thomas Audley wrote to Cromwell saying that there were no longer any monks in St. Mary Magdalene's Priory.⁷ Nevertheless, on 1 March, 1539, the abbot wrote again to Cromwell, acknowledging a letter in which it had been complained that there were but one or two monks, and sometimes none; 'no hospitality kept, nor Almighty God served, nor any religious order.' He protested that from time out of memory there had been a prior and two monks, and 'as at this day God well served, religion kept, and poor folk relieved' after the ability of the brethren, as all the country could testify, and especially at the last commotion (the

Lincoln rebellion). So he asked that the cell might be spared.⁸ There are other letters in March, May, and November which seem to show that the brethren were withdrawn, and the cell leased to a dependent of Cromwell.⁹ At the time of its suppression the priory was valued at £23 6s. 3d. clear, consisting mostly of small rents in and about the city of Lincoln, and a few small pensions in divers churches.¹⁰

The only name of a prior of this house at present known is that of John de Bryne,¹¹ who occurs 1297.

15. THE CELL OF SANDTOFT

The island of Sandtoft, in Axholme, was granted by Roger de Mowbray between 1147 and 1186 to the abbot and convent of York for the support of one monk of their house only. Thomas d'Arcy and Hamelin, earl of Warenne, granted other small parcels of land, with the churches of Nocton and Dunston.¹² These churches, however, were, between 1203 and 1206, proved to belong to the prior of Nocton Park in a suit with the abbot of York.¹³ Sandtoft appears as a separate cell in 1291, when its temporalities in Corringham deanery were valued at 15s. 10d.;¹⁴ but probably soon after it was annexed to St. Mary Magdalene's.¹⁵ Perhaps there was never any actual monastery in the island at all, but only a house for the accommodation of the monk who lived there.

THE CELL OF 'HENES'

A charter of William, earl of Warenne, of the twelfth century, states that he has given to the brethren of St. Mary's, York, 'Henes' and the moor and marsh about it, to do with as they pleased.¹⁶ A charter of Roger de Mowbray mentions the gifts of Sandtoft and 'Henes' both.¹⁷ There is no evidence that there was ever a monastery built at Henes, except a notice of protection 'for the Prior of Henes' on the Patent Roll of 1322,¹⁸ which possibly may not refer to this place at all.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 415.

⁹ *Ibid.* 591, 963, and xiv (2), 522.

¹⁰ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), v, 10.

¹¹ Pat. 25 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 13 d.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 616-7.

¹³ *Plac. Abbrev.* (Rec. Com.), 94.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 616-7.

¹⁵ It was parcel of the cell of St. Mary Magdalene at the dissolution. *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), v, 10.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 617.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Pat. 15 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 18. The calendar conjectures Heynings for Henes in this place.

¹ Pat. 5 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 21 d.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Chedworth, 81.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 313.

⁴ *Ibid.* vi, 747.

⁵ *Ibid.* viii, 943.

⁶ *Ibid.* 944.

⁷ *Ibid.* xi, 10.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSE OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

16. THE PRIORY OF STAINFIELD¹

The priory of Stainfield was founded by William or Henry de Percy, in or before the reign of Henry II.² It was the only Benedictine nunnery in Lincolnshire; but it was neither large nor wealthy, and probably did not contain more than about twenty nuns at any time. Little is known of its history. A suit is recorded in 1200 concerning the church of Quadring, of which the prioress succeeded in recovering a moiety from Walter de Rochford, son-in-law of a benefactor of the house.³ About 1319 the nuns, being poor, tried to escape a burden which the king wished to lay upon them, the maintenance for life of a certain Mary Ridel; but their excuses were deemed insufficient. They were peremptorily ordered to receive her, to supply her with food, clothing, shoe-leather and other necessities, and to draw out letters patent specifying exactly what she ought to have, that the king might be certified of their obedience to his wishes.⁴ In 1378 the prioress and convent received permission to appropriate the church of Quadring on account of their poverty.⁵ In 1392 Bishop Bokyngham forbade merchants to sell their wares in the conventual church or churchyard under pain of excommunication; it seems strange that such a prohibition should have been necessary.⁶ There are no notices, however, of any special laxity of the house. In 1440 Bishop Alnwick found the priory in good estate; the prioress and all her nuns (eighteen in number) answered *omnia bene*. One sister, however, said that seculars were allowed to sleep in the dormitory—an irregularity which seems to have been very common at this time in monasteries where boarders were received. There

were only three 'households' in the monastery; one belonging to the prioress, another to the cellaress, and another to the lay sisters; so that the nuns here seem to have avoided another abuse which was very prevalent in the fifteenth century.⁷

In 1519 the report was not so good. Bishop Atwater found the monastery in need of a proper infirmary, the house used for this purpose not being healthy or quiet enough. It was complained that the nuns were not punctual in coming to choir, and that half an hour sometimes elapsed between the last stroke of the bell and the beginning of the office. Some of the nuns, when in choir, did not sing but dozed; partly because they had not candles enough to see their breviaries by, and partly because they did not go to bed promptly after compline.⁸ Then on feast days they did not stay in church and occupy themselves in devotion, between the hours of our Lady and the high mass, but came out and wandered about the garden and cloisters. Inclinations and other ceremonies at office were omitted often or negligently performed. The rules of the refectory were not well kept; instead of sitting in rows, the nuns sat in little groups and talked together over their meals. The prioress frequently invited three young nuns to her table and showed partiality to them.⁹

It was enjoined in consequence that all the nuns should be diligent and punctual at the canonical hours and careful in performing all due ceremonies and ritual; that all should go to bed

⁷ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 75.

⁸ It is said that they 'sat drinking' after compline; but a comparison with similar accusations against other convents, and the injunctions of bishops on the subject, is quite against the conclusion that any immoderate drinking is implied. It was a breach of rule to take any food or drink, or to break the great silence in any way after compline; and the nuns here are apparently rebuked only for a breach of rule, not in itself a sin—i.e. instead of going straight to the dormitory they sat idly talking over a cup of the light ale which in those days took the place of tea and coffee. The bishop's injunctions in this and similar cases are: not that they should avoid moderate drinking, but simply that they must go to bed directly after compline.

⁹ The names of these are given: Mary Missenden, Paga Overton, and Katherine Ayer. Mary Missenden lived to be prioress of the newly-founded Stixwold Priory, and Paga Overton went there with her and was pensioned at its final surrender; so that they must have been quite young in 1519. Mary Missenden was still alive in 1553.

¹ The doubt expressed by Tanner and others as to the order to which Stainfield belonged has been removed by reference to the episcopal registers. In the Institutions of Bishop Bokyngham it is stated to be 'Ordinis S. Benedicti.'

² There is no foundation charter to certify which of the de Percys founded the monastery; but the land was of their fee from Domesday onwards. A charter of exemption from suits of shires, hundreds, &c., dated 1230, alludes to an earlier confirmation of Hen. II, *Cal. of Chart. R. i*, 109.

³ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 32.

⁴ Close, 4 Edw. II, m. 19 d.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 167.

⁶ *Ibid.* 387 d.

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immediately after compline; that sufficient candles should be provided; that silence should be kept in the refectory, though the bishop did not forbid them to sit there as they had been wont to do; and that no seculars should be admitted to the monastery except for a few days as guests. The prioress was to invite all the senior sisters in order to her table, and to see that a proper infirmary was built.¹

It seems probable that these injunctions were obeyed, and that the convent soon recovered its credit, for in 1536, after the passing of the first Act of Suppression, this house at first received a licence to continue.² The king, however, on second thoughts, foresaw 'certain inconveniences' that would arise if the priory were allowed to stand, and ordered its dissolution. The nuns were not, however, to suffer on account of his change of purpose. They were to enter the dissolved priory of Stixwold, after it had been emptied of its original inhabitants.³ The prioress, however, Elizabeth Bursby, appears to have been pensioned at this time,⁴ and probably did not go to Stixwold with the rest. Twelve of the Stixwold nuns were paid arrears of wages, and 20s. apiece besides to buy secular apparel, from the revenues of Stainfield.⁵ When Stixwold was refounded later, as a Premonstratensian priory, one of the Stainfield nuns, Mary Missenden, became prioress.⁶

The original endowment of the house cannot be precisely stated. It seems at any rate to have included the two churches of Quadring and Gisburn, Yorks.⁷ The prioress had the advowson of Somerby and of Maidenwell.⁸ In 1428 the prioress held with others half a fee in Marton and in Sturton.⁹ The temporalities of Stainfield in 1291 were valued at £69 3s. 3d.¹⁰ In 1534 its clear value was £98 8s. 1d.¹¹ The Ministers' Accounts give a total of only £61 11s. 2d. including the manor of Maidenwell and the rectories of Quadring, Gisburn, Apley and Kingthorp.¹²

¹ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), fol. 51 d.

² See Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 308 (quotation from Pension Book) and *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, App. 4.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, App. 4.

⁴ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 29.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 308, Charters ii and iii.

⁸ *Lincs. N. and Q.* vi, 170; and Bishops' Institutions.

⁹ *Feudal Aids*, iii.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 308.

¹¹ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 82.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 308.

PRIORESSES OF STAINFIELD

Parnel,¹³ died before 1223

Constance,¹⁴ elected before 1223

Agnes of Thornton,¹⁵ elected 1244

Maud,¹⁶ died 1258

Eufemia Constable,¹⁷ elected 1258, died 1258

Katherine of Dunham,¹⁸ elected 1258, occurs 1272

Isolt,¹⁹ resigned 1297

Christine le Vavassour,²⁰ elected 1297, died 1309

Agnes de Longvilles,²¹ elected 1309

Margaret Lisieux,²² occurs 1378, died 1393

Alice de St. Quintin,²³ elected 1393

Margery Hall,²⁴ occurs 1440

Katherine Bland,²⁵ occurs 1491

Elizabeth Bainsfield²⁶

Elizabeth Bursby,²⁷ occurs 1521 to 1536

The twelfth-century pointed oval seal²⁸ of Stainfield represents the Virgin, crowned, seated on a carved throne, with finials of peculiar shape; the Child, with a nimbus, on the left knee, in the right hand a sceptre fleury.

. . . IGILLVM CAPITVL . . . ARIE. DE.
STEINFELD . . .

A thirteenth-century seal,²⁹ also pointed oval, shows the Virgin seated on a throne, the Child, with nimbus, on the left knee, in the right hand a sceptre fleur-de-lizé.

. . . LVM CAPITVLI . . . RIE. D . . .

¹³ A letter to H. bishop of Lincoln announcing her death and the election of Constance points to the time of St. Hugh, or else Hugh of Wells: but another letter which names Constance as a contemporary of Walter archbishop of York, and R. master of Stainfield, makes it almost certain that Hugh of Wells is meant, as he was a contemporary of Archbishop Walter Gray, and Robert de Saumer was made master in 1223. Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 308, and Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 308.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosteste. There was an election also in 1237, but the name is left blank (ibid.).

¹⁶ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. and Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 308.

¹⁹ Ibid. Inst. Sutton, 22 d.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 32.

²² Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 167 d. and in 1393.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower).

²⁵ D. & C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1479-92, fol. 63.

²⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 308.

²⁷ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Henry VIII, No. 166.

²⁸ Harl. Chart, 44 A, 23.

²⁹ B.M. Seals, xvii, 34.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSE OF BENEDICTINE MONKS OF THE ORDER OF TIRON

17. THE ABBEY OF HUMBERSTON

The abbey of Humberston was founded probably during the reign of Henry II by 'William son of Ralf, son of Drogo, son of Hermer;' ¹ a son, that is, of one of the farmers of the crown lands in this part of Lincolnshire, and a descendant of the Domesday tenant of Humberston, who held under Ivo Tailbois in 1086. ²

This abbey was distinctly stated to be 'of the Order of Tiron,' in the fifteenth century, ³ but the records of Tiron do not name it among the daughter-houses existing in 1516 or earlier. ⁴ Nor is there any evidence in the documents relating to Humberston itself that it was in any way dependent upon a foreign superior, as were the abbeys of St. Dogmael and Selkirk, of this order. ⁵ The bishop of Lincoln in 1422 said that the monks of Humberston took their origin from St. Mary's, Hamby (diocese of Coutances), ⁶ but implies at the same time that they wore a different habit from other Benedictines, as the monks of Tiron are indeed said to have done for some time. ⁷ The abbey was never taken into the king's hands as an alien cell.

The monastery was never a rich one, and probably could not at any time support more than about a dozen monks; in the fifteenth century there were only ten, and at the dissolution four. There are but a few scattered notices referring to its external history. In 1203 the abbot secured the advowson of the church of Waithe in a suit with Ingram and Robert sons of Simon. ⁸ In 1305 the monastic buildings were reduced to ashes by a great fire, and the brethren were obliged to beg alms before they could rebuild them, ⁹ and had to sell the advowson of one of their churches to the prior of Holy Trinity, Norwich. ¹⁰ The last abbot, Robert Coningsby, signed the acknowledgement of supremacy in 1534, with four monks and

a lay brother. ¹¹ In 1536 he received an annual pension of £5, ¹² and three monks had 53s. 4d. divided between them, to provide them with secular clothing, besides their arrears of 'wages,' amounting to 33s. 4d. ¹³

The abbey was regularly visited by the bishops of Lincoln, and seems to have been more than once in an unsatisfactory condition. Early in his episcopate, Bishop Gynwell ordered a visitation, and ordered the prior of Markby to conduct it; the difficulty at this time seems to have been caused by one monk, Gilbert, of whom the abbot complained that he was rebellious and disobedient and given to wandering out of the monastery without leave. The prior of Markby was to swear all the monks separately and find out exactly what was wrong, and if necessary he might visit Gilbert with ecclesiastical censure. ¹⁴ The visitation seems to have brought other troubles to light, for in 1358 a new commission was issued for the correction of the house, on account of the 'crimes, excesses, and other insolences' daily committed there. ¹⁵ After this there was apparently a distinct improvement, ¹⁶ for Bishop Flemyng in 1422 remarked that the prior, William Swynhopp, was discreet and circumspect. It was enjoined that the clothing of the monks should be on the model of that used at St. Mary's, Hamby. ¹⁷

In 1440 Bishop Alnwick visited the abbey. The abbot complained that five of his brethren had become apostates in his time, of whom one was now dead, and another had entered a mendicant order. Those who remained were disobedient and unruly, and two of them had been guilty of conspiracy; but one had repented when he heard of the coming visitation. In chapter they were so quarrelsome and noisy and rebellious that even seculars could hear them from the road without the monastery, and mocked at the unseemly din. The abbot also complained that the monks would give him no account of how they spent their allowances (16s. 8d. yearly), and he feared that they had more personal property than they ought,

¹ Assize Roll Lincs. 29 Hen. III. No. 12.

² The descent of William Fitz-Ralf was kindly supplied by Mr. Round.

³ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 495; Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 67.

⁴ Lucien Merlet, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Tiron*, i, 234-7, and elsewhere.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Flemyng, 234. Hamby is given as Benedictine in Round. *Cal. Doc. France*.

⁷ Dugdale says that the monks of Tiron originally wore a light grey habit (*Mon.* iv, 128, note a from Tanner).

⁸ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 52.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 84 d.

¹⁰ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 21.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1121 (30).

¹² *Ibid.* xiii (1), 576.

¹³ Mins. Accts. 27 & 28 Henry VIII, No. 166. Only a pension of 100s. annually is here assigned to the abbot; it was perhaps augmented later.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 25 d.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Memo. Gynwell, 124 d.

¹⁶ The request of one monk in 1402 to transfer himself to a stricter house (*Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 495) and the apostasy of another in 1408 (Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 430) prove nothing as to the state of the monastery. Such cases might occur anywhere at any time.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Flemyng, 234.

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especially the unrepentant conspirator. One monk, alas, often went to bed again after he was called !

For their part the brethren complained that the abbot did not sleep in the dormitory, did not show any accounts or consult them in the disposal of property, pledged the jewels of the house, did not visit the sick, revealed to strangers things which had been corrected in the chapter of faults. He did not preside in chapter himself, nor appoint any one else to do so ; and naturally, in consequence, every man declaimed according to his own desire. The rule was not read in chapter, and the obits of founders and benefactors were not kept ; and the abbot only celebrated mass once a fortnight. One monk remained an acolyte because the abbot would not prepare him for higher orders. One was suspected of immorality. The house was gravely burdened with debt.¹

The bishop enjoined in consequence that the rule should be read at least four times a year, in any language that the monks best understood. The brother who remained an acolyte because he was unlearned must be instructed at once and prepared for the higher grades of the ministry. Mass and the canonical hours were to be duly celebrated and attended. On fast days the brethren must eat in the refectory ; on other days elsewhere if they would ; the blessing of the table was to be properly said. Accounts were to be shown annually ; no corrodies were to be granted or anything of importance done without consulting the bishop.

Four years later, brother William Wainfleet of Bardney was sent to visit the house again, for its reformation ; it was described as in 'a state of collapse, spiritual and temporal.'²

In 1519 Bishop Atwater visited the abbey. There were then four monks besides the abbot. It was alleged that the brethren did not rise to mattins, and sometimes slept outside the monastery ; that the abbot showed no accounts ; that the anniversary of the founder was not kept ; and that a gentlewoman called Fleming was allowed to lodge in the infirmary. The buildings of the monastery were in good repair, and there was no debt ; all the furniture of the church and altar too was good and sufficient.³

There are no later accounts of the house. The original endowment of the abbey cannot be exactly given, as there are no foundation charters extant. The temporalities of the house were valued in 1291 at £19 15s. 4d.,⁴ and the brethren at that time probably held four rectories, Humberston, Holton le Clay, Waithe, and West-hall, Suffolk : the last was alienated in 1315 to the

prior of Holy Trinity, Norwich.⁵ In 1346 the abbot held part of a knight's fee in Clee, and the same in 1428.⁶ In 1534 the income of the house was valued at £32 1s. 3d. clear, including the rectories of Humberston, Holton, and Waithe.⁷ At the dissolution the bells, leads, &c., of the monastery only fetched £51, less than any other house surrendered at this time, except Newstead by Stamford.⁸

ABBOTS OF HUMBERSTON

Simon,⁹ occurs 1203 and 1224
William of Kirkweld,¹⁰ elected 1226, died 1261
Geoffrey,¹¹ elected 1261
William,¹² died 1339
John of Horkstow,¹³ elected 1339
Henry of Brinbrooke,¹⁴ elected 1355
Ranulf,¹⁵ occurs 1380
William West,¹⁶ occurs 1440
William Swynhopp,¹⁷ occurs 1422
Nicholas Derby,¹⁸ occurs 1456
Thomas,¹⁹ resigned before 1519
William Connyby,²⁰ occurs 1522
Stephen,²¹ occurs 1529
Robert Coningsby,²² last abbot, occurs 1534

The pointed oval thirteenth-century seal²³ of Humberston represents the Virgin seated on a throne with trefoiled canopy, over which is a turret, the Child on the left knee.

. . . IL' SVENTV . . . D'HVMBERSTAN . . .

⁵ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 21.

⁶ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 230, 256, 292.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 68.

⁸ Mins. Accts. 27 & 28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

The inventory given in Bishop Atwater's visitations points to a small house. They had in 1511 two chalices, vestments for priests, a pastoral staff 'valde sumptuosus,' sufficient books and a 'ciphus argenteus' ; their stock comprised only fourteen sheep, sixteen oxen, thirteen cows, and three pigs.

⁹ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 52, 168.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

¹¹ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹² Ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 80.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 67d.

¹⁵ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 6.

¹⁶ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower).

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Fleming, 234.

¹⁸ Lans. MS. 207, B. fol. 204.

¹⁹ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower). He is called 'late abbot.'

²⁰ *Lincs. N. and Q.* v, 36.

²¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), p. 2698.

²² Ibid. vii, 1121 (30) and xiii (1), p. 576. Browne Willis calls 'Thomas Harphan' last abbot ; but Robert Coningsby appears on the pension list as well as in Mins. Accts. (27 & 28 Hen. VIII), No. 166.

²³ B.M. Seals, lxvii, 6.

¹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 67.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Alnwick, 56.

³ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), 56.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 430.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSES OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

18. THE ABBEY OF KIRKSTEAD

The abbey of Kirkstead was founded in 1139 by Hugh Brito (otherwise Hugh son of Eudo), lord of Tattershall. It is related that the founder, being desirous to build a monastery, visited the abbey of Fountains, and greatly admiring the manner of life which he saw there, humbly besought and finally obtained a colony of monks from thence, which he established at first in a 'place of horror like a vast solitude,' a level plain surrounded by brushwood and marsh at Kirkstead.¹ This original site was not, however, found to be large enough, and proved unsuitable in other ways; therefore in 1187 Robert the son of Hugh granted leave to the monks to move a little distance off, still, however, remaining on his lands.² The patronage of the house remained for four or five generations in the family of Hugh Brito, and nearly all his successors added something to his benefactions. Conan Duke of Brittany, Robert Marmion, Ralf FitzGilbert, Walter Leydet, William de Cantelow, Robert d'Arcy, Philip of Kyme, and members of the families of Martel, Scotney, Malet, Driby, Bek, d'Eyncourt, Willoughby, were all numbered amongst the benefactors of this monastery.³ Its revenues during the thirteenth century would have supported a large number of monks; but like all the Cistercian abbeys of this country it suffered heavy losses during the century which followed, and its revenue was actually less in 1534 than it had been in 1291.⁴ In spite of these misfortunes, however, it was reckoned until the last among the greater monasteries of Lincolnshire.

The lordship over Wildmore was acquired by Kirkstead through grants from the lords of Bolingbroke, Scrivelsby, and Horncastle, who, however, retained common rights of pasture and turbary in the marsh for themselves and their tenants. These valuable rights were the cause of several disputes in the thirteenth century.⁵

About 1275 the abbot was accused of claiming the right to erect a gallows at Thimbleby, and to have the assize of bread and ale there, without charters sufficient to prove it; he had also en-

croached on the king's highway at Roughton, by raising a dike. In common with other Cistercians, he was also accused of buying wool throughout the county and selling it to Flemish merchants and others, to the loss of the city of Lincoln.⁶ It was just after this that the monks of Kirkstead began to be impoverished through the failure of their sheep. In 1285 the abbot had to buy wool to satisfy the merchants to whom he had pledged himself, because his flocks had failed through murrain.⁷ In 1315 he had to buy corn in the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, not having enough of his own.⁸ In 1321 there were suits with the prior of St. Catherine's, Lincoln, about lands at Canwick and fisheries at Thornton and Marton.⁹ The abbot of Kirkstead, like others of his order, had also a little later to supply King Edward III with wool, on a vague promise of future payment; and these and other losses had by 1341 brought the house into such a depressed condition that the monks were obliged to petition for the appropriation of the church of Woodhall.¹⁰ In 1365 John de Wodehall quit-claimed to the abbot and convent all right in the manor of Woodhall.¹¹ But the manor seems to have been acquired in 1332.¹² In 1401 the church of Wisington, with lands in the same town, was granted to them by Sir Philip le Despenser to assist them in the maintenance of the abbey.¹³ After this very little is known of the fortunes of the house, except that in 1471 Abbot Roger was arrested with many others for some disturbance of the peace.¹⁴

After the rising of 1536 the abbot of Kirkstead, with three of his monks, was arrested and tried at Lincoln by the commission under Sir William Parr. The monks when examined told their share in the rebellion quite simply. The day after the ringing of the alarm bell at Louth news of the disturbance was brought to the abbey by John Parker, the abbot's servant. On the same day sixty persons came and carried off all the serving-men attached to the monastery. On Wednesday John Parker returned with a message that if the monks themselves did not go forth at once to the host their house should be

¹ Cott. MS. Tib. E. viii, fol. 49*d.*; Ibid. Vesp. E. xviii, fol. 2.

² Cott. MS. Tib. E. 52, and Dodsworth MS. lxxv (a transcript of a chartulary of Kirkstead) for that date.

³ See Dodsworth MSS. lxxi, 25; xxx, 12; Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xviii.

⁴ The reverse is usually the case with Cistercian abbeys; but all those in the county of Lincoln seem to have grown poorer after the thirteenth century.

⁵ Boyd and Massingberd, *Final Concords*, 162, 163, 302; *Lincs. N. and Q.* vii, 137; and Weir, *Horncastle*, 116, quoting Harl. MS. 4127.

⁶ All these accusations are found in *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 299, 317.

⁷ Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 23.

⁸ Ibid. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 10. There are some complaints by the abbot and against the abbot at this time of trespasses of divers kinds. Ibid. 3 Edw. II, m. 6*d.*; 7 Edw. II, m. 15*d.*

⁹ Ibid. 17 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 19*d.* 18*d.*

¹⁰ Ibid. 14 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 36.

¹¹ Harl. Chart. 58 C. 2.

¹² *Cal. of Pat.* 1330-4, p. 282.

¹³ Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 22.

¹⁴ Ibid. 11 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 24*d.*

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

burned over their heads. Accordingly all those who were not too infirm went forth, the cellarer and bursar being horsed and carrying battle-axes. The abbot himself was too ill to go, but he gave the bursar 20s. and a horse laden with victuals. The monks remained with the insurgents until the following Tuesday, 10 October, when the abbot received them again gladly, and 'thanked God there was no business.'¹ They all told the same story quite straightforwardly, and there seems no reason to question its truth.

The abbot and the other monks arrested with him were at first put to bail,² and it seems that they had at first some hope of pardon, for on 29 January, 1537, the abbot thanked Cromwell for his comforting letter, and begged continuance of his favour.³ On 6 March, however, all four were condemned to death,⁴ and the whole monastery was attainted. The buildings were defaced and the leads melted down for the king's use.⁵ The remaining monks apparently received a trifle to buy secular clothing, and were then turned adrift.⁶ Sir William Parr complained that he found very little of value in the house, the plate and ready money were scarce worth 20s., 'through the late abbot's unthriftiness, for which he would have deserved punishment had he not transgressed the laws.'⁷ The poverty of the monastery at this time may have been a partial cause of the abbot's failure to obtain a pardon.

It is always difficult to find out very much about the interior history of a Cistercian abbey, unless it happens to possess a chronicle; we are dependent upon stray notices, and have no regular visitation reports to go by. Some facts, however, stand out clearly in the early history of Kirkstead. The first and second abbots were both members⁸ of that heroic band which went forth from St. Mary's, York, in 1132,⁹ in search of a more perfect life; they could remember the hardships of that first winter under the scanty shelter of a roof of boughs in the wild solitude where the abbey of Fountains was afterwards built. They would bring to the new foundation in Lincolnshire the best traditions of the order;

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 828 (viii).

² *Ibid.* 827 (ii).

³ *Ibid.* xii (1), 278.

⁴ Controlment Roll, 30 Hen. VIII, m. 6 (dated Lincoln, Tuesday in third week of Lent, 28 Hen. VIII). Marginal note that they were drawn and hanged.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 676.

⁶ *Ibid.* 700. Sir William Parr wrote that he took £20 with him to pay monks, canons, and servants of Kirkstead and Barlings. As there were twelve monks left at Kirkstead, and about the same number at Barlings, to say nothing of the servants, they could not have had the usual 20s. each.

⁷ *Ibid.* 677.

⁸ *Lans. MS.* 207, C. fol. 132 d.

⁹ *Ibid.* 404, fol. 4.

and the monks of Kirkstead must have known in those early days something of the joy which accompanies the first fervour of a great reformation. In course of time, as we know, that first fervour cooled, but the records do not show us any evidence of serious laxity in this abbey. A league of brotherhood, into which the monasteries of Kirkstead and Revesby entered in the year 1257, suggests that there had been some difficulties between them as to their rights on Wildmoor Common, and that the quarrel had been taken up a little too eagerly by the lay brethren and servants of the two houses. They agreed that in future each should perform for the deceased brethren of the other house the same services as for their own, and that if either house should need counsel or help from the other, on account of diminished numbers or resources, it should be gladly given. The lay brethren and servants were especially enjoined not to carry arms, or take large dogs about with them, for fear of damage being done to the men or animals belonging to either convent; any lay brother who offended in this respect should go on foot to the house he had injured, and undergo severe penances for three days; a secular servant should be flogged at the door of the offended monastery, and fast for three days on bread and water.¹⁰

Occasional cases of apostasy have to be recorded of every monastery now and again. We hear of one at Kirkstead in 1341, Ivo le Taylour, a lay brother;¹¹ and another in 1390 was absolved by order of the pope for going off to Rome on a pretended pilgrimage, and laying aside his habit on the way whenever he felt inclined.¹² Both of these repented and desired to return to the abbey. In 1429 another lay brother of Kirkstead was roaming about in secular garb; the warden of the Cinque Ports was ordered to arrest him.¹³

In 1404 an unruly monk caused a good deal of trouble by opposing the election of a new abbot, Thomas by name. The election had been made in all due form; the late abbot had tendered his resignation, according to the custom of the order, to the abbot of Fountains; the new abbot was confirmed and canonically instituted; but a certain William of Louth managed to work up an opposition party against Thomas, and actually ejected him for a time. The case was referred, as usual, to the pope; Thomas was restored, and William condemned to perpetual silence and payment of costs. He appealed twice again to Rome, but only to have the sentence twice confirmed, and at last orders had to be given to invoke the secular arm if necessary.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Lans. MS.* 207, E. fol. 301.

¹¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 552.

¹² *Ibid.* iv, 328.

¹³ *Pat.* 7 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 5 d.

¹⁴ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 610.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

In 1441, when measures were being taken for the reform of the whole Cistercian order, the abbot of Kirkstead was appointed, with the abbots of Furness, Byland, Sawley, Hayles, and Morgan, to carry out the work in England.¹ We may surely infer that these houses were at this time in a more satisfactory condition than the rest, or their abbots would scarcely have been singled out for this purpose.

Nothing is alleged against the abbey at the last except its poverty, because of the 'unthriftiness' of the abbot. He had not been in office for more than ten years, so that he cannot justly be made responsible for the losses of the house. Nor was he accused, like the abbot of Barlings, of hiding or making away with the plate and jewels of the monastery; his poverty was probably inherited. As to the complicity of the monks of Kirkstead in the Lincoln rebellion, their case was very much the same as that of Bardney, and their guilt or innocence must be inferred from similar data.

The original endowment of Kirkstead Abbey by Hugh Brito consisted of the site of the abbey in Kirkstead. Benefactors of the twelfth century added the granges or manors of Daw-wood, Great Sturton, Snelland, Gayton, Dunholm, Benniworth, Ulceby, Scampton, Sheepwash, Branston, Aneheythe, Linwood, Thimbleby, Scrane, Langton, Langworth, Wildmore, Braken, Torrington, in Lincolnshire, and Sunnolclif and Penistone, Yorks,² with the churches of Gayton,³ Thimbleby,⁴ Woodhall,⁵ and Covenham,⁶ to which was added later that of Wispington.⁷ The temporalities of the abbey were valued in 1291 at £369 3s. 9d.⁸ The abbot was returned in 1303 as holding one knight's fee in Scampton, one-quarter and one-sixth in Metherringham, one-quarter and one-eighth in Sturton, one-quarter in Covenham, Fulletby and Oxcombe, Gayton and Nocton, one-third in Grimblethorpe, and various fractions from one-sixth to one-fortieth in Scampton, Dunston, Blankney, Timberland, Tathwell, Keddington, Billingham, Walcot, Thimbleby, Hainton, Langton, Coleby, Canwick, Kirkby-on-Bain, Dunholme, and Scopwick.⁹ The assessment is very nearly the same in 1346 and 1428. The valuation of the abbey in 1534 was £286 2s. 7½d. clear.¹⁰ At the attainder of the abbot in 1537 a survey of the lands of the monastery was taken; they included the manors of Kirkstead, Scampton, Waddingworth, Ludney, Woodhall, Covenham, Thimbleby,

Gayton, Kirkby-on-Bain, Wildmore, Marton, Benniworth, and the granges of Dunholm, Sheepwash, Westlaby, Snelland, Great Sturton, Linwood, Roughton, Boston, Wrangle, and rents in many other places; as well as the profits of the rectories of Woodhall, Wispington, Thimbleby, Gayton and Covenham churches. The house was burdened with six corrodiess.¹¹

ABBOTS OF KIRKSTEAD

Robert of Sutholme or Southwell,¹² elected

1139

Walter,¹³ occurs about 1156

Richard,¹⁴ occurs 1190

Thomas,¹⁵ occurs from 1202 to 1206

William,¹⁶ occurs 1208 and 1210

Henry,¹⁷ occurs from 1219 to 1234

Hugh,¹⁸ occurs from 1239 to 1245

Henry¹⁹

Simon,²⁰ occurs 1250

William,²¹ occurs 1253 to 1260

John,²² occurs 1266

Simon,²³ occurs 1275 to 1279

Robert of Withcall,²⁴ occurs 1303 to 1310

Thomas,²⁵ elected 1312

John²⁶ (of Louth), elected 1315, occurs 1331

John²⁷ (of Lincoln), elected 1336, occurs

1339

William,²⁸ occurs 1347

Thomas of Nafferton,²⁹ occurs 1367 and 1372

Richard of Upton³⁰

Thomas,³¹ elected before 1404

¹¹ Harl. MS. 144.

¹² Lans. MS. 207 C, fol. 132 d.

¹³ Ibid. and Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xx, fol. 38. Dugdale's list sets 'Geoffrey, occurs 1154,' between Robert and Walter, who are called, however, first and second abbots in Lans. MS. 207 C, 132 d.

¹⁴ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xviii, fol. 97 d.

¹⁵ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 41, 57, 69.

¹⁶ Ibid. 88, and Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xviii, fol. 207 d.

¹⁷ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xviii, 106 d, 207 d, and Lans. MS. 207 C, fols. 126, 156.

¹⁸ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 301; Lans. MS. 207 C, fol. 153.

¹⁹ Mentioned as predecessor of Simon in Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xviii, fol. 190; but may not be the immediate predecessor.

²⁰ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xviii, fol. 190.

²¹ Ibid. 190, 191 d.; Lans. MS. 207 C, fol. 114.

²² Harl. Chart. 44, F 1.

²³ Ibid. F 3, and Pat. 9 Edw. I, m. 7.

²⁴ Lans. MS. 207 B, fol. 143.

²⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 241.

²⁶ Ibid. 314 d. and Harl. Chart. 44, F 7.

²⁷ Lans. MS. 207 B, fol. 143, and Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh, 337.

²⁸ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii, 246.

²⁹ Lans. MS. 207 B, fol. 143; Harl. Chart. 44, F 9.

³⁰ Mentioned as predecessor of Thomas, next in order.

³¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 610.

¹ *Acts of P. G.* (Rec. Com.), v, 151.

² *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 383 and 394.

³ Gale, *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, 103.

⁴ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i, 324.

⁵ Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 36.

⁶ Ibid. 10 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 12.

⁷ Ibid. 2 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 22.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 416.

⁹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 131-305.

¹⁰ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 34 et seq.

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Richard Wainfleet,¹ occurs 1433
 Richard Herbotyl,² occurs 1469
 Roger,³ occurs 1471
 Ralf,⁴ occurs 1471
 Thomas,⁵ occurs 1504
 John Rawlinson,⁶ occurs 1510 to 1521
 John Tadcaster,⁷ occurs 1522
 Richard Harrison,⁸ last abbot, occurs from 1529

The pointed oval seal⁹ of the thirteenth century represents the Virgin seated on a throne in a niche with trefoiled arch, crocketed and pinnaced, with crown, the Child on her left knee. At each side a shield of arms: on the left chequy a chief ermine Tattershall, and over it the letter S with a wavy sprig of foliage and flowers; on the right a cross moline, and over it the letter K and a wavy sprig. In base, under a carved arcade of three round-headed arches, the abbot kneeling in prayer to the right, with pastoral staff, and two monks, half-length, in prayer. In the field, over the head of the Virgin, an estoile; on the carved canopy on the right a bird.

SIGILLV · CÖMVNE · ABBATIS · ET · CÖVENTVS ·
 SCE · MARIE · DE · KYRKESTEDE ·

The thirteenth-century seal of Abbot Simon¹⁰ is a pointed oval, showing the abbot standing on a corbel, in the right hand a pastoral staff, and in the left hand a book.

SIGILLVM · ABBATIS · DE · KI[RK]ESTEDE

19. THE ABBEY OF LOUTH PARK

The abbey of Louth Park was founded in 1139 by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln.¹¹ The founder at first offered to Fountains Abbey a site on the Isle of Haverholme, but when the monks arrived they asked leave to settle themselves in the bishop's park at Louth instead. Alexander accordingly issued a new charter, announcing his desire, 'since it is very profitable and necessary, considering the wickedness of these days . . . to provide some deed of justice and purity in this most miserable life,' to found an abbey, affiliated to Fountains, on the south side of the town of Louth.¹² The reasons for the exchange of place have been variously presented; but it is scarcely

likely that a colony led by Gervase, one of those who had been through all the hardships of the first foundation of Fountains,¹³ would have been influenced by any unworthy motives; and the Cistercians of that day were not much moved by thoughts of comfort or convenience. It seems most probable, as Canon Venables suggested, that the transference was made because the park at Louth was more suitable for agriculture (the main occupation of the first Cistercians) than the swamps of Haverholme.¹⁴

The first endowment received considerable additions from other benefactors—notably, Ralf, earl of Chester, Hugh and Lambert de Scotney, and Hugh of Bayeux.¹⁵ At the end of the thirteenth century the temporalities of the abbey were worth more than £200 a year.¹⁶ Its prosperity had not, however, been uninterrupted during this time, for the chronicler of the house tells us that Richard of Dunholm, who became abbot in 1246, raised his house 'from dust and ashes.'¹⁷ It is said that the extortions of King John from this abbey alone amounted to 1,680 marks.¹⁸ Towards the end of the century the abbot had to maintain a long suit to secure the profits of his wool—the most important source of revenue at this time for the houses of his order.¹⁹ In another suit with William of Ghent he had to complain of the loss of 100 sheep which William's servants had destroyed by rough handling, in what he called 'his usual quarterly scrutiny,' to see if the right number and no more were being pastured on his lands at Binbrooke.²⁰ In 1279 the abbot was accused of harbouring a felon,²¹ and about the same time of encroaching on the king's highway.²² Like many other houses, this abbey had occasionally to provide maintenance for the king's servants who were past work,²³ or a horse to carry the rolls of chancery.²⁴ During the time of Walter of Louth (1332 to 1349) there were some heavy losses. A complaint was made in 1336 that a certain Thomsa of Lissington had carried off 20 horses, 30 oxen, and 300 sheep belonging to the monks of Louth;

¹³ Lans. MS. 207 c. 132 d. He had been sub-prior of St. Mary's York.

¹⁴ *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae* (Linc. Rec. Soc.), xxiv. Lans. MS. 404, fol. 19, simply says the place 'displeased' the monks. Tanner said that they pretended not to like the situation and the bishop easily found others to accept it—namely, the 'new and strict order of St. Gilbert.' The Gilbertines at this time could not have been much stricter than the Cistercians.

¹⁵ *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae*, App. ix, and Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 413.

¹⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 67.

¹⁷ *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae*, under 1246.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* A° 1210.

¹⁹ Close, 4 Edw. I.

²⁰ *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae*, App. xii.

²¹ Pat. 7 Edw. I, m. 12 d.

²² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 295.

²³ Close, 9, 11, and 17 Edw. II.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 1 Edw. III, m. 17 d.

¹ Lans. MS. 207 B, fol. 143.

² Harl. MS. 6952, fol. 88 (from Linc. Epis. Reg.).

³ Pat. 11 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 24 d.

⁴ Comm. of Peace, 49 Hen. VI, m. 24 d.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 416.

⁶ Harl. MS. 6953, fol. 14 (from Linc. Epis. Reg.); *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 663, and iii, 1379 (16).

⁷ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36.

⁸ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, iv (3), p. 2698.

⁹ B. M. Seals, lxii, 92.

¹⁰ Harl. Chart. 44, F 3.

¹¹ *Chronicon Abbat. de Parco Ludae* (Linc. Rec. Soc.), under 1139.

¹² *Ibid.* Introd. xxvi.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

he had hunted in the abbot's free warren, set cattle to depasture his grass, and assaulted his servants.¹ In 1338 it was shown that the valuation of the house made in 1291 no longer represented its income fairly. The abbot, on appeal to the pope, had it reduced to £106, after a careful scrutiny by the archbishop of York.² It seems that the house was never quite so well off again as it had been during the thirteenth century.

In 1333 a suit concerning the repair of a causeway at Flixburgh was lost by the abbot, but in 1341 the sentence was reversed.³ In 1344 the depressed condition of the abbey was reported to Parliament, and it was in consequence taken under the king's protection and placed in the hands of Thomas Wake, that he might assist the abbot in discharging his debts.⁴ The gift of the manor of Cockerington in the same year, instead of proving a relief to the monks in their embarrassments, only brought about further litigation. The case has considerable human interest, and is worth giving in some detail. Sir Henry le Vavasour, a knight belonging to a family well known in Lincolnshire, was taken ill, and was advised by his physician to go and stay in the monastery of Louth Park; in the hope (as his wife afterwards naively explained) that he might get well there more quickly than at his own home, which was perhaps not a very peaceful one. But he did not recover his health, and finally died in the monastery. On the day before his death he sent for a certain John de Brinkhill, and there, sitting up in his bed in a dark coloured tunic, he showed a deed by which he conveyed his manor of Cockerington to the abbot and convent, on condition that they should admit ten more monks to the monastery, and celebrate divine service for his soul for ever. John de Brinkhill and others were made executors of the deed, and charged to carry it into effect at once. The dying knight had not, however, quite sufficient courage to confide his purpose to his wife, Dame Constance. She was, indeed, sent for to be present at the signing of the deeds; but their contents were not read to her, and she imagined that they were being made for her advantage. Her husband meanwhile sat silent in his bed and watched the proceedings. He died the next day, and to her dismay Constance found his executors already in possession of the manor.⁵ She was not inclined to take her losses quietly. It was soon rumoured abroad that the abbot had forged the conveyance; and not long afterwards he had

to complain that Constance and others had broken his closes and carried away some of his goods, especially a box containing deeds and muniments.⁶ Constance retaliated by a counter-charge of violence done to herself.⁷ In consequence of these disturbances of the peace an inquisition was held in 1345, and the witnesses who were called proved beyond doubt that the deeds were genuine and that Henry le Vavasour had acted of his own free will. An exemplification of the results was made in the following November: the manor was to remain in the possession of the abbot, but he was to pay Constance and her son Roger 100 marks yearly, and to Roger after his mother's death 20 marks, out of its profits. The abbot had to give a bond of £1,000 as security that he would fulfil this agreement.⁸ Later the Vavasours were still in possession of the manor of Cockerington, the abbot holding lands there.⁹

A few years later the great pestilence carried off the abbot and many of his monks,¹⁰ and brought fresh losses to the house. In 1404 the church of Fulstow was appropriated on account of the poverty to which the abbey was reduced.¹¹ It is said that in the thirteenth century there were 66 monks and 150 lay brethren,¹² but in 1536, when the house surrendered, there were only ten besides the abbot.¹³ Being of less value than £200 a year it was dissolved under the first Act of Suppression on 8 September, 1536.¹⁴ George Walker, the last abbot, received a pension of £26 13s. 4d.; his monks had £4 6s. 8d. divided among them as 'wages due,' with 20s. apiece to buy them secular apparel, and 'capacities' to serve as secular priests—if, indeed, they could find an altar anywhere to serve.¹⁵ One of the monks thus disbanded played an active part in the rising of the following October. In his depositions at the trial he gives a picture of those unquiet days which is full of lifelike touches. He tells how he and his brethren received 'capacities,' with scanty hope of ever finding opportunity to use them; and how they lived for a while as near as they might to their old monastery, only going out to hear mass in the parish church, and once or twice to meet and

⁶ Pat. 19 Edw. III, m. 31 d.

⁷ Ibid. m. 29 d.

⁸ Ibid. m. 14-15. The chronicler of the abbey remarks that the abbot 'underwent a very great persecution on account of the manor of Cockerington; and was buried' (when he died in the great pestilence) 'before the high altar near Sir Henry Vavassour, Kt.'

⁹ Ingoldmells Ct. R. xxv.

¹⁰ *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae*, A° 1349.

¹¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 611.

¹² *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae*, A° 1246.

¹³ Mins. Accts. 28-29 Henry VIII, No. 166.

¹⁴ The date is given in the course of the depositions of a monk after the Lincoln Rebellion. Chapter House Book 119, fols. 91-129.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 42 d.

² *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 395, 528, 542; Pat. 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 36.

³ Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37.

⁴ Ibid. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30 and 28.

⁵ The story may be gathered from the depositions made at the inquisition of 1345. Ibid. 19 Edw. III, m. 14, 15.

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speak with one another. On the Monday of the outbreak at Louth, when he was at breakfast with Robert Hert, one of his late brethren, at the house of a butcher, he heard the alarm bell rung for the first time. The history of the events which followed does not belong to this place. It only needs here to note that this monk, William Moreland or Borrowby, made his deposition with frankness and simplicity, and no attempt to save himself at the expense of others. He was swept into the mob at Louth whether he would or not, but afterwards seems to have played his part willingly enough. He did what he could to prevent acts of violence, saving the life of John Heneage, the chancellor's proctor, under the market cross, and thrusting through the crowd a little later to shrive and help the fallen servant of Lord Burgh. He owned that he had for a while worn sword and buckler; at another time a 'breastplate and sleeves of mail with a gorget.'¹ It is scarcely wonderful that when conspicuous examples were selected for execution his name could not be passed over. He was condemned to a traitor's death in March, 1537, with the abbot of Barlings and others.²

There are no episcopal visitations from which to gather materials for the history of this monastery on the interior side. It must have begun happily with Gervase of Fountains as its first abbot. In the thirteenth century it had an honourable reputation when Richard of Dunholm 'appeared in the sight of his people as it were a second Moses, lovable and exceeding meek,' and by his good governance greatly increased the resources of the house, adding to its buildings, and supplying it with books and vestments.³ At the time of the dissolution no complaint is recorded against the monks of Louth, nor do they seem to have been overjoyed at their release from conventual discipline.

The original endowment of the abbey by Bishop Alexander seems to have consisted simply of the demesne land with some pasturage and a mill.⁴ The long list of benefactors in the confirmation charter of Henry III⁵ shows how many gifts were added soon after, mostly in the county of Lincoln. Hasculf Musard gave the manor of Brampton, Derbyshire.⁶ The churches of Fulstow⁷ and Harpswell⁸ also belonged to the abbey at a later date. The temporalities of the abbey in 1291 amounted to £246 9s. 3d.⁹ In 1303 the abbot held a quarter of a knight's fee

in Gayton, one-quarter in Newton, three-quarters in East Ravendale, one-third in Lissington, one-sixth in Croxby and in Keddington, as well as smaller fractions in Thorganby, Ormsby and Ketby, Keddington, Wold Newton, Cockerington, Lissington, Tathwell, Croxby, Fulstow, Binbrooke, Covenham, and Messingham.¹⁰ In 1346 he held the same, except for the lands in Gayton, and one twenty-sixth in Croxby.¹¹ In 1428 he shared one fee with the prioress of Legbourne in Legbourne and Cawthorpe; he held with others half a fee in Farlesthorne and Thurlby, and had fractions of fees in Alvingham, Keddington, Cockerington, Saltfleetby, Aby, Strubby, Legbourne, and Skidbrooke.¹² The clear value of the abbey in 1534 was only £147 14s. 6½d.¹³ At the dissolution in 1536 the churches of Fulstow and Harpswell belonged still to the abbey, with the manors of Grimoldby, Fulstow, Croxby, Alvingham, Huttoft, Thurlby (Lincs.), Burley (Derbyshire), and Hoke (Yorks), as well as several granges: valued by the crown bailiff at £267 5s. 2d. in all.¹⁴

ABBOTS OF LOUTH PARK

Gervase,¹⁵ first abbot, 1139

Ralf,¹⁶ occurs 1155

John,¹⁷ occurs 1197 and 1202

Warin,¹⁸ occurs 1207

Richard¹⁹

Bernard²⁰

Richard of Dunholm,²¹ elected 1227, died 1246

John of Louth,²² died 1261

Walter Pylath,²³ elected 1261, resigned 1273

Alan of Ake,²⁴ elected 1273, occurs 1281

Gilbert Peacock,²⁵ elected 1294, resigned 1308

¹⁰ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 133-73.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 217-39. ¹² *Ibid.* 256-302.

¹³ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 58.

¹⁴ *Mins. Accts.* (27-28 Hen. VIII), No. 91. The valuation of the bells and lead of this monastery at the large sum of £598 13s. (*ibid.* No. 166), twice as much as any of the other houses dissolved at this time, shows how very extensive and handsome the monastic buildings must have been in earlier and more prosperous days. The vestments and other movable property are also said to have realized another large sum. Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 47.

¹⁵ *Lans. MS.* 207 C, fol. 132 d.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 163.

¹⁷ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 8, 30.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 75.

¹⁹ *Lans. MS.* 207 E, fol. 219.

²⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 522.

²¹ *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.* The occurrence 1281 is Pat. 9 Edw. I, m. 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.* His election is also found in Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 109; and another abbot (unnamed) received the episcopal benediction in 1291 (*ibid.* 34), possibly at the resignation of Alan, who did not die till 1304.

¹ The whole story is set out in detail in Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 55-61.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (i), 734; he is here called William Burreby of Louth, ii, 83.

³ *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae*, A° 1246.

⁴ *Ibid.* xxvi.

⁵ *Dugdale, Mon.* v, 413.

⁶ *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae*, xxvii.

⁷ Pat. 7 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.* 10 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 9.

⁹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 67.

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Robert of Algarkirk,¹ elected 1308, resigned

1312

Adam of Louth,² elected 1312, resigned 1320

Gilbert Peacock,³ re-elected 1320, died 1332

Walter of Louth,⁴ elected 1332, died 1349

Richard of Lincoln,⁵ elected 1349, occurs

1355

Robert,⁶ occurs 1380

William,⁷ occurs 1391 and 1405

Thomas Wale,⁸ died 1467

George Walker,⁹ last abbot, occurs 1529

The thirteenth-century pointed oval seal of Louth Park¹⁰ shows a dexter hand and vested arm issuing from the right, holding a pastoral staff. In the field two small estoiles.

CONTRASIGIL'VM D' PARCOLVDE

Abbot Warin's thirteenth-century pointed oval seal¹¹ shows the abbot standing on a corbel or bracket, in the right hand a pastoral staff; in the left hand a book.

SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE PARCO LVDE

20. THE ABBEY OF REVESBY

The abbey of Revesby was founded in 1142 by William de Romara, lord of Bolingbroke, and son of Lucy countess of Chester by a former husband.¹² William de Romara himself ended his days as a monk, and was buried in the house of his foundation.¹³ The first monks of Revesby were sent from Rievaulx by St. Ailred.¹⁴ The benefactions of the founder were confirmed and increased by his grandson and by Ranulf earl of Chester.¹⁵

The house was fairly well endowed, and even at the last did not come under the first Act of Suppression: but it has not a very eventful history. In 1216 a certain brother of Revesby was arrested for having taken part in the war against King John: but he was released when it was found that he had taken the habit before the war began.¹⁶ There are entries on the Close Rolls relating to this house which serve to show some of the burdens of royal patronage. Here,

¹ *Chron. Abbat. de Parco Ludae* and *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby*, 123 d.

² *Ibid.* 241.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* and *Lans. MS.* 207 C, fol. 253.

⁶ *Pat.* 14 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 37 d.

⁷ *Ibid.* and *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 10.

⁸ *Harl. MS.* 6952, fol. 88 d. (from *Linc. Epis. Reg.*).

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2698.

¹⁰ *Harl. Chart.* 45 H, 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 44 H, 49.

¹² *Dugdale, Mon.* v, 453; from the *Chron. of Peterb.* The house was dedicated in honour of St. Mary and St. Laurence, and is frequently called by the latter name only. Cistercian abbeys were nearly always dedicated to the honour of our Lady.

¹³ *G. E. C. Peerage.*

¹⁴ *Dugdale, Mon.* v, 453.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Pat.* 1 Hen. III, m. 16.

as elsewhere, the second and third Edwards were wont to send their old servants to be maintained in the monastery. In 1322, when another of these unwelcome pensioners appeared, the abbot and convent ventured to send him back, and to plead with the king that their house was in great need and poverty by reason of the prolonged barrenness of their lands and the death of nearly all their stock; but Edward II considered the excuse insufficient, and returned the man again to the abbey to be kept for at least two years.¹⁷ Another duty of the abbot was to provide a strong horse to carry the roll of chancery. In 1322 the one sent for this purpose was found 'insufficient and useless for the said work, on account of various infirmities in his limbs.' He was therefore sent back to the abbey, with orders to provide another.¹⁸

In 1335 the escheator seized certain lands acquired in mortmain without licence, but was ordered to release them, as the abbot and convent had already been pardoned on this account.¹⁹ The monks had a further cause of distress in 1340. Wool had been bought of the abbot by the king to the value of £115, with a promise of payment in the course of the year: but time passed and the debt still remained standing. In 1340 the abbot besought the king to advance at least a part of the money, as his house was much depressed by the loss of so much wool without recompense. The slender sum of £14 14s. 7d. was paid by the tithe-collector in answer to this petition,²⁰ and perhaps the rest may have come in later; but as the Cistercians depended almost entirely on their wool for their sustenance, it may be understood that the loss was a serious one at the time. In 1382 the abbot received a licence to acquire the manor of Marcham in mortmain,²¹ as a help to repair the fallen fortunes of the house at this time.

Nothing further is known of the history of Revesby until 1527, when the inhabitants of Sibsey and Stickney brought a suit against the abbot for not repairing the causeway and bridge of Northdyke. They stated that for time out of mind the abbot's predecessors had been liable to repair this bridge, over which all their trade passed to Boston, and that lands had been granted to the abbey for this very purpose by William de Romara in the time of King Henry II. The jurors found that the claim of the people was just, and that the abbot had a free tenement 'where the hermitage stands by the bridge;' and here he used to place a hermit or 'some other sufficient man' to see to the repairs.²² This suit certainly provides us with a curious insight into the possible uses of a hermit.

¹⁷ *Close*, 15 Edw. II, m. 3 d.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 6 Edw. III, m. 31.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 9 Edw. III, m. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 14 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 39.

²¹ *Pat.* 6 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 10. They had suffered recently from severe storms.

²² *Star Chamber Proc. bdle.* 151, No. 31.

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It was asserted by one of the witnesses after the Lincoln Rebellion that monks of Revesby, as well as those of Bardney and Kirkstead, were seen in the field among the insurgents;¹ but none of them was brought to trial.

The last notice of the house that we possess is in 1538, when the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Cromwell that it was in great ruin and decay. 'The father of the house,' he said, 'is a good fatherly man, but no husband,' and it would be better to advance the cellarer, a kinsman of Sir Thomas Russhe, to be abbot; Dr. London was of the same opinion.² This last notice is the only one which touches on the interior history of the house. We may infer from it that there was no fault to find with its moral condition, but its revenues had been latterly somewhat mismanaged.

The date of surrender cannot be exactly given, and there are no pension lists extant for this monastery.

The original endowment of Revesby included the lands of Revesby, Thoresby, and Scithesby, with the church of the last place and that of Hagnaby.³ In 1291 the abbot had temporalities in the deaneries of Horncastle, Hill, Bolingbroke, Candleshoe, Grimsby, Walshcroft, Holland, Gartree, Aslackhoe, Corringham and Lawres, valued at £294 11s. 8d.⁴ In 1303 the abbot held one knight's fee in Claxby, one-third in Fillingham and two-thirds at Tetford, three-quarters in Salmonby, Scrafield and Hameringham, and smaller fractions in Walesby, Hagworthingham, and Otby.⁵ In 1346 and 1428 the returns are almost the same as in 1303.⁶ In 1384 the king confirmed, at the request of the abbot and convent, who had acquired the manor of Mareham, the grant of 20 Edward I to Robert de Bavent of a weekly market and a yearly fair there.⁷ The yearly revenue of the abbey was valued in 1534 at £287 2s. 4½d. clear, including the rectories of Frodingham and Theddlethorpe, and the chapels of St. Laurence and St. Osyth, as well as the manors of Mareham-le-Fen, Stickney, Sibney, Hameringham, Hagnaby, East Keal, Toynton, Claxby, and Marvis Enderby.⁸

There are no Ministers' Accounts for this house. At the time of dissolution alms were distributed annually to the value of 23s. for the soul of Master Edward Heven; 4s. were given annually to the poor of Frodingham, and to two

poor persons also by the will of a former archdeacon of Lincoln.

ABBOTS OF REVESBY

William,⁹ first abbot, 1142
Walo,¹⁰ occurs 1155
Hugh,¹¹ occurs 1176 and 1200
Ralf,¹² occurs 1208
Elias,¹³ occurs 1216 and 1231
Matthew¹⁴
William,¹⁵ occurs 1255
Walter,¹⁶ occurs 1257 and 1263
Robert,¹⁷ occurs 1275
Henry,¹⁸ occurs 1291
Walter,¹⁹ elected 1294
Philip,²⁰ occurs 1294
Henry,²¹ elected 1301, occurs 1314
Henry,²² occurs 1385
John de Toft,²³ occurs 1390
Thomas,²⁴ (Stickney) occurs 1504-32
Robert Styk or Banbury,²⁵ occurs 1536
John,²⁶ occurs 1537

The pointed oval common seal of Revesby²⁷ represents the Virgin with crown standing in a carved niche, with pinnacled canopy and tabernacle work at the sides, the Child on the left arm. Outside in the field on each side a wavy branch. In base, under a carved arch, St. Laurence kneeling to the left holding a gridiron. The seal is of the style of the fourteenth century.

S' COMVNE : ABBATIS : ET : COVENTVS : DE :
REVESBY

A pointed oval twelfth-century²⁸ seal of an abbot represents a dexter hand and vested arm

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. v.*, 454 (Charter I).

¹⁰ Lans. MS. 207 C. fol. 163.

¹¹ Harl. Chart. 44, i, 3; Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 14.

¹² Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 93.

¹³ Close, 9 Edw. III, m. 1; *ibid.* 14 Henry III, m. 14 d.; Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 229.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. v.*, 453, assigns to the thirteenth century without exact date.

¹⁵ Close, 9 Edw. III, m. 1.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. v.*, 453; and Close, 9 Edw. III, m. 1.

¹⁷ Close, 9 Edw. III, m. 1.

¹⁸ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), i, 67.

¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 109 d.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 124 d.

²¹ *Ibid.* Memo. Dalderby, 42; Dugdale, *Mon. v.*, 453.

²² Pat. 9 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 9.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon. v.*, 453.

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 663; Star Chamber Proc. bdle. 151, No. 31.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. v.*, 453.

²⁶ Harl. Chart. 44 I, i, 2.

²⁷ Harl. Chart. 44 I, 2.

²⁸ B.M. Seals, lxvii, 26.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 828.

² *Ibid.* xiii (1), 1209.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. v.*, 453, and *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, 235.

⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 67; and Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 10.

⁵ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 134-72.

⁶ *Ibid.* 214-63, and 276-306.

⁷ *Cal. of Pat.* 1381-5, p. 383.

⁸ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 44; and *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (i), 651 (58).

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

issuing from the right and grasping a pastoral staff, between four estoiles.

SIGILLVM : ABBATIS : D' : SĀO : LAVRENTIŌ

A pointed oval seal of Abbot Henry¹ shows the Virgin with crown, seated in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides, the Child on the right arm, in the left hand a sceptre. A corbel of masonry in base.

SIGILLVM · HENRICI · ABB'TIS · MONASTERII · DE
REVESBY

The borders are cabled.

21. THE ABBEY OF VAUDEY

The abbey of Vaudey, or *Vallis Dei*, was founded in 1147 by William earl of Albemarle; like Kirkstead and Louth Park, it was a daughter house of Fountains Abbey.² The chronicler of Fountains relates that the first settlement was made at Bytham; but the monks finding the place in some ways unsuitable moved to a new site in the parish of Edenham, with the permission of Geoffrey de Brachecourt, a tenant of Gilbert of Ghent, whose land it was.³ Geoffrey gave them all his lands and goods in exchange for corrodies for himself, his wife, and two servants: he and his wife were to have such food as the monks had, and his servants were to fare as their servants.⁴ Gilbert of Ghent granted to the monks certain woods and pastures: Robert of Ghent, Adam de Amundeville, Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, Hugh Wake and other benefactors added further gifts.⁵ The profits of their wool for a while brought to the monks of Vaudey a considerable income, which in 1291 was over £200,⁶ and the house seems in the thirteenth century to have been of some importance: an abbot of Vaudey was sent in 1229 in the king's name to bear messages to Llewellyn, prince of Wales.⁷ The monastery was at this time also involved in an interesting suit with Maurice of Ghent as to a right of way. It was found in an inquisition taken in 1230 that the abbot used habitually to send horses and carts to Irnham through a wood and headland which had belonged to Richard of Langton; sometimes they were seized and sometimes not. The wood had now passed to Maurice of Ghent, who objected to the abbot's carts driving through. It was decided, however, that the abbot had established his right of way before Maurice came into possession, and he was consequently allowed to retain it.⁸ He had,

however, to forfeit through default 140 acres in Irnham, to which Maurice had laid claim: he did not appear on the day appointed to try the case—possibly because he knew he could not maintain his position.⁹

The prosperity of the house seems to have declined rapidly in the thirteenth century. As early as 1292 it was taken under the king's protection in terms that suggest that its creditors were becoming importunate:¹⁰ and between 1321 and 1338 the Close Rolls contain a great many acknowledgements of debt to certain merchants of Genoa, Lucca, and Florence, as well as to the bishop of Ely and others.¹¹ In 1323 the abbot was obliged to demise his manor of Sewstern (Leics.) to the chaplains of Kirkby Bellers for a term of eighty years, and for the sake of getting a little ready money accepted a fixed sum in commutation of the rent for the entire period.¹² In 1331 he acknowledged debts to the value of £322,¹³ others in 1335 amounting to £160,¹⁴ in 1336 to £150,¹⁵ and in 1338 to £260.¹⁶ In 1347 he was accused of yielding to the very natural temptation of concealing and appropriating buried treasure, which the monks had found in the fields of Vaudey.¹⁷ Nevertheless in the same year he received a remission of tenths for two years, granted by the king out of compassion for the state of the abbey, which 'by unwonted adversities' was brought so low that its goods scarcely sufficed for the sustenance of the monks.¹⁸ The king also promised to repay a small sum of money lent him for the French war.¹⁹ The great pestilence following immediately must have added to the difficulties of the house: and in 1382 it was for a while seized into the king's hands as an alien abbey, and lost the right of presentation to its appropriate churches.²⁰ The revenue of the monastery in 1534 was considerably lower than it had been in 1291. It was dissolved under the first Act of Suppression in 1536, the last abbot receiving a pension of £20, and his ten monks, after arrears of 'wages' were paid, 20s. apiece to provide for all future necessities.²¹

In the days of its prosperity during the thirteenth century the abbey of Vaudey seems to have been in good standing in the order. One of its abbots in 1280 was empowered to arrest

⁹ Bracton's *Note Book*, case 1737.

¹⁰ Pat. 20 Edw. I, m. 12.

¹¹ Close, 14 Edw. II to 12 Edw. III.

¹² Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 8.

¹³ Close, 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 18d.; *ibid.* 6 Edw. III, m. 39d.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 9 Edw. III, m. 31d.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 10 Edw. III, m. 15d.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 10d.; pt. ii, m. 2d.; pt. iii, m. 17d.

¹⁷ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 31d.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* pt. iii, m. 36.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* pt. ii, m. 24.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 6 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 21.

²¹ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

¹ B.M. Seals, lxvii, 28.

² Lans. MS. 404, fol. 25.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Geoffrey and his wife were to receive clothes from the monastery—his to be of 'griseng vel halberget,' and hers of 'ad carino bluet'; both to be lined with lambskins. The servants were to have food only, not clothes. Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 490.

⁵ *Ibid.* and *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 3, 50.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 489.

⁷ Pat. 13 Hen. III, m. 6.

⁸ Bracton's *Note Book*, case 414.

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all vagabond Cistercians, monks or lay brethren, by the help of the secular arm, and to inflict punishment upon them according to the needs of the case.¹ Nothing further is known of the interior history of the house until the sixteenth century, though it was doubtless visited regularly by the abbot of Fountains. An important visitation is recorded in 1532. Abbot Henry Saxton had been accused of neglect of divine service and other 'misgovernances,' and a joint visitation was made by the abbots of Fountains, Woburn, and Pipewell. At its close he was requested to resign, with a suitable pension; whereupon he wrote to Cromwell (whose friendship for him is not necessarily an evidence in his favour), and begged him to use his influence to reverse the sentence. He stated that he had found his house £480 in debt, and had paid off every penny, increasing its income by £13 6s. 8d., in spite of the falling down of the nave of his church and the loss of 1,000 sheep by the rot; and he hinted at the same time that the real reason for his deposition was the desire of the abbot of Woburn to promote his own cellarer to the vacant post. A 'poor token' was sent with this letter to speed it on its way.² Cromwell in consequence wrote to the abbot of Woburn and accused him of 'inward grudge' against the abbot of Vaudey, and of desire to promote his own cellarer. 'I pray you,' he proceeded, 'use yourself to my friend according to your religion, for he is a good religious man, and has got his house out of great debt,' further suggesting that a certain monk of Vaudey, then at Woburn, should be instructed 'so fruitfully that he shall not need to be further reconciled to amend his living.'³ The answer of the abbot of Woburn was quiet and dignified. He was sorry that Cromwell had such an ill opinion of him; but he had only done his duty. Accusations had been fully proved against the abbot of Vaudey as to misgovernance of himself and his brethren, and neglect of divine service, which there was no need to describe in detail; they were sufficient to justify the sentence passed. However, in consideration of Cromwell's letter, and others who had interceded on behalf of the offending abbot, the visitors were ready to abate somewhat of the rigour of justice, and had urged him to avoid the disgrace of deposition by resigning of his own accord on a pension of £20 a year. He had indeed already offered to resign, and was 'not only well content, but had reason to be so.'⁴

¹ Pat. 8 Edw. I, m. 4.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1477.

³ *Ibid.* vi, 778.

⁴ *Ibid.* 779. For the character of this abbot, which adds to the value of his evidence, see *V. C. H. Beds.* i, 396-70. The resignation was evidently, as arranged, about Michaelmas; Henry Saxton's name occurs for the last time in 1532. William Stile was abbot in August, 1533. Whether he had been previously cellarer at Woburn does not appear.

The last abbot's term of office was short, as the house was dissolved in 1536. Three at least of the monks of Vaudey were glad to take refuge at Kirkstead Abbey rather than return to the world, and these were singled out for execution when that abbey was attained, after the rising in which they had willingly or unwillingly played a part.⁵

The original endowment of the abbey of Vaudey consisted of the site, with twelve carucates and seven bovates of land given by Gilbert of Ghent.⁶ Ralf de Bruer granted his demesne land in the manor of Edenham.⁷ In 1227 the abbot had several granges—North and South Grange, Ropsley, Lavington, Burton, Saltby, Sewstern, Thorpe, with mills and smaller parcels of land in the counties of Lincoln and Leicester.⁸ In 1291 his temporalities were assessed at £231 14s. 7d.⁹ In 1303 the abbot held half a fee in Edenham and in Swinstead, one-quarter in Broughton, one-quarter and one-third in Heydor and Oisby. In 1428 he held in addition one fee in Welby, one-eighth in Ingoldsby, Corby and Easton, and smaller portions in Londonthorpe, Scottlethorpe and Hanbeck.¹⁰ In 1534 the clear revenue of the abbey was only £124 5s. 11½d.¹¹ The Ministers' Accounts give a total of £194 3s. 8½d., including the manors of Swinstead, Edenham, Scottlethorpe, Morton, Ingoldsby, Burton Lazars, Dalby and Saltby, Welby, Creton and Cowthorpe, Manthorpe and Burton.¹²

ABBOTS OF VAUDEY

Warin,¹³ first abbot, 1147
 Richard,¹⁴ occurs 1204
 William,¹⁵ occurs 1219
 Nicholas,¹⁶ occurs 1227 to 1232
 Godfrey,¹⁷ occurs 1245
 Henry,¹⁸ occurs 1254
 Simon,¹⁹ elected 1313
 Walter,²⁰ occurs 1323 and 1325

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 828, viii; and Controlment Roll, 30 Henry VIII, m. 6.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 489; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 260.

⁷ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 50.

⁸ *Ibid.* i, 3.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 489.

¹⁰ *Feud. Aids*, iii.

¹¹ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 98.

¹² Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 91. The bells and lead were worth £202 7s. *Ibid.* No. 166.

¹³ Lans. MS. 207 E, fol. 596. 'A' occurs in the twelfth century, *ibid.* 210.

¹⁴ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 63.

¹⁵ Lans. MS. 207 C, fol. 206.

¹⁶ Pat. 11 Hen. III, m. 2 d.; Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 248-9.

¹⁷ *Lincs. N. and Q.* vii, 12.

¹⁸ Lans. MS. 207 C, fol. 98.

¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 263 d.

²⁰ Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 8; *ibid.* 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 21 d.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

John,¹ occurs 1331 to 1338

Thomas Cleseby,² elected 1459

Henry Saxton,³ occurs 1529, resigned 1532

William Stile,⁴ last abbot, elected 1532

A thirteenth-century seal⁵ shows an ornamental tree of three branches, on each side branch a bird regardant, and in its beak a sprig of foliage. At the side of the trunk two small birds.

SIG . . . NT' . SA . . . E . . .

A pointed oval seal of a thirteenth-century abbot⁶ shows the abbot standing on a platform, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book.

SIG . . . M * ABBAT . . . DE * VA . . . DEI.

22. THE ABBEY OF SWINESHEAD

The abbey of Swineshead was founded by Robert de Gresley about the year 1148.⁷ The monks who first settled there were a colony from Furness Abbey.⁸ The founder and his son Albert endowed the monastery with 240 acres of demesne land⁹ and other gifts. Other benefactors were Stephen earl of Brittany, Robert d'Arcy, Alan de Croun, Gilbert of Ghent, Henry de Longchamp, Simon earl of Montfort, and many of less note.¹⁰ Extremely little is known of the history of this house, and yet it must have been a fairly large and important one in early days, as even at the dissolution the bells and lead were worth £274 3s.¹¹ King John spent a short time there after that disastrous passage of the Wash when he lost the crown jewels.¹² A late tradition also represents him as dying within the precincts of the monastery.¹³ There are but few suits recorded of this house, and none of them are important. In 1338 Henry de Beaumont, earl of Bohun, complained that the abbot and others had committed divers trespasses

on his free warren, fisheries, and pastures, at Folkingham and elsewhere.¹⁴

The revenue of Swineshead Abbey in 1534 was less than £200; it therefore fell under the first Act of Suppression. The abbot, John Haddingham, received a pension of £24 a year. The monks, ten in number, were paid off in the usual way, with 20s. apiece and 'capacities.'¹⁵

The interior history of Swineshead is as difficult to recover as the exterior. One of its earliest abbots attained considerable literary fame; this was Gilbert of Hoyland, who had evidently been an intimate friend and disciple of St. Bernard. He had the honour of continuing (not unworthily, as they say who are best able to judge) his master's beautiful commentary on the Song of Songs. St. Bernard carried the work nearly to the end of the second chapter. Gilbert went on with it till he also was interrupted by death, before he had reached the end of the fourth chapter.¹⁶ Under his rule we may well believe that the primitive simplicity of the Cistercian ideal was maintained at Swineshead, and his good influence extended beyond the walls of his own monastery.¹⁷ We know that the standard of the whole order became lower afterwards with the increase of its wealth; but there is no evidence that it was conspicuously low in this abbey. The absence of records tells rather in the opposite direction. There were three monks who left the house in 1329,¹⁸ and carried away some of its goods, and another apostate was absolved in 1341:¹⁹ such cases prove very little. The monastery was doubtless visited from time to time, according to the custom of the order, by the abbot of Furness; we hear of one such visitation in 1401. A certain Ralf de Byker was at that time accused of having laid violent hands upon a former abbot, and of having stolen goods belonging to the monastery; as he failed to clear himself the visitor ordered him to be imprisoned. The discipline of the order seems to have been severe at the time, for Ralf de Byker was so afraid of it that he fled the house early the next morning; but a little later, wearying of the secular habit, he entered the abbey of St. Mary Graces in London, went through a new novitiate there, and was professed a second time. When the facts came to light a little later, he

¹ Close, 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 18 d.; *ibid.* 12 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 2 d.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Chedworth, 54.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2698, and *ibid.* vi, 778-9.

⁴ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166; he occurs under 1533, and also in 1536 receives pension.

⁵ B.M. Seals, lxvii, 50.

⁶ Harl. Chart. 45 A, 25.

⁷ The Chron. of Peterb. gives the year 1134, but the Book of Furness, which gives 1148, is more likely to be correct, as it was from Furness that the monks of Swineshead came. *Furness Coucher* (Cheetham Soc.), ix (i), 11.

⁸ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 346.

⁹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 306; *Cart. Antiq.* Y, 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

¹² Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 667.

¹³ *Chron. of the Reign of Stephen* (Rolls Ser.), &c., vol. ii, A° 1216. The words 'veneno extinctus apud Swineshead,' &c., are not in the older MS. of this chronicle.

¹⁴ Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9 d.

¹⁵ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

¹⁶ Dr. S. Eales, *Works of St. Bernard* (Engl. trans.), vol. iv, introd. Dr. Littledale also says the sermons of Gilbert 'approach more nearly than any others to the beauty and fervour' of St. Bernard's style (*Commentary on the Song of Songs*, introd. xxxvi). His spiritual letters, and a few treatises on mystical theology ascribed to him, may be found in Migne's *Patrologia* at the end of St. Bernard's works.

¹⁷ Some of the sermons which form the commentary were obviously addressed to Cistercian nuns; perhaps in some of the Lincolnshire houses.

¹⁸ Pat. 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21.

¹⁹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 552.

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had to get a dispensation from the pope to stay in London instead of returning, as he ought to have done, to the house of his original profession. He was then formally absolved and released from his obedience by the abbot of Swineshead.¹

No complaint is recorded against the house at the time of suppression. It was dissolved simply because its revenue was less than £200 a year.

The original endowment of Swineshead Abbey consisted of 240 acres in the same vill, with certain mills and fisheries, and a moiety of the church of Cotgrave, Nottinghamshire.² The temporalities of the house were worth £121 16s. 10d. per annum in 1291.³ The abbot was returned in 1303 and 1346 as holding half a knight's fee of William son of Robert in Casthorpe.⁴ In 1534 the income of Swineshead Abbey was £167 15s. 3½d. clear.⁵ At the dissolution the crown bailiff's report gives a total of £184 17s. 8½d., including the rectory of Cotgrave and the manors of Gosberton and Quadryng, Great and Little Hale, Cotgrave, and Hardwick Grange.⁶

ABBOTS OF SWINESHEAD

Gilbert of Hoyland,⁷ occurs before 1202

William,⁸ occurs 1202 and 1208

Robert Denton,¹¹ occurs 1203

Geoffrey,¹² occurs 1240

Lambert,¹³ occurs 1298

John,¹⁴ elected 1308, occurs 1338

William,¹⁵ occurs 1401

John Haddingham¹⁶ (or Addingham), last abbot, occurs 1529.

The pointed oval fourteenth-century seal¹⁷ represents an abbot full length, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book, with three monks on each side, under a carved cinque-foiled arch or canopy, crocketed. Above an embattled parapet, in a niche with carved ogee arch, having a flying buttress at each side, the Virgin, with crown, seated, the Child on the left knee. In the field, three estoiles; in base, a boar's head.

. . . Batis et conventus de loco beate
Marie de Swynesheved in Holand

The seal of Abbot Jordan¹⁸ is also pointed oval, representing the abbot standing on a corbel, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book.

SIGILLI ABBATIS DE SWINESHEVED

HOUSES OF CISTERCIAN NUNS

23. THE PRIORY OF STIXWOULD

The seven Cistercian nunneries⁹ of Lincolnshire were all founded in the twelfth century, and all but one during the first half of it; but it is hard to say which was actually the earliest, as none can be exactly dated. Perhaps the priory of Stixwould has as good a claim as any; it was founded by Lucy countess of Chester,¹⁰ who could not possibly have lived far into the reign of Stephen, and may have endowed this house even under Henry I. Her son Ranulf, who died 1153, was also a benefactor of Stixwould, and so was Ralf FitzGilbert, the founder of Markby.

The revenue of this house from the first shows that it was never intended to contain a very large

number of nuns; in the fifteenth century there were usually from twelve to sixteen, but at the foundation there may have been perhaps twenty or thirty. The priory was involved in several lawsuits during the thirteenth century. As early as 1194 there was a suit concerning a knight's fee in Bucknall with Ralf de Lindsey,¹⁹ another about the same time as to advowson of the church of Willoughby.²⁰ A dispute with the abbot of Kirkstead as to common of pasture was settled in 1202²¹; Guy son of Simon quit-claimed to the priory in 1205 the advowson of Wainfleet church.²² From 1207 to 1209 a suit was going forward as to the church of Lavington and its chapels, which had been granted originally by Ralf FitzGilbert, and were now reclaimed by his

¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 346.

² *Cart. Antiq. Y* 13. *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 306, 242.

³ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i, 356.

⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 162, 209.

⁵ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 96.

⁶ *Mins. Accts.* 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 91.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 336.

⁸ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 19, 86.

⁹ A careful inspection of the episcopal registers and visitations has made it quite certain that all these were really of the Cistercian order, though Dugdale and Tanner could not speak certainly.

¹⁰ See account of the priory of Spalding. Ranulf de Meschines, her last husband, died 1129.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 336. There may have been two Williams, with Robert intervening.

¹² Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 306.

¹³ *Pat.* 26 Edw. I, m. 26.

¹⁴ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* Dalderby, 121; and *Pat.* 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9 d.

¹⁵ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 346.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2698.

¹⁷ *B.M. Seals*, lxxiv, 67.

¹⁸ *Add. Chart.* 26205

¹⁹ *Abbrev. Placit.* (Rec. Com.), 3.

²⁰ *Curia Reg. R.* (Rec. Com.), 308.

²¹ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 41.

²² *Ibid.* 62.

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grandson. The charters, when produced, confirmed the claim of the nuns, and Hugh Fitz-Ralf was ordered not to vex them further.¹

In 1308 the prioress complained that in the time of the late king certain men had impounded some of her cattle, and committed other trespasses on her property, assaulting a canon and a lay brother of her house and several of her servants.² The offenders were imprisoned for a time.³ There were similar complaints of trespass in 1317,⁴ 1327,⁵ 1328,⁶ and 1365.⁷ In 1419 the nuns were released from payment of a subsidy on account of their poverty.⁸

As the revenue of the priory was less than £200, it was dissolved under the first Act of Suppression before Michaelmas, 1536⁹; but the king ordered that after the nuns had been dismissed the house should remain standing, to provide a refuge for the nuns of Stainfield, who had been promised a licence to continue, and for others besides.¹⁰ It was apparently on this account that the 'rewards' of the dismissed nuns of Stixwold, twelve in number, were paid out of the proceeds of the dissolved priory of Stainfield; each received the usual sum of 20s.¹¹ The nuns of Stainfield then took their places, but with a much diminished revenue, for the king had ordered Sir Richard Rich to take a fine of 900 marks from the property of Stixwold, and to

reserve for him besides a pension of £34 10s. 7d.,¹² and the collection of this sum seems to have involved the sale of nearly all the stock of the priory.¹³ The result was that in January, 1537,¹⁴ the new occupants of Stixwold were obliged to write to John Heneage and beg him to intercede for them with the king,¹⁵ at least to remit the pension; for they were so much impoverished that unless they had some such help they would have to give up the priory, 'which were great pity, if it pleased God and the king other wise.' The letter is signed, 'Your poor bedeswomen, the whole convent of Stixwold,' and has been printed in full more than once,¹⁶ though the circumstances under which it was written have not been clearly understood. No answer to the letter is preserved, but six months later, 9 July, 1537, the king issued letters patent for the re-foundation of the house under the Premonstratensian rule,¹⁷ with Mary Missenden (probably one of the Benedictine nuns of Stainfield)¹⁸ as prioress. They were to hold the site and all the original possessions of Stixwold as the late prioress held them before the suppression, at a yearly rent of £15 5s. 1d., payable to the king.

From this charter of re-foundation one of two conclusions may be drawn. Either the king was deaf to the entreaties of the nuns, and they were compelled to surrender soon after their letter of January, whereupon Henry founded his new monastery at Stixwold, now for the second time emptied of its inhabitants; or, as seems far more probable, the new foundation was his answer to their petition,¹⁹ involving only a change in the tenure of the house, which was to be held by the nuns (i.e. those originally of Stainfield), under new conditions, and for a lower rent.²⁰ The king's

¹ *Abbrev. Placit.* (Rec. Com.), 46, 58.

² Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 22 d.

³ Close, 2 Edw. II, m. 16.

⁴ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 30 d.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 22 d.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 33 d.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 28 d.

⁸ *Ibid.* Memo. Flemynge, 248.

⁹ The 'wages' and 'rewards' of the nuns of Stixwold and their chaplains are entered on John Freeman's accounts of dissolved houses, dated Michaelmas, 1536 (Mins. Accts. 27-28 Henry VIII, No. 166); and this is entirely borne out by the king's letter to Sir Richard Rich, dated August, 1536 (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, App. 4). Abbot Gasquet states that a fine was paid for the continuance of Stixwold in 1536 or 1537 (*Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 23, 30: 9 July, 1536, on the one page, and 9 July, 1537, on the other). If this is correct (the reference to Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 29, is obviously a mistake, as that is the charter of re-foundation), and if the name of Stixwold really appears on the list of such fines, it may be a mistake for Stainfield, to which the king says plainly he had promised continuance, speaking at the same time of the fate of Stixwold as in no way uncertain.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, App. 4; see Stainfield Priory.

¹¹ Under the heading of 'wages' is given—'Stainfield, for twelve nuns of Stixwold, £6; two priests, 23s. 4d.'; and under 'Money paid in regard,' again—'Stainfield, eleven nuns of Stixwold, 20s.; sub-prioress, 30s.' The prioress only of Stainfield received anything from the revenues of that house. The nuns were not paid anything, as they were to go to Stixwold (Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166).

¹² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, App. 4.

¹³ So the nuns state in their letter.

¹⁴ This letter is dated only 8 January, but the reference in it to the payment of the same fine and pension as that named by the king in August, 1536, shows that it is rightly placed in the calendar under January, 1537; half way between the transference of the nuns and the re-foundation on 9 July, 1537.

¹⁵ Or rather with 'my lord privy seal' to use his influence with the king.

¹⁶ In Wright's *Suppression of Monasteries*; Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*; Gasquet's *Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries*; and an abstract in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii (1), 22.

¹⁷ Pat. 29 Henry VII, pt. i, m. 29.

¹⁸ The name is not an uncommon one, and if it stood quite alone the identification would be precarious; but on the pension list of the refounded Stixwold is found another name less common, 'Paga Overton,' who, with Mary Missenden, is named in Bishop Atwater's visitation of Stainfield in 1519.

¹⁹ The fact that the king had all along intended to let the nuns of Stainfield continue, as stated in his letter, makes his tenderness of heart on this occasion easier to understand.

²⁰ They had been paying a yearly pension of £34, and their letter had implied that if this only were excused they could still contrive to maintain themselves.

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reason for placing the house under the Premonstratensian rule is hard even to guess at; it cannot be that he had a number of dismissed nuns of that order to provide for, as they were extremely rare at all times in England, and their only house in Lincolnshire (Irford) was still standing.

The 'new monastery of King Henry VIII' was of short duration. On 29 September, 1539, Mary Missenden and her sisters surrendered their priory with all its possessions; the prioress receiving in compensation a pension of £15, and fourteen nuns annuities varying from 66s. to 40s.¹ Eleven of these were still living in 1553, of whom only one, Agnes Bonner, had married.²

The constitution of the smaller Cistercian nunneries is difficult to understand without a more special study than is possible within the limits of such an article as this. Three, at least, of those in Lincolnshire—Stixwold, Heynings, and Legbourne—appear to have been double foundations; they had not merely the usual lay brethren, who were often attached to nunneries for the sake of the field work and other labours which women could not well undertake or superintend,³ but also a few monks or canons who held the temporalities jointly with the nuns.⁴ They had in early days a prior who ruled jointly with the prioress. A similar arrangement may be occasionally found in Augustinian⁵ and Premonstratensian houses⁶; it seems, indeed, that several experiments were made in double foundations during the twelfth century, the most notable being, of course, the order of Sempringham. These small Cistercian nunneries of Lincolnshire were all founded about the same time as the Gilbertines; but it is hard to say whether they followed the model of the Gilbertines, or whether St. Gilbert adopted and made general in his order an institution he had observed amongst the Cistercians, to whom we know he looked very largely for inspiration.

The priory of Stixwold had canons and a prior all through the thirteenth century. The last mention we find of them is in 1308.⁷ It was liable to episcopal visitation throughout

its history; indeed, none of the small Cistercian priories shared the exemption which all abbeys of the order claimed and kept until the dissolution. As will be seen later, St. Hugh, or Bishop Hugh of Wells, arranged the constitution of Nuncotham; and a commission for the visitation of Stixwold is found in the Memoranda of Bishop Dalderby, under the year 1311.⁸ A mandate of Bishop Burghersh, issued in 1322, was disregarded by certain of the nuns here, who were excommunicated in consequence; after salutary penance, they received absolution.⁹

When Bishop Flemyng visited the house between 1420 and 1431 it was noticed that the annual allowances of 6s. 8d. due to the nuns for clothing had not been regularly paid¹⁰; and at Bishop Alnwick's visitation of 1440 this was still a cause of complaint. The bishop had to note a good many irregularities at this time, similar to those which he had observed at Nuncotham just before. The nuns (about sixteen in number) had in many cases separate households, and some of them kept secular boarders on their own account, and when they ate together in the refectory they did not all fare alike.¹¹ The children of the convent school and the servants of the nuns slept in the dormitory. The boarders kept by the cellaress were said to be of suspicious character, especially one Janet Barton. The house was eighty marks in debt. One old sister who could not walk complained that she scarcely ever heard mass except on the principal feasts, as she could find no one to carry her.

The bishop ordered that the sums due for clothing should be paid regularly; all seculars were to be removed from the house within three months, and none were to spend the night within the cloister except honest and necessary servants. Janet Barton was to be at once dismissed, and no boarders received in future without special licence from the bishop, save two widows, Elizabeth Dymoke and Margaret Tylney, 'by whose abiding as we trust no grief but rather avail' was procured to the monastery. Certain irregularities of ritual were to be corrected.¹²

In 1519 Bishop Atwater found about the same number of nuns in the priory. The sick were not well provided for, and the prioress was accused of spending the night outside the cloister too often with secular friends. He ordered that in future she should sleep in the monastery, but might keep a private house within the cloister for her greater refreshment and for receiving her friends. The nuns were to be redistributed in the different

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 235.

² *Exch. Accts. bdle.* 76, No. 26.

³ A form of profession for the chaplain and lay brethren attached to Cistercian nunneries may be found in the Cistercian statutes of the thirteenth century. J. T. Fowler, *Cistercian Statutes*, 107.

⁴ These cannot be quite on the same footing as the chaplains mentioned in the Cistercian statutes, as the latter were wholly under obedience to the abbess. The arrangement in the Cistercian nunneries of Lincolnshire is much more like that of the Gilbertines.

⁵ See Harrold Priory, *V.C.H. Beds.*, i, 387, note 9.

⁶ Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, Preface, vii.

⁷ *Pat.* 2 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 22 d. The prior is once or twice called 'master' even before this; and after this date a secular priest was made master in the usual way (*Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby*, 402 d.).

⁸ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby*, 201 d.

⁹ *Ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 26 d.

¹⁰ Visitations of Alnwick (*Alnwick Tower*), fol. 73 d.

¹¹ *Ibid.* At one table there was fish, and at another flesh, on the same day. The ordinary allowance in food for the nuns at this time was a loaf, an egg, and a portion of flesh and cheese; in Advent and Lent herrings and stockfish took the place of flesh.

¹² *Ibid.*

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

houses of the priory, so that some should board with the prioress and some with the sub-prioress.¹ No other complaint was brought against any of them, either at this time or just before the dissolution of the house in 1536. The nuns of the new foundation clung to the religious life as long as they possibly could, and were ready to endure poverty and distress rather than forsake it.

The original endowment probably included the demesne land at Stixwoud with other lands in Honington, Barkston, and Bassingthorpe,² and the rectories of Wainfleet, Hundleby, Honington, and Lavington.³ The temporalities of the nuns in 1291 were assessed at £12.⁴ In 1303 they held a quarter of a knight's fee in Honington, half a fee in Stoke, and one-third in Bassingthorpe, with a small fraction beside⁵; the same return was made in 1346.⁶ In 1534 the revenue of the priory was valued at £114 5s. 2½d. clear;⁷ at the new foundation it was placed at £152 10s. 7d., and included the profits of the four rectories of Wainfleet, Honington, Hundleby, and Lavington, and the manors of Stixwoud, Horsington, Hundleby, Hallmat and Hundleby-Grange, and Bassingthorpe.⁸ The Ministers' Accounts give a total of £165 7s. 3½d.⁹

PRIORS OF STIXWOULD

Hugh,¹⁰ occurs 1202 and 1205
Geoffrey,¹¹ occurs 1227 and 1228
Gilbert of Eton,¹² occurs 1308

PRIORESSES OF STIXWOULD

Margaret Gobaud,¹³ elected 1274
Eva,¹⁴ died 1304
Isabel de Dugby,¹⁵ elected 1304, occurs 1317
Elizabeth,¹⁶ occurs 1327 and 1328
Elizabeth de Swylington,¹⁷ elected 1346

¹ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower).

² Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 725.

³ These four are all mentioned in early suits: the nuns once claimed Willoughby also, but it is uncertain by what right.

⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 59.

⁵ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 127, 132, 152, 168.

⁶ *Ibid.* 192, 196, 208, 211.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 37.

⁸ Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 29.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 725.

¹⁰ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 41, 62.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 221; and Pat. 11 Hen. III, m. 2 d.

¹² Close, 2 Edw. II, m. 16.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend. The death of another prioress unnamed is recorded in 1236 (Rolls of Grosteste), showing that priors and prioresses existed together.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Inst. Dalderby, 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* and Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 30 d.

¹⁶ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 22 d.; and 2 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 33 d.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Burghersh, 17.

Isabel Mallet,¹⁸ died 1376

Eustace Ravenser,¹⁹ occurs 1393, died 1403

Katharine Roose,²⁰ elected 1403

Eleanor Welby,²¹ occurs 1440

Helen Key,²² before 1536

Mary Missenden,²³ last prioress, appointed 1537

24. THE PRIORY OF HEYNINGS

The priory of Heynings or Heveninges was founded by Rayner de Evermue, probably early in the reign of Stephen,²⁴ and the patronage of the house remained with the lords of Knaith through most of its history.

The endowment of the priory was meagre—'notoriously insufficient,' it was alleged in 1348—on account of the death of the founder before its completion²⁵; and the scanty notices of it which occur from time to time usually refer to its poverty. In 1331 the nuns were discharged of part of the tithe due to the king, because their house was 'impoverished by divers misfortunes,'²⁶ and again in 1347.²⁷ In this latter year Master Simon of Islip and Nicholas of Buckland granted them an acre of land and the advowson of Womersley church for the relief of their necessities,²⁸ and in 1349 Sir John Darcy, then patron of the house, gave them the advowson of Knaith.²⁹ The land of Leadenham Braylond was also granted to them in 1377,³⁰ and in 1397 they were again absolved from payment of tenths.³¹ But in 1401 a petition to the pope repeated the complaint made in 1348 of poverty caused by barrenness of lands, multiplication of guests and corrodies, and burdens laid on all religious houses, which had compelled them to mortgage all their possessions for a long time.³²

Being small and poor, the priory of Heynings might have been dissolved in 1536, but for some reason it was spared, and continued until 11 July, 1539, when it was surrendered by the prioress, Jane Sanford, and eleven nuns.³³ The prioress

¹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 141 d.

¹⁹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv, 482; and Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Repingdon, 42.

²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Repingdon, 42.

²¹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower).

²² Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 29.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ The name of Rayner de Evermue occurs in the *Great Roll of the Pipe* (Rec. Com.), 6, 102, 121, probably 1129–30, but not later, and he may possibly be the same as Rainold de Envremou who occurs about 1115 in Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i, 133.

²⁵ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 347.

²⁶ Close, 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 8.

²⁷ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6.

²⁸ *Ibid.* pt. ii, m. 6.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 22 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 50 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13.

³¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 456 d.

³² *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 347.

³³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1251.

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received a pension of £6 13s. 4d., two aged nuns 33s. 4d., and nine 'young women' 30s. a year.¹

Heynings, like Stixwoud, was founded for 'brethren and sisters,'² but the brethren are only mentioned in the foundation charter. By the end of the thirteenth century it was ruled by a prioress alone, with a warden or master who might be a secular priest or a religious of some other order.³ The earliest recorded visitation is one of Bishop Gynwell in 1347. He drew attention to certain matters requiring reform, and said the 'rule of St. Benedict with the observances of St. Bernard,' in which they were founded, was not well kept. The divine office had not been carefully attended, and there had been negligence as to rules of silence, as to the visits of friends, and the admission of children and seculars to the cloister and dormitory. A special injunction was added, that Dame Margaret Darcy was not on any account to pass beyond the cloistral precincts or to speak to any stranger; her offence, however, is not mentioned.⁴

Later in the same century we meet the common difficulty which arose from the admission of lady boarders to the monasteries. A few were allowed by special licence of the bishop,⁵ but the practice was generally to be avoided; an injunction continually repeated, but almost always evaded under the pressure of poverty. In 1393 Bishop Bokyngham held a visitation at Heynings. He ordered that any sister absent from the divine office should be deprived of food the next day; all breaches of discipline were to be punished by fasting on bread and water for periods varying from a day to a week. The children of the convent school were not to sleep in the dormitory, accounts were to be duly rendered, and the common seal carefully kept. The sisters were exhorted to behave with affection one towards the other. These injunctions were repeated constantly in visitations of all nunneries, and are usually considered to be a matter of formal routine when there was nothing special to correct. No nun was to have a room to herself except Dame Margaret Darcy, on account of her nobility; and she was to have no further privilege beyond the rest.⁶

Bishop Alnwick visited in 1440. There were no serious complaints, and nearly all answered

omnia bene. The house was in debt, but then it had been recently repaired at great cost. One nun complained that the prioress was not impartial in her dealings with the sisters, and that she spoiled her servants. A lay sister complained that secular boarders occupied the infirmary, so that the sisters had nowhere to go when they were bled, and that servants of the house slept in the dormitory.

The bishop ordered that the number of nuns was not to be increased without his permission; the rest of his injunctions were merely formal, and he had the good sense not to make much of complaints that seemed dictated by mere discontent.⁷

Bishop Atwater visited in 1519, but left no injunctions; there can have been nothing much to notice.⁸

At the time of surrender Dr. London alleged of this house, as well as of Irford, Fosse, and others, that many of the nuns had been professed very young and had since lived in imperfect chastity, so that now they were delighted to think that they might return to the world and marry. Of Heynings in particular he only stated that there had been 'much waste in the woods.'⁹ The value of this report is lessened by the fact that there were at this time twelve nuns and a prioress in this house, living on an income of less than £50, which could not have supported them in great luxury; and they might have surrendered three years before under the first Act of Suppression, if they had really been so weary of their habit. Moreover six of them lived on till 1553, and were then still unmarried.¹⁰

The original endowment of the priory consisted mainly of the demesne land, with the church of Upton.¹¹ In 1348 the church of Womersley, Yorks., was appropriated to the nuns,¹² and in 1349 they were granted the advowson of Knaith¹³; in 1377 the manor of Lerdendam Braylond was added to their possessions.¹⁴ In 1303 the prioress was returned as holding part of half a knight's fee in Ingleby.¹⁵ The income of the priory in 1534 was

⁷ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 22. The lay sister mentioned above also alleged that the nuns went secretly after compline to drink in the guest-house with the guests. The bishop ordered that after compline they should go without tarrying to the dormitory. As to the drinking, the same remarks which were made on this point as to Stainfield Priory will be equally applicable here; the matter needing correction was a breach of rule, not the sin of immoderate drinking.

⁸ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower).

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1321.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 8102; and Exch. Accts. bdle. 76, No. 26.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 723.

¹² *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 347.

¹³ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37.

¹⁴ Ibid. 50 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13.

¹⁵ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 136.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1280.

² Foundation Charter, Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 723. It seems probable that these brethren were monks and not mere lay brethren, or they would not have held the property of the convent with the nuns, and would scarcely have been mentioned first.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton.

⁴ Ibid. Memo. Gynwell, 34.

⁵ Eleanor Francke received such a licence in 1387. Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 341 d.

⁶ Ibid. 397. This can scarcely be the same person as the one put to penance in 1351. The Darcys were patrons of the house, and members of their family would be frequently found among the nuns.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

£49 5s. 2d. clear¹; at the surrender the Ministers' Accounts show a total of £74 11s. 7d.,² including the manor of Heynings and the farm of the rectories of Upton in Lincolnshire and Womersley in Yorkshire.

PRIORESSES OF HEYNINGS

Margery Pocklington,³ resigned 1300
Margery of Marton,⁴ elected 1300
Margaret Swalecliffe,⁵ resigned 1315
Joan of Cottingham,⁶ elected 1315, resigned 1319
Margaret Cause,⁷ elected 1319, resigned 1347
Eleanor Joyce,⁸ elected 1347, resigned 1352
Alice of Cuxwold,⁹ elected 1352
Joan Humberstone,¹⁰ occurs 1419
Joan Stanford,¹¹ last prioress, surrendered 1539

The thirteenth-century common seal¹² is pointed oval, representing the Virgin seated upon a carved and trefoiled canopy supported on slender shafts, with a crown, in the left hand the Child with nimbus; her feet rest on a carved corbel. In the field below the canopy, a sun, a crescent enclosing an estoile, two cinquefoils, a quatrefoil, and a crescent. Above the canopy, two angels holding censers.

S' : SANCTE : MARIE : ET : CÕ : UENTUS :
D'HEYNINGE

Letters A : R of Marie and E : N of Conventus are conjoined.

25. THE PRIORY OF NUNCOTHAM

The priory of Nuncotham in Brocklesby parish was founded, probably in Stephen's reign, by Alan de Moncel,¹³ in whose family the patronage long continued. The possessions of the nuns were confirmed to them by Henry II and John.¹⁴ They were probably never very extensive, for

¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 132.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 723.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* Inst. Dalderby, 96.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* 100.

⁸ *Ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 104.

⁹ *Ibid.* 116. The election of another prioress (unnamed) occurs *Ibid.* Memo. Bokyngham, 75.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Inst. Repingdon, 135*d.* The register seems to say Joan 'Hebberston' resigned and Joan 'Humberstone' was elected; it is probable that the same name has been put into both places by a slip of the pen, and so it is hard to say whether it is the name of the one who resigned or the one elected.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen.* xiv (1), 1251.

¹² Add. Chart. 29698.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 675. Alan de Moncel's name is found on the great Roll of the Pipe (Rec. Com.), 28, 29, 34, &c., as holding property in Yorks. and Lincs.

¹⁴ *Chart. R.* (Rec. Com.), 85.

at the end of the twelfth century the bishop thought them only sufficient to support thirty nuns.¹⁵ By the fifteenth century there were only fourteen, and about the same number at the end. The income of the house at the last was under £50, so that it might have been dissolved under the first Act of Suppression. As a matter of fact, however, it stood till 9 July, 1539.¹⁶ The prioress then received a pension of £6; her twelve sisters annuities varying from £2 to 30s.¹⁷

The priory was from the first under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Lincoln, and either St. Hugh himself, or Hugh of Wells, drew up a constitution for the nuns at a time when they had apparently been living a little beyond their means. After consultation with the master and the prioress and convent he decided that henceforth the number of nuns should not be more than thirty, with twelve lay brethren for the outdoor works connected with the priory. There were to be two chaplains, besides the master, attached to the house. The customs as to the keeping of the convent seal and the showing of accounts were to be the same as were usual in all religious orders. The nuns, the chaplains, the lay brethren, and lay sisters, as well as their guests, were all to fare alike as to food; only the sick were to have anything different from the rest. No secular guest was to be admitted for more than one night at a time. No nun might talk alone with a stranger, and not even the lay sisters might live at the granges of the priory, and away from the monastery. Visits to friends were only to be allowed under special licence, and in case of real necessity. No nun or sister was to have anything of her own, or to receive money or any other temporal property for herself by way of contract.¹⁸

It is important to note the exact terms of this constitution, partly because it was probably the same for all Cistercian nunneries at the time, and partly that it may be seen exactly where, as time went on, it was less well kept. It was evidently intended at the beginning of the thirteenth century that the nuns should be, as far as possible, withdrawn from seculars and secular affairs; it was also intended that their individual poverty should be real and absolute.

As to seclusion from the world, Nuncotham Priory was beset by the same difficulty as almost all small nunneries at the end of the fourteenth century. The nuns were poor; it seemed a matter almost of necessity that they should seek some way of increasing their income; it was not enough merely to keep a school; and so the common practice of receiving lady boarders was adopted here as elsewhere. The ladies who came to board in convents wanted to live

¹⁵ Dugdale, v, 675.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen.* VIII, xix (1), 1242.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 1280.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 675.

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economically, and doubtless also to have a devotional atmosphere about them; but they did not want actually to be nuns, nor to leave the world quite behind them. As a natural consequence they brought the world with them into the cloister; and hence the frequent complaints of bishops in visitations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that 'the conversation of seculars disturbed the contemplation of religion.' In 1382 Bishop Bokyngham ordered nuns of this priory, as he had done in so many other cases, to 'amove all secular persons from their precincts'—especially Dame Joan Mounceys, who had taken up her abode permanently in the guest-house.¹ His injunctions were apparently not of much avail. When Bishop Alnwick came in 1440 the priory had become in many ways secularized. The nuns were living innocently indeed. There were no conspicuous breaches of rule, nor any signs of luxury or extravagance. The choir office was not omitted or seriously neglected, though some of the obedientiaries were occasionally too busy to attend it. But the nuns paid long visits to their friends, and travelled quite a distance sometimes for this purpose. Many of them had private rooms and gardens in the monastery, and servants of their own to wait upon them,² and occasionally in the evening one or other would be absent from compline, because she was so busy looking after her flowers. Servants slept in the dormitory, and many seculars boarded in the monastery. The allowance for clothing to each nun, however, had been lately reduced, through the poverty of the house; the bread and beer provided for all was of very poor quality; and the monastic buildings were in need of repair.

The bishop gave such injunctions as might have been expected. Secular servants were to be banished from the dormitories; the choir and refectory to be regularly attended; visits to friends were limited to three days, unless there were great and reasonable cause for a longer stay; corrodies were not to be granted without leave of the bishop.³

Bishop Atwater's visitation in 1519 revealed the same old difficulty. His only injunction, however, to the nuns was to admit no seculars to eat and drink with them, save in one public place appointed by the prioress, and in the presence of several sisters.⁴

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 325.

² This, of course, was an abuse, and an almost complete defeat of the rule of poverty; but it should be noted that in monasteries of all orders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the original ideal of individual poverty had been modified by actual dispensation, rather than by laxity; and it was not a breach of poverty, but the common custom of the time, for all monks and nuns to have a definite yearly allowance for clothing.

³ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 69–75.

⁴ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), 54.

The visitation of Bishop Longlands in 1531 is of greater interest. He evidently found the prioress, Joan Thompson, living just as if the house was her own property, and forgetting that it was only under her charge for the benefit of the community. She had been for some time in the habit of keeping her own kinsfolk at the expense of the convent. She had bestowed its goods liberally on her brother and his children, and granted corrodies far too freely. There had been gaities and Christmas sports allowed, quite unbecoming to the dignity of a religious house. The sisters, as of old, had been too fond of paying visits to their friends, sometimes on pretext of making pilgrimages. The children brought up in the monastery were not properly taught, and the divine office had evidently been neglected or hurried through.

The bishop ordered the office to be properly attended, and 'honourably and treatably sung,' without 'haste and festination.' The prioress was to use herself 'as a good mother, lovingly, charitably, and indifferently to all the sisters,' and 'not to give too light credence to every tale.' She was to keep about her none but her own mother, and one or two others of her 'saddest kinsfolk.' The cloister doors were to be duly fastened at night time, children banished from the dormitory, no 'lord of misrule' was to be allowed in the house, nor any 'disguisings in nun's apparel, nor otherwise.' The discipline of the order was to be revived generally, and friars and secular clergy were not to be too freely admitted to the monastery. A confessor was to be appointed for the convent, approved by the bishop's commissary. All the ladies were charged truly to observe their religion, and to be obedient to the prioress, leaving all dissensions, and 'uniting themselves to God by clean, chaste, and religious living'; to occupy themselves when the divine service was done with useful employments, and to flee all ill company. These injunctions were to be read once a month in chapter.⁵

When Dr. London took the surrender of this house in 1539, with those of Fosse, Irford, and Heynings, he remarked that they were wonderfully glad that they might marry, if professed under the age of twenty-one, by the new Acts of Parliament.⁶ It is highly probable that some of the ladies of Nuncotham were eligible for this privilege, for ten of them lived on till 1553,⁷ and the visitation of 1531 seems to suggest that they and their prioress were nearly all young. Only one of them was, however, married at the beginning of Mary's reign.⁸

⁵ These injunctions have been printed in full in *Archaeologia*, xlvii, 55; and in the Lincoln diocesan magazine. They are, therefore, only summarized here.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1321.

⁷ Add. MS. 8102 (Pension Lists).

⁸ Exch. Accts. bdle. 76, No. 26.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The original endowment by Alan and Ingram de Moncel included the vill of (Nun) Cotham and divers small parcels of land, with the church of Cuxwold.¹ During the twelfth century the churches of Keelby, Burgh-on-Bain, and Croxton were given by other benefactors.² The temporalities of the priory in 1291 were worth £35 11s. 10d., and the spiritualities £12 13s. 4d. at least.³ In 1303 the prior held half a knight's fee in Burgh and Girsby and part of a fee in Swallow;⁴ in 1346 a fraction also in Habrough and Killingholme;⁵ in 1428⁶ in addition portions of fees in Croxton, Brocklesby, and Little Limber. In 1534 the clear income of the priory was £46 17s. 7d., including the rectories of Keelby, Croxton, Great Limber, Burgh-on-Bain, and Cuxwold.⁷ The total given in the Ministers' Accounts is £59 16s. 1d.⁸

PRIORESSES OF NUNCOTHAM

Maud,⁹ occurs about 1170
 Alice,¹⁰ occurs 1218
 Emma,¹¹ elected 1231, occurs 1234
 Amy of Barrow,¹² died 1310
 Christine Cotty,¹³ elected 1310, died 1319
 Isabel of Bonnington,¹⁴ elected 1319
 Cecily Hanlay,¹⁵ died 1381
 Alice Beaupas,¹⁶ elected 1381
 Elizabeth Skipwith,¹⁷ occurs 1440
 Joan Thompson,¹⁸ last prioress, occurs 1531

26. THE PRIORY OF LEGBOURNE

The priory of Legbourne was founded by Robert FitzGilbert¹⁹ of Tathwell somewhere about 1150; it seems to have been built for the

reception of some Cistercian nuns already formed into a convent at Carledale,²⁰ elsewhere called the 'nuns of Kedington'²¹ or of Hallington.²² Whether these earlier nuns had separate foundations, or whether one convent is spoken of under different names, it is difficult now to decide; but at any rate the nuns of Legbourne inherited the possessions of all their predecessors.

The nuns had some difficulty during the early part of the thirteenth century in securing their appropriate churches. Alice Constable, daughter of the founder, impleaded the prioress in 1204 and claimed the advowson of Saltfleetby church, which she said was made part of her marriage portion before the priory was built. Her nephew Robert, however, when called to warrant, supported the prioress's claim.²³ Alice afterwards impleaded Robert and induced him to say that her charter was made out before the church was given to the nuns; his evidence, however, cannot have been very valuable, as the prior of Legbourne summoned him just after to prove the contrary.²⁴ For the time being the dispute was settled in favour of Alice, and Robert granted the prior certain lands in exchange for a moiety of the church,²⁵ but it afterwards returned to the nuns. There were other suits in 1205 and 1226 in connexion with the churches of Hallington and Farlesthorpe.²⁶

Having an income of less than £200 a year, this priory was dissolved before Michaelmas, 1536; the prioress received a pension of £7 a year, and the nine nuns who remained 20s. each to buy secular apparel.²⁷ The house was not, however, entirely dismantled at the time of the outbreak of the Lincoln rebellion; the king's commissioners, Millicent and Bellow, were still in the priory and busy at their work, when they were dragged out of it by the excited mob.²⁸ During the course of the rising a gentleman of Lincoln wrote to Cromwell and informed him that the insurgents had 'made a nun' in the 'abbey of Legbourne.' It is just possible that they may have made an attempt to restore the ejected religious to this house, as we know the Pilgrims of Grace did in some cases in Yorkshire; but the statement may be based on a mere rumour.²⁹

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 634; and Dodsworth MS. lxxv (Chartulary of Legbourne), fol. 23.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Dodsworth MS. lxxv, 26.

²³ *Abbrev. Placit.* (Rec. Com.), 40.

²⁴ Ibid. 73.

²⁵ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 69.

²⁶ Ibid. i, 61, ii, 216-17; and *Curia Reg. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 273.

²⁷ Mins. Accts. (27-28 Hen. VIII), No. 166.

²⁸ Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 47. The value of the bells, lead, &c. is not given in the accounts dated Michaelmas, 1536, which shows the dissolution was not quite completed.

²⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 225.

¹ Dugdale, v, 675.

² Keelby and Burgh occur in the confirmation bull of Pope Alexander III. Ibid. Croxton is named in the *Taxatio*.

³ *Pope Nich. Tax.* 57, 58, 73b.

⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 137.

⁵ Ibid. 214, 217.

⁶ Ibid. 270, 271, 278, 279, 282, 285.

⁷ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 75.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 675.

⁹ Ibid. in charter of Pope Alexander III.

¹⁰ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 131, 144.

¹¹ Ibid. ii, 277; and Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 32.

¹³ Ibid. ¹⁴ Ibid. 356.

¹⁵ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 115. ¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower).

¹⁸ *Arch.* xlvii, 55. The name of the prioress is not mentioned, but that of her brother, George Thompson, shows that she was the same Joan Thompson who surrendered in 1539.

¹⁹ It is uncertain whether this Robert was brother of Ralf FitzGilbert, founder of Markby; but it seems fairly clear that neither was connected in any way with Baldwin FitzGilbert, the founder of Bourne.

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The priory¹ was visited probably all through its history by the bishops of Lincoln, but there is no report preserved earlier than that of Bishop Alnwick in 1440.² At this time certain irregularities required correction, but the bishop found most fault with the prioress. She had indeed greatly reduced the debts of the house—they had amounted at her election to £63 and now stood at £14—but she had been too fond of entertaining her own relations, and had partly supported them from the revenues of the monastery. She had once admitted a chaplain, not duly licensed, to preach in the conventual church; and when notice of the visitation came she had called the sisters into chapter and counselled them not to report anything that was amiss. There does not seem to have been anything very much amiss except her own conduct. The commemorations of St. Benedict and St. Bernard were not regularly made at matins, mass, and vespers; a secular boarder slept in the dormitory and disturbed the nuns by the noise she made, and certain servants were also allowed there. The nuns did not wear scapularies at their work as the rule enjoined. There were also one or two complaints, as usual, of a merely personal character.³

The injunctions which followed were much the same as those delivered to other nunneries at this time. The omitted memorials must be said; the dormitory must be cleared of seculars; scapularies must be worn at work; the prioress must not support her own kinsfolk, and must rule with impartiality. Her punishment, however, for admitting an unlicensed chaplain and for desiring to conceal faults at the visitation was a more serious matter, and was reserved to the bishop.⁴

Bishop Atwater in 1519 found nothing to correct, except that the infirmary was out of repair. It was stated at the same time that the nuns often worked at haymaking, but only in the presence of the prioress.⁵

When in 1536 the news came to Legbourne of the passing of the Act of Suppression, it

caused great distress and consternation to the nuns. As Cromwell himself happened to be patron of their house at this time, they thought perhaps he might be able to use his influence on their behalf.

‘Please yt your goodnes,’ wrote the prioress to him, ‘to understonde that whereas almyghty God hath indued you with just title of Founder . . . to the great comfort of me and all my systers, we doo and shall alweyes submit oure selves to youre most rightuouse commaundement and ordre, oonly puttyng oure comfort in your goodnesse. And whereas we doo here that a grete nombre of abbyes shalbe punysshid, subprest and put downe, bicause of their myslyvyng, and that all abbyes and pryories under the value of cc^{li} be at oure moste noble prynces pleasure to subpresse and put downe, yet if it may pleas your goodnesse we trust in God ye shall here no complayntes agaynst us nother in oure lyvyng nor hospitalitie kepyng.’

She promises him, if he will be a suitor for his own poor priory, ‘you shalbe a more higher Founder to us than he that first foundid our howse.’⁶ It was an unhappy thing for the poor ladies of Legbourne that they had ‘noon othir comfort nor refuge but oonly unto’ Cromwell’s goodness, for that was likely to help them little. Their petition was unheeded, and their house dissolved.

The original endowment of the priory consisted of certain lands of Robert Fitz Gilbert’s fee in Tathwell, Legbourne, Hallington, with mills, crofts, &c., and the churches of Farlesthorpe, St. Peter Saltfleetby, Raithby (Robert the prior and the convent of Legbourne quit-claimed all right to the advowson of Raithby church to Robert son of William de Lekeburn in 1205⁷), Hallington, Somercotes, Conisholme, and half that of Legbourne.⁸ In 1291 the nuns had temporalities valued at £20 19s. 11³/₄d.⁹ In 1395 the value of the priory was reckoned at about 60 marks.¹⁰ In 1428 the prioress held a knight’s fee in Legbourne and elsewhere jointly with the abbot of Louth Park.¹¹ In 1534 the value of the revenues was given as £38 8s. 4d. clear.¹² The Ministers’ Accounts give a total of £73 17s. 9¹/₄d., including the profits of the rectories of Hallington, North Somercotes, Farlesthorpe, with half those of Saltfleetby and Legbourne.¹³

⁶ Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 116. The letter is signed by the prioress Joan Missenden, ‘and systers of the pryory of Legborne.’

⁷ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 61.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 634–5; Dodsworth MS. lxxv, 23–7.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 634.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv, 521. In this year a moiety of the church of Legbourne was appropriated to the prioress and convent, on the ground of heavy losses through pestilence and dearth of labourers.

¹¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 302.

¹² *Valor Eccles.* iv, 52.

¹³ Mins. Accts. 27–28 Hen. VIII, No. 91.

¹ There was a prior here as well as a prioress at the end of the thirteenth century. Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 61, 69; and *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 52. Later, the Lincoln Registers record the appointment of several masters from 1294 to 1343, and in 1366 the same official apparently is called ‘yconomus’ of Legbourne: Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 33d.

² Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 66.

³ One nun said she had not been allowed to visit her aged parents when they were dying.

⁴ It was mentioned in the course of the visitation that the nuns here were allowed, as in most nunneries of the time, a loaf daily and a pottle of beer, with a portion of flesh, replaced in Advent and Lent by two herrings. Sometimes in summer they had a little butter; two stone of cheese and one pig were allowed to each lady annually.

⁵ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), fol. 52b.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

PRIORESSES OF LEGBOURNE

Mabel,¹ occurs 1219
 Beatrice,² occurs 1226, resigned 1247
 Alice of Hoyland,³ elected 1247
 Alice of Conisholme,⁴ elected 1274
 Parnel of Saltfleetby,⁵ resigned 1296
 Joan Chamberlain,⁶ elected 1296, resigned 1315
 Beatrice of Dunholm,⁷ elected 1315
 Denise of Selby,⁸ resigned 1326
 Julian or Joan of Ashby,⁹ elected 1326, resigned 1336
 Margaret de Wythern,¹⁰ elected 1336
 Elizabeth Chamberlain,¹¹ resigned 1368
 Julian of Retford,¹² elected 1368
 Isabel Wrangel,¹³ died 1408
 Maud Louth,¹⁴ elected 1408
 Joan Polvertest,¹⁵ occurs 1440
 Agnes Otteby,¹⁶ occurs 1513, died 1529
 Joan Gudband,¹⁷ elected 1529, occurs 1534
 Joan Missenden,¹⁸ last prioress, occurs 1536

27. THE PRIORY OF GREENFIELD

The priory of Greenfield must have been founded before the year 1153 by Eudo of Grainsby and Ralf of Aby, his son: Ranulf earl of Chester was also a benefactor of the house.¹⁹ It has very little history. A number of small and unimportant suits and charters have preserved for us the names of several prioresses, without giving us very much idea of the fortunes of the house. There are also a few notices relating to the priory in the episcopal registers. In 1298 a nun from Nuncotham was sent here to do penance. It appears that she was of a quarrelsome disposition, for Bishop Sutton ordered that as long as she should continue incorrigible she should be kept in solitary confinement, 'until according to the discipline of the order she should know how to live in community.'²⁰ Four years earlier the bishop had visited the priory and given the prioress an opportunity of resigning if she would,

¹ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 133.

² Ibid. and Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosseteste.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosseteste.

⁴ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

⁵ Ibid. Inst. Sutton, 22.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. Sutton, 322.

⁸ Ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 16 d.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. 75. Margaret was provided by the bishop, Denise being re-elected uncanonically by the nuns.

¹¹ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 26 d.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 35.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower).

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 634; and Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Longland, 25.

¹⁷ Ibid. and *Valor Eccles.*

¹⁸ Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 116.

¹⁹ The death of Ranulf earl of Chester in 1153 limits the date of foundation by this year. Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 579.

²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 207.

to avoid the disgrace of deprivation.²¹ Her successor was not much more satisfactory, for in 1303 Bishop Dalderby heard that she had been absent from her house for two years, and that it was in danger of serious loss.²² She probably resigned in consequence of the visitation which followed.²³ In 1312 the nuns received a remission of tithes from the same bishop in consideration of their poverty.²⁴ No other visitation is recorded until that of Bishop Atwater in 1519. There was very little at this time to complain of: one nun was accused of being disobedient to her superiors, and the prioress did not invite all the sisters to her table in due order.²⁵

The priory was dissolved in 1536, before Michaelmas. Its income was at this time small, but the ten nuns who lived there on £63 a year were better off than their sisters at Nuncotham, Legbourne, or Fosse. The prioress received a pension of £10 a year, the rest were paid off as usual with 20s. apiece.²⁶

The endowment included the demesne land with the churches of Aby, Cumberworth, and Beesby.²⁷ Greenfield church belonged to the priory in the time of Hugh of Wells.²⁸ In 1291 the prioress was not taxed for any temporalities. In 1428 she held fractions of a knight's fee in Aby and East Rasen.²⁹ In 1534 the nuns had an income of £63 4s. 1d. clear.³⁰ The Ministers' Accounts of 1536 give a total of £62 6s. 4d., including the manors of East Rasen and Moorby, Coningsby and Wilksby.³¹ The bells, lead, &c., of the monastery were worth £135 8s.³²

PRIORESSES OF GREENFIELD

Agnes,³³ occurs 1230

Mabel,³⁴ occurs 1237 and 1240

Maud,³⁵ occurs 1260

Joan Heyworth,³⁶ elected 1274

Christine,³⁷ resigned 1293

²¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 81 d.

²² Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, 56 d.

²³ See list of prioresses.

²⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 220.

²⁵ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), fol. 52.

²⁶ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

²⁷ The priory had a pension in the moiety of Beesby church (Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells).

²⁸ Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus*, 51.

²⁹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 257, 267.

³⁰ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 53.

³¹ Mins. Accts. (27-28 Hen. VIII), No. 91.

³² Ibid. No. 166.

³³ Pat. 14 Hen. III, m. 7 d.

³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 579. The names in Dugdale's list are mostly from Harleian charters, and probably quite correct. Two names, Sara and Alice, cannot be dated. Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, ii, 320.

³⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 579.

³⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

³⁷ Ibid. Memo. Sutton, 81 d.

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Elizabeth or Isabel of Harrington,¹ elected 1293, resigned 1301
 Cecily de Parys,² elected 1301, resigned 1305
 Agnes of Langholm,³ elected 1305, resigned 1313
 Ivetta of Ormsby,⁴ elected 1313, occurs till 1327
 Margaret of Wells,⁵ elected 1330, occurs to 1349
 Isabel,⁶ occurs 1371
 Joan,⁷ occurs 1398
 Margaret,⁸ occurs 1401 and 1418
 Joan,⁹ occurs 1436
 Elizabeth,¹⁰ occurs 1485
 Joan Skypwith,¹¹ occurs 1509, died 1518
 Elizabeth Billesby,¹² elected 1518, died 1521
 Isabel Smyth,¹³ elected 1521, died 1530
 Agnes or Anne Guderyk,¹⁴ last prioress, elected 1530

The pointed oval seal¹⁵ shows the Virgin, seated, with crown and nimbus, the Child, also with nimbus, on the right knee, her left hand lifted up.

SIGILLVM SANCTE [MAR]IE DE GRENEFELD

28. THE PRIORY OF GOKEWELL

The small priory of Gokewell now in Broughton was founded by William de Alta Ripa during the reign of Henry II;¹⁶ and received other benefactions from Roger of St. Martin, Adam Paynel, and William de Romara.¹⁷ The revenue of the house was probably never more than sufficient for ten or twelve nuns: in 1440 there were eight, and at the dissolution seven. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was a master or warden appointed to take charge of the temporalities, as in other small nunneries: and even in the fifteenth century a secular priest acted as their steward.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 19 d.

² Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 3.

³ Ibid. 13 d.

⁴ Ibid. and Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 579.

⁵ Ibid. Memo. Burghersh, 217; Harl. Chart. 44 E, 7, 8. The episcopal registers record a vacancy in 1349; Margaret probably died of the pestilence.

⁶ Harl. Chart. 44 E, 9.

⁷ Ibid. 10.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 579.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. and Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Atwater, 9.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Atwater, 9.

¹³ Ibid. Inst. Longlands, 2 d.

¹⁴ Ibid. 28, where she is called Agnes; but in the pension list the name is Anne.

¹⁵ Harl. Chart. 44 D, 59.

¹⁶ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 476, refers to a confirmation charter of Hen. II, and the name of William de Romara points to a date early in the reign.

¹⁷ Ibid.

In 1302 Bishop Dalderby excommunicated certain persons who laid violent hands on the goods of this monastery.¹⁸ No regular visitation is recorded before that of Bishop Alnwick in 1440. He found the house very poor, but in good order. The prioress told him that the nuns had but two 'households,' in which they took turns to entertain their friends. The revenues of the house only amounted to £10 a year, and were not sufficient to supply the sisters with anything but their food; their clothing was probably paid for by their relations. No dowry was exacted at the reception of a nun; the prioress only accepted what their friends willingly offered. No girls over ten or boys over eight were admitted to the convent school. The house was much in debt to the rector of Flixborough, who was its steward.

The other sisters answered *omnia bene*: one, however, remarked that the prioress was *multum simplex* and remiss in correction, and that the younger nuns paid little heed to her.¹⁹

In 1519 Bishop Atwater visited, but made no corrections: there were then eight nuns in the priory.²⁰ It was dissolved before Michaelmas, 1536, the prioress receiving an annual pension of £4, and the nuns 20s. each for apparel: a lay sister only received 13s. 4d.²¹ The prioress was still living in 1553.²²

The endowment of the priory consisted only of some small parcels of land in the neighbourhood.²³ The revenue in 1440 was said to be only £10.²⁴ In 1534 it was only £16 12s. 10d.²⁵ The Ministers' Accounts amount to £20 1s. 4d.²⁶

PRIORESSES OF GOKEWELL

Avice,²⁷ occurs 1234

Isabel of Thornton,²⁸ died 1300

Maud of Saperton,²⁹ elected 1300

Maud of Newode,³⁰ resigned 1343

Elizabeth Dantry,³¹ elected 1348

Alice of Layfield,³² resigned 1375

Alice of Egermorton,³³ elected 1375

¹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 54 d.

¹⁹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 86.

²⁰ Ibid. 45 b.

²¹ Mins. Accts. (27-28 Hen. VIII), No. 166.

²² Add. MS. 8102 (Pension List).

²³ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 476.

²⁴ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 86.

²⁵ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 140.

²⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 721.

²⁷ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, ii, 257.

²⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 183. She resigned in 1297, but was restored till her death in 1300.

²⁹ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 83.

³⁰ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 106.

³¹ Ibid. She was provided by the bishop.

³² Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 130.

³³ Ibid.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Joan Thorp,¹ occurs 1440

Sibyl Thorney,² occurs 1519

Anne Castleford,³ last prioress, occurs 1536

29. THE PRIORY OF FOSSE

The priory of Fosse, now in Torksey, appears to have been founded by the men of Torksey before the reign of John.⁴ It was always a small and poor house. The nuns were never assessed for any tenths or subsidies until 1341: and when an attempt was made to tax their wool in that year, they received a special exemption from the king, on the ground that their endowment was so slender that they could not maintain themselves without the alms of the faithful.⁵

In 1297 a commission was issued by Bishop Sutton for the visitation of the priory, 'certain things having come to the bishop's ears' concerning the nuns.⁶ He probably found nothing amiss but poverty, for an indulgence was granted three years after.⁷ In 1440 Bishop Alnwick found a prioress and five nuns here. They all answered *omnia bene*: there was no complaint of anything but the difficulty of getting the house repaired. One of the nuns mentioned the fact that they had always had a struggle with poverty; she and her sisters had nothing from the house but board and lodging: as at Gokewell, they were probably dependent on their friends for some allowance for clothing. It is noteworthy, however, that none complained of any personal discomfort, or of the quality of the food, which must have been poor indeed.⁸

When Dr. London took the surrender of the priory on 11 July, 1539, he found eight nuns still living there on an income of £8 a year. He might well call it 'a beggarly poor house.'⁹

It may be said that it was left so long standing simply because the Royal Commissioners had so little to gain by suppressing it: but on the other hand, if the ladies had found their religious life and their poverty so very irksome, they might have surrendered earlier of their own accord. This house is classed by Dr. London with Irford, Nuncotham, and Heynings as one of those where the nuns had been living in imperfect chastity:¹⁰ but the statement is too vague and

general to be worth much. The prioress received a pension of 133s. 4d., and the others 16s. 8d. each.¹¹ Five were still drawing these little pensions in 1553,¹² and remained unmarried.¹³

The original endowment of the priory consisted of about 120 acres in Torksey,¹⁴ with a few small rents and the church of South Kelsey.¹⁵ In 1303 and 1346 the nuns held one-sixteenth of a knight's fee in Bassingham.¹⁶ The revenue of the house in 1534 was £7 3s. 6d. clear, including the church of Cherry Willingham.¹⁷ The Ministers' Accounts amount to £15 15s. 7d.¹⁸

PRIORESSES OF FOSSE

Beatrice,¹⁹ occurs 1226

Agnes of Scothorn,²⁰ died 1312

Joan of Kettlethorpe,²¹ elected 1312, died 1349

Beatrice of Ludington,²² elected 1349, died 1380

Agnes of Grantham,²³ elected 1380

Alice Radnor,²⁴ resigned 1410

Margaret Barnby,²⁵ elected 1410

Margery Redynges,²⁶ occurs 1440

Elizabeth Kirkby,²⁷ died 1498

Joan Watson,²⁸ elected 1498

Agnes Marr,²⁹ last prioress

The fifteenth-century seal³⁰ is pointed oval, representing the Virgin, seated in a [canopied] niche with tabernacle work at the sides, with crown, the Child standing on the right knee. In base under a round-headed arch St. Nicholas, three-quarter length, with mitre and pastoral staff, praying.

. DOMUS — BEATE — MARIE — ET
— S̄CI — NICHOLAI — DE — F

¹¹ Aug. Off. Misc. Book, 245, fol. 23.

¹² Add. MS. 8102.

¹³ Exch. Mins. Accts. bdle. 76, No. 26.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 292; and vi, 425.

¹⁵ Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 23. But apparently the nuns never presented to a church in Kelsey.

¹⁶ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 168, 212.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 132.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 292.

¹⁹ *Close Rolls* (Rec. Com.).

²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 95.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 109.

²³ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 146.

²⁴ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 119 d.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 18. The order of the house is given here as Cistercian.

²⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Smith, 163. The house is again called Cistercian.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII* (1), 1250.

³⁰ B.M. Seals, lxvi, 97.

¹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 86. The prior is clearly called 'Cistercian' at this visitation.

² Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), fol. 45 d.

³ Mins. Accts. (27-28 Hen. VIII), No. 166.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 292.

⁵ Close, 15 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 13.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 170.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, 21.

⁸ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 18.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1321.

¹⁰ Ibid.

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HOUSE OF CARTHUSIAN MONKS

30. THE PRIORY OF AXHOLME

The Carthusian monastery of Axholme was founded in 1395 or 1396 by Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, earl marshal of England, and afterwards duke of Norfolk.¹ Although there were never more than nine houses of this order in England, seven of them were founded between 1343 and 1414, at a time when the popularity of other religious houses was waning, and benefactors chose in preference schools, hospitals, and colleges of secular canons. The motive was no sudden enthusiasm for a new order: the Grande Chartreuse had its origin in 1084, and the English houses of Witham and Hinton had been founded in 1181 and 1227.²

Before 1389 Mowbray entertained the project of founding a charterhouse, and petitioned Urban VI for help.³ The priory of Monkskirby in Warwickshire had been founded about 1078 by one of his ancestors as a cell to the Benedictine monastery of St. Nicholas at Angers.⁴ Like other alien priories its history in the fourteenth century was very unsatisfactory. Early in the reign of Richard II the property, which was valued at over £200 a year, is said to have been leased by the monastery for a considerable sum of money to Sir Cannon Robsart, a Warwickshire knight.⁵ The earl represented to Urban VI that religious observance had not flourished for some time at Monkskirby, the expenditure was no longer on pious uses, the French prior and monks had led dissolute lives, and the buildings were in part decayed.⁶ Accordingly a papal mandate was issued to the bishop of Lichfield to transfer the priory and property of Monkskirby to a prior and convent of twelve Carthusian monks to be established in that place.⁷ Apparently no steps were taken in the matter.

In 1396, possibly after consulting the Carthusian priors in England, Mowbray had chosen the isle of Axholme as a suitable spot for a charterhouse, and he then petitioned Boniface IX for leave to appropriate the priory of Monkskirby as part of its endowment.⁸ Robert Waldby, archbishop of York, was commissioned to investigate the matter, and comply with Mowbray's request.⁹

On the site of the monastery at Low Melwood, in Epworth, stood a chapel dedicated to the Virgin which had long been called the Priory in the Wood.¹⁰ There the earl planned to erect a new church in honour of the visitation of the Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Edward king and confessor, cloisters, monastic buildings and cells for a prior and thirty monks.¹¹ With Richard II's licence he endowed the house in frankalmoigne with 100 acres in the manor of Epworth, a rent of 20 marks, and such rights of common of pasture, of turbary, and of fishery as other free tenants held within the isle, the advowsons of Epworth and Belton, and the priory of Monkskirby.¹² John Moreby was chosen as prior of the new foundation.¹³

In June, 1398, in aid of the building of the church and charterhouse, Boniface IX granted the very liberal indulgence known as that of St. Mary of the Angels at Assisi.¹⁴ Penitents who visited the house on the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin, and gave alms to the fabric, received remission of all sins from their baptism to that day. Only three months later, as the result of his quarrel with Bolingbroke, the Duke of Norfolk was banished for life from the kingdom, and he died at Venice in September, 1399.¹⁵

Soon after the accession of Henry IV the prior and convent of Axholme suffered a severe blow. On 29 December, 1399, the priory of Monkskirby was restored to the monastery of St. Nicholas at Angers,¹⁶ and in 1401 Boniface IX annulled his former mandate by the desire of Henry IV.¹⁷ The house was in this way deprived of the greater part of its endowment, until Monkskirby was confiscated with the rest of the alien priories by Henry V, and restored to Axholme in 1415.¹⁸

Under these circumstances it is probable that the convent consisted only of a prior and twelve monks, the fixed complement according to the earlier statutes of the order, and a certain number of lay brothers.

In 1449 the charterhouse was very flourishing, the numbers had increased, but there were not

¹ Pat. 19 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 36. Exch. K.R. Eccles. Doc. (P.R.O.) $\frac{9}{15}$, fol. 2, 7. This is only a part of the chartulary, and ends abruptly before the conclusion of the foundation charter, so the exact date is missing.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1-24.

³ Exch. K.R. Eccles. Doc. (P.R.O.) $\frac{9}{15}$, fol. 2.

⁴ Ibid. Cf. Dugdale, *Warw.* (ed. 1730), i, 75.

⁵ Ibid. 76.

⁶ Exch. K.R. Eccles. Doc. (P.R.O.) $\frac{9}{15}$, fol. 2.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Exch. K.R. Eccles. Doc. (P.R.O.) $\frac{9}{15}$, fol. 8; Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 26, No. ii.

¹¹ Exch. K.R. Eccles. Doc. (P.R.O.) $\frac{9}{15}$, fol. 7.

¹² Ibid. fol. 3 v. 4, 5, 7, 8. The endowment of Monkskirby included the manors of Newbold on Avon, Copperton, and Walton, the appropriated churches of Monkskirby and Newbold, and the advowsons of Withy Brook, Warpenbury, and Sharnford.

¹³ Ibid. fol. 5 v. 6, 7.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 27.

¹⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 13.

¹⁷ *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 438.

¹⁸ Pat. 3 Hen. V, pt. ii, m. 39.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

enough cells for the monks, and buildings begun 'with wondrous skill and great cost' were still unfinished.¹ The prior and convent desired to add to their endowment, and in 1450 succeeded in appropriating to their own use the church of Sileby in Leicestershire, which after the ordination of a vicarage was worth at least 14 marks a year.² In 1461 they obtained from Edward IV a confirmation of former charters, and as his special gift two pipes of Gascon wine to be taken each year at the port of Hull, and licence to acquire property in mortmain to the annual value of £50.³

Of the internal history of the house there is nothing to record. The life in a Carthusian monastery was one of prayer and contemplation.⁴ Each monk had a small house of two stories with a little garden ranged around a cloister. The ground floor was occupied by a workroom in which he kept his tools; in the two rooms above it he prayed, read, ate, and slept. His food was passed into the lower room through an opening so constructed that he could not see the lay brother who brought it.

Three times in the day he went to the church for the services of mattins, mass, and vespers, but the other hours he said in his cell. On Saturdays he might take a walk within the grounds of the monastery. On Sundays and feast-days most of the services were held in the church, and the monks dined together in the frater. The chapter-house was used for service on certain feast-days, and there the monks assembled for a necessary discussion about the temporal affairs of the monastery. The officers were the prior, vicar, proctor, and sacrist. The prior had supreme power, but was subject to the prior of the Grande Chartreuse, and to the visitors of the province, when they came to his house. The vicar was spiritual head of the monastery in the prior's absence. The proctor was responsible for the general administration of the house, and bore rule over the lay brothers and servants. In the statutes of the order the number of lay brothers was limited to sixteen. The offices held by them were those of kitchener and cellarer, baker, cobbler, proctor of agriculture, and master of the shepherds. A number of hired servants were employed.

The nine houses in England formed a separate province of the Carthusian order, and two visitors

chosen from among its priors were appointed at intervals by the general chapter, which met yearly at the Grande Chartreuse. The visitors performed their office in each house once in two years. Every other year one at least of them was bound to attend the general chapter, and the expense was borne by all the houses of the province. In 1415⁵ it was conceded that the visitor should only attend in leap year, in other years letters from the province were to be sent to the nearest priors across the sea.

The numbers at Axholme declined before the dissolution, when there were not a dozen monks in the house. There is no reason to think that discipline was not strictly maintained, and under such a prior as Augustine Webster the spiritual and moral condition cannot have been other than satisfactory. The revenues amply sufficed for the needs of the house. When the difficult questions of the succession arising out of the divorce of Catherine of Aragon and the marriage with Anne Boleyn were under discussion, a determined effort was made to force the monks of the London Charterhouse to assent to the king's will. Under the rule of Prior Houghton, the house was a model of religious observance. Although the monks were so strictly enclosed they had considerable influence, as many persons resorted to them for spiritual advice. The story of their troubles has often been told.⁶ About the middle of April, 1535, when they were expecting to have the oath of supremacy tendered to them, Augustine Webster, prior of Axholme, and Robert Lawrence, prior of Beauvale, arrived at the Charterhouse. They determined to go to Cromwell with Prior Houghton in the hope of perhaps obtaining some modification of the royal demands. Cromwell refused to listen to them, and gave orders that they should be arrested on the spot and taken to the Tower. On 20 April the priors of Axholme and Beauvale were examined by Cromwell at his house in the Rolls.⁷ When questioned as to the royal supremacy both declared that they could not assent nor so believe. Accordingly they were taken back to the Tower. On 28 April they were tried together with Prior Houghton and Dr. Reynolds, a Brigettine monk of Sion, on the charge of treason.⁸ Whether the jury were influenced by Cromwell's threats or not, they brought in a verdict of guilty on the 29th, and the prisoners were condemned to death. On the next day Cranmer wrote to Cromwell on behalf of the prior of Axholme and Dr. Reynolds. 'I marvel at both' he said, 'as they are learned men, and Webster promised he would never support that opinion. If no other

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Lumley, fol. 49.

² Ibid.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1 Edw. IV, pt. vi, m. 39 and 38.

⁴ It is only possible here to indicate a few of the features of life in a Carthusian monastery. The statutes of Guigo, fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, were printed in 1510, *Statuta Ordinis Cartusiensis a Domno Guigone Priore Cartusiae edita*; cf. also *Disciplina Ordinis Cartusiensis auctore R. P. D. Innocentio le Masson*, (nova editio), 1894. For a summary cf. Laurence Hendrik, *The London Charterhouse* (ed. 1889), 26-35, 55-8, and E. Margaret Thompson, *The Somerset Carthusians* (ed. 1895), 31-44.

⁵ E. M. Thompson, *The Somerset Carthusians*, 109.

⁶ Laurence Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, 115-240. F. A. Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries* (ed. 1899), 45-74.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, No. 565.

⁸ Ibid. No. 609.

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offence, it will much more tend to the conversion of others to convert their consciences by sincere doctrine, and so for them to publish it than to suffer penalty of law. If they were sent to me, I suppose I could do much on their behalf.¹ If Cromwell allowed Cranmer to exert his influence it was of no avail. On 14 May, 1535, the three Carthusian priors and Dr. Reynolds were executed at Tyburn.

The monks at Axholme did not emulate the example of their prior, and none of them were included among the Carthusians who suffered death for their opinions. It is probable that the vicar² of the house, Michael Mekeness, became prior by Cromwell's appointment. His rule was very unquiet.³ A certain Henry Stokwith, who, in view of the coming surrender, desired the lease of the demesne lands, stirred up strife between the prior and the monks. The prior appears to have looked only to his own interests and to have purposed to surrender his house. He kept the convent seal and quarrelled with the monks who refused their consent to a lease of certain property to one of his kinsmen. Cromwell heard, perhaps from the monks,⁴ that the prior was wasting the goods of the house, and it was rumoured that he intended to depose him.⁵ In February, 1538, a letter signed by eight of the monks was sent to Cromwell stating their belief that he had elected brother Thomas Barningham as prior, and asking that he might be put into possession as soon as possible.⁶ On 21 March they wrote again.⁷ The prior, expecting to be deprived, had by Stokwith's advice laid hands on all the money he could, collected the rents, sold all the valuable horses, and gone away, leaving them only £3. 'Dan Thomas Barningham is a sad and very religious man,' they said, 'would God we had him.' Nothing was done. Cranmer interposed and urged the willingness of the prior to surrender the house.⁸ A letter to the prior of Shene Charterhouse, written in utter despair, and signed by two monks and a lay brother, discloses the pitiful condition of the house.⁹ 'Our husbandry is not looked upon, our land is not tilled, muck is not led, our corn lyeth in the barn, some is threshed and some is husbanded, and much is yet to thresh, and taketh hurt with vermin; and as soon as our father came home, he shewed our

servants that he had given up the house and bade them shift for themselves, and so at Easter they went many of them away. And shortly hay-time shall come, and when it should be sped, other things shall be to do.' They heard, too, that the prior was going to send Stokwith to London with the convent seal, and dreaded the worst.

Their fears were shortly justified. When the commissioners arrived to take the surrender, there was no resistance. It was signed on 18 June, 1538, by the prior and eight monks.¹⁰ The prior was awarded a pension of £20, and seven of the monks received small yearly sums.¹¹ The lay brothers got nothing.

The clear yearly value of the property in 1535 amounted to £237 15s. 2½d., of which £157 12s. 8½d. was drawn from the temporalities and spiritualities of Monkskirby.¹² The remainder included lands and rents in the Isle of Axholme, in Owston, Kinnard's Ferry, Gunthorpe, and Kelfield in Lincolnshire, and small rents in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, and the rectory of Sileby. The demesne lands were worth £3 18s. 4d. a year. In the hands of the crown bailiff four years later, the property brought in £323 2s. 0½d.¹³

PRIORS OF AXHOLME

John Moreby, elected 1396¹⁴
Henry, occurs 1449¹⁵
Richard, occurs 1469¹⁶ and 1472¹⁷
Augustine Webster, 1535¹⁸
Michael Mekeness, 1535 to 1538¹⁹

A seal of this priory is attached to a charter of 1450.²⁰ It is in shape a pointed oval, and represents the Salutation of the Virgin, in a niche with carved canopy, and tabernacle work at the sides, on which are two shields of arms of the founder: a lion rampant, Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, afterwards duke of Norfolk. In base, under an arch, a shield of arms: England with a label of three points.²¹ The legend is:—

S : CÔE : DOMUS : UISITACÔIS : BÊ : MARIE :
VĠS : ORĎ CART'

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, No. 616.

² Wright, *Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Soc.), 174.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 176.

⁵ *Ibid.* 173.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (i), No. 489. This and the following letter were probably written in 1538, not 1537. Cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (i), No. 1025.

⁷ *Ibid.* No. 693.

⁸ Wright, *Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Soc.), 173.

⁹ *Ibid.* 174-6.

¹⁰ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, p. viii.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (i), 597.

¹² *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 135, 136.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 28.

¹⁴ Exch. K.R. Eccles. Doc. (P. R. O.) 15, fol. 5 v. 7.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Lumley, fol. 12.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 9 Edw. IV, pt. 1, m. 12.

¹⁷ Cole MS. xxviii, fol. 204b (B.M.).

¹⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, No. 565.

¹⁹ Wright, *Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Soc.), 174.

²⁰ Add. Chart. 20612 (B.M.).

²¹ W. de Gray Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, i, 430. The seal attached to the surrender (Deeds of Surrender, Aug. Off. No. 9) is exactly similar.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSES OF AUSTIN CANONS

31. THE ABBEY OF GRIMSBY OR WELLOW

The abbey of Wellow was founded, like the priory of Dunstable, by King Henry I,¹ and dedicated to St. Augustine and St. Olaf.² There is no evidence at present to determine the exact date of foundation. Ranulf earl of Chester and Geoffrey Trussebut were benefactors of the house before the reign of Henry II, who confirmed the gifts of his grandfather, and took the abbey under his own patronage.³

In 1202 the abbot secured the advowson of the church of Riby in a suit against Emma of Riby.⁴ In 1228 a licence was granted to the canons to preach and beg alms for the repair of their house throughout the king's dominions.⁵ During the Scottish wars of Edward II the abbot was required to supply the king with wheat, malt, and sheep to the value of £18, and had £12 10s. 8d. besides exacted from him, but these sums were repaid by Edward III.⁶ The house was seriously in debt in 1325, and a secular was appointed to take charge of its affairs for awhile;⁷ and again, in 1359, arrangements had to be made by the bishop to reduce the expenses of the canons' maintenance.⁸ Later on, in 1372, the abbot, John Utterby, was accused of having sold, alienated, and dissipated the goods of the house and brought it almost to ruin.⁹

In 1534 Robert Whitgift, the abbot, with ten canons, signed the acknowledgement of royal supremacy.¹⁰ The abbey at this time had a clear revenue of only £95; it consequently fell within the range of the first Act of Suppression. It was dissolved before Michaelmas, 1536. The abbot received a pension of £16 a year, and nine canons had £8 10s. divided between them 'in regard,' as well as their arrears of 'wages,' amounting to £6 13s. 4d.¹¹ The bells and leads of the

monastery were sold for £202 16s.,¹² which makes it probable that the buildings were fairly extensive, and had been intended at first for a large number of canons.

There are several notices relating to the internal history of this abbey in the Lincoln registers. In 1359 the bishop made arrangements for one secular clerk to manage its revenues and another to collect the rents and hand them over to the prior, as it was evident that the canons at that time were not good men of business.¹³ In the same year it was noticed that some scandal had arisen because the north gate of the church had been frequently left open; this defect was to be remedied in future.¹⁴ In 1368 the canons were accused of frequenting the taverns of Grimsby, and passing a good deal of time there in drinking and gossip.¹⁵ In 1372 the abbot was suspended for his bad government, and required, with another brother, to do penance for crimes (not specified) which had been proved against them.¹⁶

Bishop Flemyng visited the house in 1422, but found nothing specially worthy of comment. He ordered his injunctions as to the keeping of the rule to be read twice every quarter in English, to avert, as far as possible, the danger of laxity.¹⁷ Bishop Alnwick visited in 1438 and in 1440; his injunctions are again formal, and such as might have been delivered to any monastery at the time: to safeguard the observance of the rule an apostate canon was to be caught and brought back.¹⁸ In 1444 the same bishop gave orders that the parish church of Clee should be served by a secular priest instead of a canon, as religious men suffered so much loss to soul and body by wandering from the cloister and conversing with the world.¹⁹

In 1519 the monastery was visited by Bishop Atwater. The abbot complained that his obedientiaries were not diligent in performing their duties. No other complaint seems to have

¹ See Confirmation Charter of Henry II in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 470, and Pat. I Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 24.

² The double dedication appears frequently on the Patent Rolls.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 470. It remained under the royal patronage to the dissolution.

⁴ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 25.

⁵ Pat. 12 Hen. III, m. 4.

⁶ Close, I Edw. III, pt. i, m. 3.

⁷ Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 34.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gynwell, 117.

⁹ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 109 d.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1121 (38).

¹¹ Mins. Accts. (27-28 Henry VIII), No. 166.

¹² Mins. Accts. (27-28 Henry VIII), No. 166.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gynwell, 117.

¹⁴ Ibid. 138.

¹⁵ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 66 d.

¹⁶ Ibid. 109 d.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. 233 d. The notice that the injunctions should be read in *English* here and elsewhere at this period points to the decay of learning which was among the causes of decline in the religious life during the fifteenth century.

¹⁸ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 69, 75 d. The visitation report is not very legible, but the entries are all short and evidently not very important.

¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Flemyng, 44 d.

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been made. The bishop enjoined that accounts should be duly shown, and exhorted the brethren generally as to charity and diligence in study.¹ The house was evidently in better condition at this time than some others of the order, for the abbot in 1518 had been made one of the definitors at the general chapter held at Leicester² under the presidency of Cardinal Wolsey, when such great efforts were made to secure reform and renewal of fervour among the Augustinians generally.

After the Lincoln rebellion the prior of the suppressed abbey of Wellow was accused by one of the king's officers of charging him to join the Commons, but the matter does not seem to have been taken up.³

The original endowment of the abbey of Wellow by Henry I consisted of the site in Grimsby, with the church of St. James and divers ponds, mills, &c., for which they had to pay a rent of 40s. a year to the exchequer,⁴ and tithes of the manors of Lusby, Grimsby, and of fish in the port of Honfleet.⁵ Ranulf earl of Chester gave the churches of Tetney, Clee, Humberston, and Huttoft, with lands in Tetney and Humberston; Geoffrey Trussebut gave the church of Riby;⁶ Gilbert de Turribus the church of Cabourn.⁷ The burgesses and knights of Grimsby gave other lands in that vill.⁸ The churches of Thorganby, Holton, and Cadeby also belonged to the abbey at an early date.⁹ In 1291 the temporalities of the abbot were assessed at £67 2s. 5d.¹⁰ In 1303 he held one-twelfth of a knight's fee in Irby, three-quarters in Thorganby, one-eighth in Swallow, one-twelfth in Clee,¹¹ and very much the same both in 1346¹² and 1428.¹³ In 1401-2 he held the churches of St. James, Grimsby and Clee, and a quarter of a fee in Clee.¹⁴ Mention is made during the fourteenth century of the manors of Tetney, Weelsby, Cabourn, Thorganby, Swallow, Grimsby, and Stallingborough as belonging to the abbey.¹⁵ In

1534 the clear revenue of the house was only £95 6s. 1d.¹⁶ The Ministers' Accounts amounted to £178 9s. 10d., including the rectories of Grimsby, Clee, Riby, Cabourn, and the manor and rectory of Tetney.¹⁷

ABBOTS OF WELLOW

William,¹⁸ occurs about 1153

Richard,¹⁹ occurs 1202

Richard,²⁰ elected 1217, occurs to 1226

Reginald,²¹ elected 1234

Philip de Gammes,²² elected 1252

William Cabourn,²³ elected 1252, occurs 1261

John,²⁴ elected 1271, died 1271

Simon of Wainfleet,²⁵ elected 1271, died 1293

William of Croxby,²⁶ elected 1293, died 1317

Thomas of Wellingham,²⁷ elected 1317, died

1341

John of Holton,²⁸ elected 1341

Richard of Utterby,²⁹ died 1369

John of Utterby,³⁰ elected 1369, deposed 1374

John Thorp,³¹ elected 1374, died 1410

William Cotes,³² elected 1410, died 1417

John Grimsby,³³ elected 1417, resigned 1421

Henry Sutton,³⁴ elected 1421, died 1456

John Anglesby,³⁵ elected 1456

Richard Clee,³⁶ elected 1467, died 1477

Richard Hamilton,³⁷ elected 1477

¹⁸ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 67.

¹⁷ Mins. Accts. (27-28 Hen. VIII), No. 91. The churches of Tetney, Huttoft, and Cadeby are mentioned as late as the confirmation of Edw. IV (Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 24).

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 579 (Foundation Charter of Greenfield Priory), where he is contemporary with Ralf, abbot of Louth Park.

¹⁹ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 25.

²⁰ Pat. 1 Hen. III, m. 4; Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 182.

²¹ Pat. 18 Hen. III, m. 5.

²² Ibid. 26 Hen. III, m. 10.

²³ Ibid. m. 7.

²⁴ Ibid. 55 Hen. III, m. 4. It is noticed that he died immediately after his election.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 12; Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 7.

²⁷ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 5; *ibid.* 15 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 24.

²⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 92.

²⁹ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 35.

³⁰ Ibid. and Pat. 43 Edw. III, pt. ii. William of Utterby was first elected, but the bishop set him aside as illegitimate, and provided John of Utterby, whom the king at first refused, as the provision was made without his assent, but afterwards accepted.

³¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, 61; Add. MS. 6165, fol. 67.

³² Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 47.

³³ Pat. 5 Hen. V.

³⁴ Ibid. 9 Hen. V, pt. ii, m. 19.

³⁵ Ibid. 35 Hen. VI.

³⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Chedworth, 79 d.

³⁷ Pat. 17 Edw. IV, pt. ii.

¹ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), 53. There is a direction, not easy to understand, that nothing must be allowed to grow for a space of three feet beyond the walls of the monastery. One person was to do all the washing for the brethren.

² Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, fol. 63 d.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 975.

⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 291.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 470; and Lans. MS. 207 C, 128 d. The church of Humberston belonged later to the abbey there and Huttoft to Markby (Gibbons, *Liber Antiq.* 43).

⁶ Lans. MS. 207 C, 128 d.

⁷ *Liber Antiq.* (ed. A. Gibbons), 96.

⁸ Cart. Antiq. K. 34.

⁹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 57, 58; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 470.

¹⁰ *Pope Nich. Tax.*, 68b.

¹¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 137, 141, 153, 161.

¹² Ibid. 214, 217, 220, 230-2.

¹³ Ibid. 256, 278, 282, 292, 296. ¹⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iii.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gynwell, 117; Add. MS. 6165, fol. 63.

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Thomas Cawode,¹ elected 1501
Richard Kyngson,² elected 1504, died 1525
Robert Whitgift,³ last abbot, elected 1525

A twelfth-century pointed oval seal⁴ shows St. Augustine, standing, lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left hand a pastoral staff.

[s]IGILLV ECCLESIE • SANCTI AVGVSTINI •
D • GRIMESB

The fourteenth-century pointed oval seal made by John de Utterby⁵ shows, in a double niche, with carved canopies, crocheted and pinnacled, with a small vacant niche between the two large ones; on the left St. Augustine full-length with mitre lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left hand a crozier; on the right King Henry I, the founder (or perhaps St. Olaf), with crown, lifting up the right hand with first finger extended, in the left hand a battle-axe. On the tabernacle work at the sides, two shields of arms—the left, quarterly 1 and 4 England, 2 and 3 France (ancient); on the right England.

In base, between two trees, a shield of arms; on a chevron between a royal crown and a lion of England in chief, and in base a pastoral staff, issuing from the base three fleurs-de-lis, Grimsby Abbey.

. ' : CŌE : AĒBT̄ : ET : ōVENT̄ : MOASTĪI :
SĪ : AVGVSTINI : DE : GRIMESBY

The thirteenth-century pointed oval seal of an abbot⁶ shows the abbot standing on a platform, a book in the hands. In the field on the right an estoile; the corresponding device on the left side is destroyed. The legend is destroyed.

32. THE PRIORY OF HYRST

The little cell of Hyrst in Axholme was built on lands granted by Nigel d'Albini to the prior and convent of St. Oswald's, Nostell, probably early in the twelfth century. Roger de Mowbray confirmed the gifts of his father. It seems probable that there never was but one canon living there, to take charge of the lands; the charter of Nigel speaks of 'Ralf the Canon' being resident there, and the charter of Roger names 'Osbert Silvanus the Canon.' The property consisted only of the grove and marsh of Hyrst, with certain tithes of corn, malt, and fish from the neighbourhood. In 1534 it still belonged to St. Oswald's Priory, and was worth £7 11s. 8d. a year; in the Ministers' Accounts the value is said to be £9 8s.⁷

¹ Lans. MS. 963, fol. 29.

² Ibid. fol. 22.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 2367.

⁴ B.M. Seals, lxvi, 100.

⁵ Ibid. xliii, 42.

⁶ Harl. Chart. 45, A 24.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 100.

There is a seal of the twelfth or early thirteenth century.⁸ The obverse is pointed oval representing the Virgin seated on a throne, with nimbus, in the right hand the Child, in the left hand a sceptre fleur-de-lizé.

[s]IGILLV HERS

The reverse is a small oval signet or counter seal representing Athena Nikephoros, to the right from an oval Greek gem.

s

33. THE ABBEY OF THORNTON

The abbey of Thornton was founded in 1139 by William le Gros, earl of Albemarle and lord of Holderness. The foundation charter states that by the counsel of his kinsman Waltheof, prior of Kirkham, of Simon earl of Northampton and Henry earl of Huntingdon, the founder placed here twelve canons from Kirkham who were at first ruled by a prior; and the house was raised to the dignity of an abbey by bull of Pope Eugenius III in 1148.⁹

Before 1284 the Albemarle estates escheated to the crown; but the canons of Thornton had already acquired the privilege of administering the estates of the monastery during voidance, without fees to the patron, except such as were due to two servants who kept the great gate and the door of the guest house in his name. This privilege was confirmed by the king,¹⁰ who also, in consideration of a fine of £10, promised not to grant the advowson of the abbey out of his own hands and those of his successors.¹¹ It remained therefore a royal foundation until the dissolution.

The abbey was well endowed with lands and churches by the founder and other benefactors; and in 1291 its temporalities were taxed at £235.¹² The original number of canons was considerably increased, and even at the dissolution there were still twenty-three.

In 1221 the abbot secured the advowson of Welton-in-the-Marsh in a suit with Walter de Hamby, a descendant of the original donor.¹³ From 1269 to 1292 a good deal of expense was incurred by the purchase of certain manors and advowsons.¹⁴ In 1275 the abbot was accused of appropriating sixteen acres on the moor of Caistor for his sheepfolds¹⁵; in 1319 he received a

⁸ Harl. Chart. 43, I, 18.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 324; from a chronicle of which a transcript exists in the Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 166.

¹⁰ Pat. 12 Edw. I, m. 11; and Close, 16 Edw. II, m. 22.

¹¹ Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 9; *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 73.

¹² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 68b.

¹³ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 162.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 324, Charter i.

¹⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 266.

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pardon for his trespass.¹ During the reign of Edward II the canons of Thornton had to contribute provisions for the Scottish war at considerable expense, and were also disseised of some property by Hugh le Despenser, of whose want of reverence for church property this is not the only instance. The land was restored by Edward III, and payment promised for the provisions.² In 1332 losses from inundation, cattle plague, and the burden of hospitality led to the impropriation of the church of Wootton.³ Several pensioners were sent successively by Edward I and Edward II to spend their last days at the abbey.⁴ In 1312 the abbot was summoned for the first time to Parliament, but he and his successors made great efforts to escape this duty; in 1341 an exemption was formally granted,⁵ but in 1348 it was revoked, and attendance was thenceforward required.⁶ A petition made by the abbot in 1341, that he might not have to pay a ninth on his temporalities as well as the annual and triennial tenths, was granted for all property acquired before 1292.⁷

Some of the abbots of the fourteenth century were great builders, and spent on the decoration and improvement of the monastery rather more than their revenues justified. William Grasby, abbot from 1323 to 1347, incurred great expenses in this way; he also purchased the manor of Barrow for £200 and the advowson of Welton for £60, and at his death the house was evidently somewhat embarrassed;⁸ and the bursar at this time was extravagant and suspected even of dishonesty.⁹ The next abbot, Robert of Darlington, spent a good deal on the decoration of the church and monastic buildings generally.¹⁰

Little is known of the history of the abbey in the fifteenth century, except that it shared in the general decline of learning and discipline.¹¹ Its prosperity, however, was not much diminished. In 1518 the abbot was able to secure from Pope Leo X a bull granting him the privilege of celebrating mass in a mitre with gold plates and full pontificals.¹² The abbey was described in 1521 as one of the goodliest houses of the order

in England.¹³ Some slight losses were suffered by inundation in 1534;¹⁴ but the revenue was returned in the same year as nearly £600 clear.

Abbot John Moor signed the acknowledgment of supremacy, with twenty-three canons.¹⁵ He was accused after the Lincoln rebellion of having provided the insurgents with money;¹⁶ but he was not brought to trial. His successor, William Hobson, surrendered the abbey in 1539, receiving a pension of £40. The canons received annuities of £5 to £7 each.¹⁷ The revenues of the house were employed for a short time in maintaining a college for secular priests.¹⁸

From the thirteenth century onwards this house was one of the largest and most important in the county. There is no precise record of the number of canons in its most prosperous days, but the order of Bishop Alnwick that one canon out of twenty should be maintained at the university looks as if there were more in his time than at the dissolution. The Chronicle transcribed by Tanner gave lists of obedientiaries which imply a very considerable household.¹⁹ A school of fourteen boys, who had to serve at mass, was kept in the almonry, with a master to instruct them, and a large number of corrodymen claimed maintenance from the Court of Augmentation at the surrender of the monastery.²⁰

The house had its vicissitudes, as might be expected, in point of order and discipline. The abbot of Thornton was one of those deposed by Bishop Grosteste in 1235 for causes not specified.²¹ There were cases of apostasy and other individual delinquencies from time to time. In 1298 a canon named Peter de Alazun, having a greater zeal for learning than for holy obedience, forsook his monastery and joined the scholars at Oxford in secular habit. He was excommunicated by the chancellor throughout the schools, but apparently did not repent and return till 1309.²² Another canon, Peter Franke, was involved in 1346 in a discreditable *fracas* between the servants of the monastery and those of a knight of the neighbourhood. The knight's servants had seized a boatload of victuals on its way to

¹ Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 14. Perhaps it was for assault made by his porter and others on the goods of Richard of Pontefract at Winterton; *ibid.* 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 3 *d.*

² *Ibid.* 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 2; Close, 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 24.

³ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 354.

⁴ See Close, 24 Edw. I–13 Edw. II. There were probably many more.

⁵ Close, 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.* 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 7 *d.*

⁷ *Ibid.* 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.

⁸ Tanner MS. 166.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 22 *d.*

¹⁰ Tanner MS. 166.

¹¹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 70 *d.*

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Smith, 76.

¹³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii (1), 510.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* vii, 589 (1). The abbot had a suit about 1532 against the inhabitants of Barrow, for driving his cattle off their pastures, and threatening to destroy them. Star Chamb. Proc. (1332–8), bdle. 18, No. 308.

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1121 (46).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* xi, 853 (2).

¹⁷ Add. MS. 8102.

¹⁸ See Thornton College.

¹⁹ There are lists of cellarers, sub-cellarers, bursars, chamberlains, almoners, masters of the works, sacrists, kitcheners, infirmarers, as well as minor officials, in regular succession for a long time. Tanner MS. 166.

²⁰ Add. MS. 8102.

²¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 143.

²² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 210, 214; *ibid.* Memo. Dalderby, 134 *d.*

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the abbey, and Peter, being the knight's kinsman, thought he could induce them by fair words to give up the booty; but though he urged the ringleader 'in the sweetest possible way' to restore the boat, he was answered in such rude fashion that he lost his temper, snatched up the nearest weapon, and wounded the man mortally. The Earl of Lancaster interceded for the canon, who would naturally for this act have been disabled from exercising any ecclesiastical function; and the pope allowed him to retain the exercise of minor orders, and to hold a benefice.¹

Cases of this kind show us nothing of the general condition of the house.² The abbot at this time was William Grasby, who was at any rate zealous for the exterior adornment of the monastery,³ and his appointment jointly with the prior of Kirkham in 1340 by Pope Benedict XII to convoke a general chapter of the order⁴ seems to imply that he enjoyed a good reputation among his brethren. The next abbot, Robert of Darlington, had been made cellarer previously by Bishop Gynwell expressly on account of his 'honest and laudable conversation,'⁵ and an order given during his time that 'no woman, however honest,' should be allowed to live in the monastery,⁶ does not necessarily imply that any serious wrongdoing had been discovered. His successor, Thomas Gresham, was however a man of very evil life,⁷ and those who followed for a while, though less unworthy of their office than he, do not seem to have been capable of restoring the credit of the house. Bishop Flemyng's injunctions in 1424 show that the number of boys educated in the almonry had diminished, and that the poor and infirm were not succoured as in days gone by.⁸ When Walter Moulton succeeded in 1439 he was evidently quite unable to cope with the laxities and disorders of the house. At Bishop Alnwick's visitation of 1440 he complained that the

obedientiaries did not render their accounts. The canons said that the abbot was thoroughly incompetent, that manors, granges, &c., were let without consent of chapter, that the sick were not provided for, that there were only two boys in the almonry, and no scholar at the university. The brethren did not eat regularly in the refectory, and the sacrist had lent the sacred vestments to seculars for games and spectacles. The bishop's injunctions ordered reform on all these points: after personal examination of the abbot, he appointed him a coadjutor elected by the convent.⁹

After this the house seems to have recovered a higher standard. Bishop Atwater in 1519 had no remarks to make at all.¹⁰ Nothing is alleged to the discredit of the abbot and convent at the end, except sympathy with the popular movement in 1536; and even if this is true, it does not prove that there was anything wrong in the lives of the canons.

The original endowment of the abbey of Thornton by the founder consisted of the vills of Thornton, Grasby, Audleby, Burnham, 'Hewell' (Linc.), and Frodingham (Yorks.), with the churches of Audleby, Ulceby, Frodingham, Barrow-on-Humber, 'Heccam' and 'Randa.' Other benefactors added the vill of Humbleton and half that of Warham, with divers other parcels of land, and the churches of Thornton, (Linc.), Humbleton, Garton, Welton, and half that of Wyner (Yorks.), and 'Ulstikeby.'¹¹ The patronage of the churches of Carlton, Kelstern, Worlaby, and Wootton was acquired later, with the manors of Halton, Barrow, and Mersland.¹²

The temporalities of the abbey were taxed in 1291 at £235 os. 9d.¹³ In 1303 the abbot held a knight's fee in Wootton and Goxhill, another in Barrow, one and a half in Killingholm, a half in Owmbly and in Wootton and Little Limber, one quarter in Worlaby, and smaller fractions in Barton, Croxton, Killingholm, Searby,

¹ *Cal. of Pap. Pet.* i, 112.

² The same may be said of the permission granted to a canon, William of Louth, in 1401, to abide within the cloister for life, and to be exempt from holding any office, that he might give himself entirely to devotion. *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 493.

³ Tanner MS. 166.

⁴ Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, 40-7.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 22 d.

⁶ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 20. He had been a definitor at the general chapter of 1362. Cott. MS. Vesp. D. I, fol. 55.

⁷ The chronicler was evidently more honest and reliable than Tanner's friend who tore out the record of his life, 'to prevent y^e scandal of y^e church.' 'The truth is,' says Tanner, 'the account given of him was that he was a very wicked man, a Sodomite and what not.' Tanner MS. 166. It may be that his iniquities were for some time kept secret, for in 1383 he was made a definitor at the general chapter, Cott. MS. Vesp. D. I, fol. 63 d. He was abbot 1375-94.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Flemyng, 235.

⁹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 70 d. One of the canons stated that when the coming visitation was announced some of them met in chapter to try to set things straight a little; but when a tumult arose the abbot could do nothing but wring his hands and cry 'Woe is me! What shall I do? I am undone!' and would have fled from the house as one demented. The bishop's decision that he was really incompetent tends to confirm this statement, and his feeble government and incapacity seems to have been greatly resented by the canons, for when he died in 1443 no obit was appointed for him—he was to be remembered only amongst the ordinary brethren departed, and even the place of his burial was unmarked by any inscription. Tanner MS. 166.

¹⁰ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), 54 d.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 326-7.

¹² Tanner MS. 166; confirmed by entries on the Pat. Rolls and Linc. Epis. Reg.

¹³ *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), 68b.

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Welton, and Great Sturton.¹ In 1346 his lands were almost the same, except that he had two fees in Barrow²; in 1428 he had a small fraction of a fee in Hamby as well.³ In 1431 he held the manors of Barrow and Ulceby, acquired since 20 Edw. I. In 1534 the clear revenue of the abbey amounted to £591 os. 2½d., and in the Ministers' Account of the year 1542-3 includes the churches of Thornton, Barrow, Ulceby, Worlaby, Wootton, Carlton, Kelstern, and Grasby in Lincolnshire, Elstronwick, Danthorpe, Garton, and Hinton in Yorkshire, and the manors of Thornton, Wootton, Barrow, Carlton-le-Moorland, Halton, Killingholme, Gothill, Ulceby, Owersby, and Stainton-le-Hole in Lincolnshire, and Garton, Ottringham, Frodingham, Humbleton, Faxfleet, and Wyncetts in Skeffling (Yorks.).⁴ There was a small cell of this abbey at Thwayte, in Welton in the Marsh, of which a single canon had charge, during the fifteenth century.⁵

ABBOTS OF THORNTON⁶

Richard, first prior in 1139, abbot in 1148, died 1152
 Philip, elected 1152
 Thomas, elected 1175
 John Benton, elected 1184
 Jordan de Villa, elected 1203
 Richard de Villa, elected 1223
 Geoffrey of Holme, elected 1233
 Robert, elected 1245, died 1257
 William Lincoln, elected 1257
 William Huttoft, elected 1273, resigned 1290
 Thomas of Glanford Bridge, elected 1290, died 1323
 William Grasby,⁷ elected 1323, resigned 1348
 Robert Darlington, elected 1348, died 1364
 Thomas Gresham,⁸ elected 1364
 William Moulton, elected 1394, died 1418
 Geoffrey Burton, elected 1418, died 1422
 John Hoton, elected 1422, died 1439
 Walter Moulton, elected 1439, died 1443
 William Medley, elected 1443, died 1473

¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 131-74.

² *Ibid.* 215-57.

³ *Ibid.* 257-308.

⁴ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), 73; and Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 328.

⁵ It is mentioned only in the visitation of Bishop Alnwick.

⁶ This list is taken from Tanner MS. 166. The general trustworthiness of this manuscript can be proved in so many places by comparison with the Lincoln Registers and the Patent Rolls, &c., that its evidence may be accepted where they fail.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 22 d, says he resigned in July, 1348. The Chronicle places his death on 10 February, 1347. He probably died within the year of his resignation. The date would be taken from the lists of obits, and the difference in the year is very likely a slip, for Robert Darlington's election is dated 1348, as in the bishop's register.

⁸ The date of his election, missing in the Chronicle, is supplied from Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, 21.

John Beverley, elected 1473, died 1492

John Louth, elected 1492, died 1517

Thomas Butterwick, elected 1517, died 1526

John More, elected 1526, occurs till 1534

William Hobson,⁹ last abbot

The thirteenth-century seal¹⁰ has a pointed oval obverse representing the Virgin, with crown, seated on a throne, in the right hand a lily sceptre, topped with a bird, in the left hand a book. The Child on her lap. [Her feet on a footboard.]

. . . s̄CE . . . TO . . .

The reverse is a smaller oval counter seal impression of an antique oval intaglio gem representing a helmeted figure seated on a bench; to the left on the ground a shield.

SE[c]RETVM.

The thirteenth-century seal of Abbot William Lincoln¹¹ has a pointed oval obverse showing the Virgin half length with a crown under a trefoiled arch with churchlike canopy, the Child on the left knee. In base under a pointed and trefoiled arch with pinnaced gables, the abbot half length with pastoral staff to the right.

s̄ WILL'I : AB̄BIS : DE : THORNTON

The reverse is a smaller pointed oval counter seal showing the Virgin seated with the Child; in base, under a trefoiled arch, the abbot kneeling in prayer to the right.

AVE : MATER : CVM : FILIO.

34. THE PRIORY OF THORNHOLM

The priory of Thornholm appears to have been originally founded by King Stephen; but the manor of Appleby, on which it stood, passed afterwards into the hands of John Malherbe, so that it soon ceased to reckon as a royal foundation. And in 1271-2 the prior acknowledged John Malherbe as founder, and asserted that the patronage of the house belonged to Hugh de Nevill of Cadney as descended from John's eldest daughter Mabel.¹² The patronage during the reign of Edward III was in the hands of William and Michael de la Pole.¹³ The endowment of the house was never very large, but it may have supported twelve canons in early days: at the dissolution there were nine beside the prior.

⁹ The Chronicle breaks off in 1532. John More's name is on the acknowledgement of supremacy, and William Hobson's is only found in the pension list. Add. MS. 8102.

¹⁰ Harl. Chart. 45, A 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 44, B 56.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 356 (from the Assize Roll) and Assize R. 483, m. 50 d.

¹³ Inq. p. m. 40 Edw. III, No. 31; Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 24.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

In 1229 the prior secured the advowson of Bottesford church,¹ which had been for some time in dispute² against Simon de Vere. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the priory had fallen into debt, and was placed under the custody of one of the king's clerks.³ In 1280 the prior had to complain of violence done to his property and his brethren by Geoffrey de Neville, who claimed free warren beyond the limits of his own demesne.⁴ From 1292 onwards there were similar difficulties with members of the family of Redmere.⁵

In 1347 the taxation of the priory was reduced, after an appeal to the pope, on the ground that it had been placed too high in 1291.⁶ It seems probable that this house suffered severely during the great pestilence. There was a vacancy before August, 1349, and the prior then elected died before Michaelmas.⁷ In 1384 the priory was again under the king's custody, because of difficulties at the election of John de Castro, who was, however, finally confirmed in his office.⁸ The prior and nine canons signed the acknowledgement of supremacy in 1534;⁹ and the house was surrendered before Michaelmas, 1536. A pension of £20 was assigned to the prior; the canons received 20s. apiece and their only novice 10s.¹⁰

Except for the absolution of one or two apostates,¹¹ and the institution of priors, there is no notice of Thornholm in the episcopal registers before the visitation of Bishop Repingdon, between 1413 and 1420. The bishop exhorted the brethren, who had evidently been at strife amongst themselves, to peace and unity. He ordered a boy to be provided to serve the sick in the infirmary: accounts were to be more regularly rendered and repairs seen to. One brother, William Soleby, was to be cloistered for a year, and to fast on bread and water every other Friday during that time; his offence is not specified.¹²

¹ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 225.

² It had been originally granted by Guy de Vere, grandfather of Simon; and in the minority of Simon was claimed by the crown. The suit was postponed until Simon should be of age; and then at the final concord it was decided in favour of the prior, though Simon was to present during his lifetime (*Ibid.* and Bracton's *Note Book*, case 1364).

³ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.* 8 Edw. I, m. 15 d.

⁵ See Pat. Rolls.

⁶ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 13; *Cal. of Pap. Pet.* i, 50.

⁷ See list of priors.

⁸ Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 24.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1121 (55).

¹⁰ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 186; *ibid.* Memo. Gynwell, 179.

¹² *Ibid.* Memo. Repingdon, 29. The date is limited by the resignation of John de Castro in 1413.

At the visitation of 1440, Robert Neville, the prior, answered *omnia bene*; but the brethren had a good many complaints to make, to which the bishop gave careful attention. The prior was accused of harshness in correction,¹³ of alienating the goods of the monastery on his own responsibility, of being too free in granting corrodies, especially to his own relations; necessary repairs were left undone, the common seal was kept under one key only, which the prior himself held. The clothing and food provided for the canons was insufficient, and they were roughly treated if they ventured to complain. They were not even allowed to solace themselves by making gardens.

The bishop thought so seriously of the matter that he postponed the examination of the prior until he could obtain fuller information. It was found that the house was considerably in debt, and the first of the bishop's injunctions provided for its better administration. A discreet secular was to collect rents and superintend repairs; another was to be cook. The prior was generally exhorted to be patient with his brethren and careful in administration of his revenues. The common seal was to be kept, as was customary in all monasteries, under three keys. The brethren were all exhorted to be faithful to their rule. No one was to be punished in public unless he showed himself incorrigible. The bishop kept watch upon the priory for the next two years after the visitation, and examined the prior more than once, to see that the injunctions were observed.¹⁴ Nothing is recorded to the discredit of the priory in its last days.

The original endowment of this house cannot be exactly given, as there are no foundation charters extant. In the thirteenth century the canons held the churches of Appleby, Risby, Messingham, Blyton, Laughton, Cadney, Orby,¹⁵ and for some time Bottesford; Scawby was appropriated in the fourteenth century.¹⁶ The temporalities of the priory were taxed in 1291 at £75 14s. 10½d.,¹⁷ but this was acknowledged a little later to be too high. In 1303 the prior held one knight's fee in Kirmington and one-half in South Ferriby. One fee in Waddingham and Stainton was held

¹³ It was alleged as a proof of his cruelty that a sick canon was put to public penance in hall before canons and seculars for not making his confession to the prior, although he had received a licence to choose his own confessor. For the sake of the prior's credit, however, it should be added that the punishment was not so very terrible, though no doubt it was hard for the natural man to bear. He was served in the open hall with *fish*—in Easter week, when all his brethren around were rejoicing at the conclusion of a long course of red herrings and salted cod.

¹⁴ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 86 d.

¹⁵ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 13; and *Cal. of Pap. Pet.* i, 50.

¹⁶ Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 32.

¹⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 69.

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by him jointly with two seculars.¹ In 1346 he held half a fee in Appleby, one quarter in Raventhorpe, as well as the land in Kirmington, Waddingham, and Stainton.² In 1428 he held the same lands as in 1346.³

In 1534 the clear revenue of the priory was £105 13s.⁴ The Ministers' Accounts amount to £149 12s. 6½d., including the rectories of Appleby, Orby, Cadney, Laughton, South Ferriby, Messingham, Risby with Scawby, and the granges of Messingham and South Ferriby.⁵

PRIORS OF THORNHOLM

Walter,⁶ occurs 1202–8
 Andrew,⁷ occurs 1226
 Geoffrey,⁸ occurs 1229
 John of Sixhills,⁹ elected 1262
 Laurence,¹⁰ occurs 1274
 Thomas de Hedon,¹¹ occurs 1292, died 1307
 Walter of Revesby,¹² elected 1307, occurs to 1320
 Richard of Gainsborough,¹³ occurs 1346, died 1349
 William of Seagrave,¹⁴ elected and died 1349
 Roger of Belton,¹⁵ elected 1349
 John Wascelyn,¹⁶ occurs 1365, died 1383
 John de Castro,¹⁷ elected 1383, resigned 1413
 William Ashendon,¹⁸ or Wrangel, elected 1413
 Robert Neville,¹⁹ occurs 1440–2
 John Wroth,²⁰ occurs 1493

¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 134, 173, 175.

² *Ibid.* 226, 227, 236.

³ *Ibid.* 277, 286, 307–9.

⁴ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 139.

⁵ Mins. Accts. 27–28 Hen. VIII, No. 91.

⁶ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 22, 72.

⁷ *Ibid.* 194.

⁸ *Ibid.* 225.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹⁰ Mins. Accts. 27–28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

¹¹ Pat. 20 Edw. I, m. 28 d.; Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 90.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 90; Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 11 d.

¹³ Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 32.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 106.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Harl. Chart. 45, A 7; Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Buckingham, 149.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, 149, 152. He was accused by three brethren of crimes not named, but the bishop examined the matter, and found it to be untrue. He resigned the next year, but was re-elected.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Inst. Repingdon, 136. He is called here William Ashendon of St. Frideswide, and was provided by the bishop at the request of the brethren. In the injunctions of Bishop Repingdon delivered soon after the prior is called William Wrangel; he may, perhaps, be another person.

¹⁹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 86 d.

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 356.

Thomas Tanfield,²¹ occurs 1503 and 1510

Thomas Nower,²² occurs 1529

George Clayton,²³ or Rotherham, elected 1529

A thirteenth-century seal,²⁴ with a counter-seal of Prior Thomas, represents on a pointed oval obverse the Virgin, with crown, seated on a carved throne; in the right hand a sceptre fleury, on the left knee the Child, with nimbus; over his head an estoile wavy, her feet on a foot-board.

The legend on a bevelled edge—

✠ SIGILL' SANCTE MAR HOLM.

The reverse is a smaller oval counterseal, being the impression of an antique oval gem. Victory to the right reclining against a column, holding a spear and helmet, on the ground before her a shield.

✠ FRANGE : LEGE : TEGE.

The seal of Prior John²⁵ is a pointed oval representing the Virgin, with crown, in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides, on the left arm the Child with cruciform nimbus, on the right an ecclesiastic kneeling in adoration. In base in a carved panel a shield of arms:—a fretty, a canton.

S ORNHOLM

The early thirteenth-century seal of Prior Walter²⁶ is the pointed oval impression of a gem, the prior, half length, lifting up the hands in prayer; in base two wavy lines of water.

✠ ZIGILLVM - WALTERI - PRIORIS - D'THORNHOL'

35. THE PRIORY OF NOCTON PARK

The priory of Nocton Park was founded by Robert Darcy in honour of St. Mary Magdalene, probably during the reign of Stephen,²⁷ and the patronage of the house remained for a long time in the family of the founder. Like many mediaeval patrons of monasteries, the Darcys were tenacious of their rights, and careful to keep the monks in mind of the exact limits of the original benefaction. In 1200 Thomas Darcy com-

²¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 356; and *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 1097.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 356. He probably resigned in that year.

²³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2699. He was certainly the last prior—Mins. Accts. 27–28 Hen. VIII, No. 166—and had £20 pension. 'Thomas More,' who was receiving a pension of 76s. as prior in 1553, is probably the same as the 'Thomas Nower' who preceded George Clayton, and, as it seems, outlived him (Add. MS. 8102).

²⁴ Harl. Chart. 45, A 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 44, A 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 45, A 4.

²⁷ Robert is said to have been the son of Norman Darcy, the Domesday tenant of Nocton (Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 369). He occurs as benefactor of Kirkstead and other monasteries during the reign of Stephen.

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plained that the bishop had admitted a prior without his consent.¹ In 1297 Philip Darcy protested against a similar case.² In 1202 the prior had a dispute with Thomas Darcy as to the exact measure of the common pasture which had been granted to the canons. Thomas procured a royal writ, and had it measured afresh, but the prior declared that this was unfair, as he had been disseised of 1,500 acres since the first endowment of his house; he appealed to the king to have the foundation charter confirmed.³ Thomas is nevertheless said to have been a benefactor of the priory; perhaps it was after this dispute was settled.⁴ In 1243 Norman Darcy again brought up the question of the common pasture, and for a time deprived the prior of it, but he finally gave it back, with pasture for sheep in addition and the right of way between Nocton and Brothermilne.⁵ In 1315 another prior had to complain of trespasses committed by the Darcys, and received protection for a year from the king.⁶

The last prior, Thomas Hornell,⁷ had to give up his house before Michaelmas, 1536; he received a pension of ten marks, and his four canons, after payment of their arrears of allowance, 20s. apiece.⁸

Little is known of the interior history of the house, as only one visitation report is preserved. In 1440 there were four canons beside the prior, as well as a canon of Thornton, whose presence in the priory was not at all to its advantage. Not much was said as to the order of the house, which seems to have been fairly good, though the prior's servants were insolent in their behaviour to the canons, and the bailiff in particular was said to be *non utilis monasterio*. It was complained, however, that the canon of Thornton had no business in the house, and brought scandal upon it, being suspected of unlawful connexion with a woman of Bardney. The bishop examined both him and the prior with care. It seems that he had been allowed by his abbot to come to Nocton (though no licence had been granted by the bishop for his transference), and had made obedience to the prior there. Afterwards, being guilty of some fault, he was summoned before the general chapter of the order, and condemned to banishment to a cell of St. Osyth's Abbey. Thence he had returned to Nocton Park without asking anyone's leave, and

the prior had not been able to get rid of him since. The bishop ordered him to be dismissed.⁹

In 1518 the prior of Nocton Park was made one of the visitors for the order in the archdeaconries of Stowe, Lincoln, and Leicester,¹⁰ at least an indirect testimony in favour of his house. Two poor boys were being educated in the monastery at the time of dissolution. They received 3s. apiece when the canons were sent out.¹¹

The original endowment of the priory consisted of the demesne lands, with the churches of Cawkwell, Nocton, and Dunston, with mills and lands of smaller value.¹² The manors of Osbournby and Water Willoughby were granted in 1479 by Thomas Wymbish and John Ayleston.¹³ The temporalities of the priory were taxed in 1291 at £46 17s. 2d.¹⁴ In 1303 the prior held one third and one tenth of a knight's fee in Nocton, one third in Metheringham, and smaller fractions in Ingleby, Potterhanworth, and Dunston;¹⁵ the same in 1346.¹⁶ In 1534 the clear revenue of the house was £43 3s. 8d.¹⁷ The Ministers' Accounts give a total of £60 6s. 0½d., including the rectories of Nocton and Dunston.¹⁸

PRIORS OF NOCTON PARK

Ivo de Scarla,¹⁹ elected 1231

Thomas of London,²⁰ elected 1241, occurs 1243

Philip de Gunesse,²¹ resigned 1258

Thomas of Navenby,²² elected 1258, resigned 1267

Peter of Thurlby,²³ elected 1267, deposed 1276

Richard of Sarewell,²⁴ elected 1276

Hugh of Grimsby,²⁵ resigned 1293

John of Geveleston,²⁶ elected 1293, resigned 1297

⁹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 78-79.

¹⁰ Cott. MS. Vesp. D. I. fol. 66d.

¹¹ Mins. Accts. 27 and 28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 341. The churches of Nocton and Dunston were claimed by the abbot of St. Mary's, York (to which the Darcys were also benefactors), in the reign of John, but secured by the prior. (*Abbrev. Placit.* [Rec. Com.], 94).

¹³ Pat. 14 Edw. IV, m. 16.

¹⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 69.

¹⁵ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 136, 141, 142, 144, 156.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 199, 200, 207.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 123.

¹⁸ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 91.

¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells. 'R.' occurs in a charter of the twelfth century (Harl. Ch. 44, H 33).

²⁰ *Ibid.* Rolls of Grosteste; Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 344.

²¹ *Ibid.* Rolls of Gravesend.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.* Inst. Sutton, 9. He went to the Friars Minor.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹ *Abbrev. Placit.* (Rec. Com.), 26.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton 22.

³ *Abbrev. Placit.* (Rec. Com.), 40.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 341.

⁵ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 344.

⁶ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 29 d.; *ibid.* 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 30.

⁷ He signed the acknowledgement of supremacy in 1534 with three others (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1024 [32]).

⁸ Mins. Accts. (27-28 Hen. VIII), No. 166.

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Thomas of Louth,¹ elected 1297, resigned 1301
 John of Hough,² elected 1301, resigned 1303
 William Grimsby,³ elected 1303, resigned 1319
 Thomas of Louth,⁴ elected 1319, resigned 1323
 Walter of Navenby,⁵ elected 1323, resigned 1349
 Hugh of Dunston,⁶ elected and died 1349
 William of Mere,⁷ elected 1349
 Robert Frisby,⁸ resigned 1400
 Benedict of Lincoln,⁹ elected 1400
 John Stamford,¹⁰ elected 1415
 John Shelford,¹¹ occurs 1440
 Robert Hanworth,¹² occurs 1522
 Richard,¹³ occurs 1529
 Thomas Hornell,¹⁴ last prior, elected 1532

There is a fifteenth-century pointed oval seal¹⁵ representing the prior kneeling to the right before St. Mary Magdalene, crowned, in a garden.

SIGILLUM — CAPITVLI — . . . DE — NOCTONE
 — PARKE

36. THE PRIORY OF TORKSEY

The priory of St. Leonard at Torksey was founded some time during the reign of Henry II and possibly by the king himself.¹⁶ John de Balliol was patron of the house in the thirteenth century,¹⁷ but in 1344 the advowson was granted by the king to John Darcy and his successors in tail male.¹⁸

The prior was accused in 1275 of having set up a court for himself at Torksey, to the prejudice of the king's court there; and appropriated to his house the assize of bread and ale, and enclosed more than 2 feet of the king's highway.¹⁹ The priory was probably a small one, and

had but few canons from the first.²⁰ They pleaded poverty in 1319, and were allowed to appropriate the church of St. Peter in consequence.²¹ In 1323 the prior was accused of burning houses in Wold Newton and committing divers robberies and trespasses there;²² and in 1342 his house was said to be 'greatly wasted by misrule';²³ it was after an inquiry made at this time that the advowson was granted to John Darcy.

The prior signed the acknowledgement of supremacy in 1534 with five canons. At the dissolution²⁴ before Michaelmas, 1536, he received a pension of £5, and the canons the usual 20s.²⁵

Except the notice of 'misrule' in 1342 nothing is known of the internal condition of the house²⁶ until 1440. In this year Bishop Alnwick held a visitation. No faults in morals were discovered, but it was complained that the prior 'began much building but finished nothing'; and the canons were not regular in attending choir. One brother, John Gowsell, though learned in the mason's craft, objected to having to superintend or assist in the repairs of the church and priory.

The bishop in his injunctions simply ordered that the brethren were not to eat or drink in Torksey unless they were serving its parish churches, and then only with respectable people.²⁷ In 1444, however, he deposed the prior for alienation of goods and mismanagement, which was bringing the house almost to ruin.²⁸

In 1519 Bishop Atwater found everything in a satisfactory condition. The canons rose regularly to mattins, though at a somewhat late hour—six a.m.; they were not, however, able to sing any office except the 'Lady Mass' and vespers; all the other hours were said *submissa voce*, except on double feasts.²⁹ It was a very poor little house at this time, and had neither cloister nor dormitory: an order had been given in the general chapter of the previous year that these should be provided,³⁰ but it is uncertain whether this was ever carried out.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 22.

² Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 5.

³ Ibid. 7 d.

⁴ Ibid. 359.

⁵ Ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 10.

⁶ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 81. His institution and Walter's resignation are on the same page as the institution of William of Mere. The cause is probably the great pestilence.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. Inst. Beaufort, 23.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 78 d.

¹¹ Visitations of Alnwick, 78. He may be the same as John Stamford; the name is not very clear.

¹² Linc. N. and Q. v, 36.

¹³ L. and P. Hen. VIII, iv (3), 2698,

¹⁴ Ibid. vii, 1024 (32). Linc. Epis. Reg. on resignation of Richard Stoke *alias* Hanworth.

¹⁵ B. M. Seals, lxvii, 23.

¹⁶ A confirmation charter of John dated 1200 says that the house was 'of our alms, and under our custody and protection,' and alludes to letters of 'Henry our father' conferring privileges.

¹⁷ Close, 20 Edw. II, m. 5.

¹⁸ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 2.

¹⁹ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 358.

²⁰ In 1200 they received a privilege not to be impleaded except before the king or his justices; and were thankful to have Geoffrey FitzPeter pay the palfrey which was the price for this concession (*Rot. de Oblat.* (Rec. Com.), 16, A° 1200).

²¹ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 25. The church was not actually appropriated until 1386.

²² Ibid. 16 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 7 d.

²³ Ibid. 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 28 d.

²⁴ L. and P. Hen. VIII, vii, 1216 (4).

²⁵ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

²⁶ A canon was excommunicated for disobedience in 1295 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 145 d.); and the next year the prior was 'absolved from his rule' for causes unknown (Ibid. 149 d.).

²⁷ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 21.

²⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Alnwick, 59 d.

²⁹ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), 46.

³⁰ Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, 66 d. The bells, lead, &c. were only worth £65, which looks as if the buildings were not large.

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The endowment seems to have consisted of 498 acres of land in Torksey, with 500 tofts and the three churches of that vill, and also the church of North Restur of the gift of Stephen son of Herbert Chamberlain.¹ In 1291 the temporalities of the prior were taxed at £24 14s. 4d.² In 1534 the clear revenue of the house was only £13 1s. 4d.³ The total in the Ministers' Accounts is £26 10s. 6d., including the churches of St. Mary and St. Peter Torksey.⁴

PRIORS OF TORKSEY

John,⁵ occurs 1234
 Joel,⁶ resigned 1290
 William of Rasen,⁷ elected 1290, resigned 1295
 Geoffrey of Bekering,⁸ elected 1295, deposed 1296
 William of Rasen,⁹ elected 1296, resigned 1316
 Robert de Sandale,¹⁰ elected 1316, occurs 1323
 Henry of Thornborough,¹¹ resigned 1332
 Henry of Buckingham,¹² elected 1332
 Henry of Croyland,¹³ resigned 1347
 John Poignant,¹⁴ elected 1347, occurs 1348
 Robert of Willingham,¹⁵ occurs 1353
 Thomas Saxelby,¹⁶ elected 1366, resigned 1374
 John of St. Botho,¹⁷ elected 1374
 Roger Pacy,¹⁸ resigned 1416
 William Cottingham,¹⁹ elected 1416, resigned 1417
 Richard Ellay,²⁰ elected 1417, deposed 1444
 Alan Dean,²¹ resigned 1472
 William Sutton,²² elected 1472
 Thomas Cawode,²³ elected 1486
 John Covell,²⁴ last prior, occurs 1534

37. THE PRIORY OF ELSHAM

The priory of Elsham was at first intended to be a hospital for the poor, in charge of one or

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 425; Assize R. Linc. 503, m. 21 d.

² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 69, 312b.

³ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 131.

⁴ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 91.

⁵ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 261.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 37 d.

⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid. 39. ⁹ Ibid. 49.

¹⁰ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 97; Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 7 d.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Burghersh, 103.

¹² Ibid. ¹³ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 104.

¹⁴ Ibid. Close, 22 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 20 d.

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 425.

¹⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gynwell, 30 d.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 140.

¹⁸ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 129 d. ¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. 131; and Visitations of Alnwick.

²¹ Sloane MS. 4937, fol. 267. ²² Ibid.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 425.

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1216 (4).

two canons of the order of St. Augustine. It was founded by Beatrice d'Amundeville, and her sons Walter, William, and Elias increased its endowment before 1166.²⁵ Early in the next century Jocelyn d'Amundeville, son of Elias, confirmed the gifts of his predecessors to the priors and canons, and from this time forward there is no mention of the hospital.²⁶

Near the end of the twelfth century the knights hospitallers laid claim to the endowments of the canons of Elsham, and obtained letters from Pope Alexander III to secure it to themselves, by the help of Jocelyn d'Amundeville; but he afterwards repented of his share in the transaction, and wrote to a subsequent pope to explain the true rights of the case. He gave the canons at this time the confirmation charter above mentioned, and promised that they should never be subject to the jurisdiction of another house of religion.²⁷

Little more than this is known of the history of the house. The prior, Thomas Kerver, signed the acknowledgement of supremacy in 1534,²⁸ and his successor surrendered the house under the first Act of Suppression before Michaelmas, 1536. The prior received a pension of £10; the six canons their arrears of wages and 20s. apiece, except the one who was a novice, to whom only 10s. was given.²⁹

A visitation report dated 1440 shows that the standard of life in the monastery at that time was distinctly low. The prior complained (not much to his own credit) that the canons were unlearned, and that they ate and drank largely, to the great expense of the monastery: the rule was altogether ill-kept. Two chapels appropriate to the monastery were not sufficiently served. The canon who did the work of a cellarer complained of the daintiness of the brethren, and one in particular drank too much and then became insolent and difficult to handle.

The bishop remarked that as the brethren seemed to be neither docile nor well instructed, the prior had better find someone to instruct them in the rule. The brethren, for their part, must be diligent and obedient and content with their food and clothing. Anyone guilty of drunkenness must fast on the Wednesday and Friday following—first on bread and beer, then (in the case of a second offence) on bread and water; and this penance might

²⁵ A confirmation charter of Henry II limits the date to 1166, Harl. Chart. 45 A. 4. The history of the foundation is contained in Harl. Chart. 45, C, 32; 45 C, 33; Harl. MS. 2,044, fol. 126 d.; and Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 559.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 559. 'Pope Alexander' must be the third of that name. There is no other near the end of the twelfth century.

²⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1121 (51).

²⁹ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, 166.

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be continued for a month or more as the case might ask.¹

The house probably recovered somewhat with change of rulers. In a general chapter of the order, held at Leicester, the priors of Elsham and Kyme were appointed masters of the ceremonies for the great procession to the church of St. Martin, and the prior of Elsham was further constituted one of the visitors for the arch-deaconries of Leicester, Lincoln, and Stowe.² In 1535 Bishop Longlands wrote to Cromwell to suggest a new prior for Elsham in terms which do not imply that he had any fault to find.³

The original endowment by the Amundevilles included the vill and church of Elsham, and the churches of Kingerby, Kirkby (cum Osgodby), Snartford, Winthorpe, with a mill and smaller parcels of land.⁴ The temporalities of the prior in 1291 were taxed at £39 14s. 10½d.⁵ In 1303 he held one-third of a knight's fee in Elsham;⁶ in 1346 a small fraction also in Scottlethorpe.⁷ In 1534 the clear revenue of the priory amounted to £70 os. 8d., including the rectories of Kirkby, Kingerby, Ulceby, Elsham, and certain payments from the churches of Winthorpe and Croxton.⁸ The bells and lead of the monastery were only worth £91 17s. 6d.; it was probably not a very large place.

PRIORS OF ELSHAM

William Clement,⁹ occurs 1208
Henry,¹⁰ occurs 1218
William Elerop,¹¹ elected 1229
William of Barton,¹² occurs 1295, died 1303
Robert Newsham,¹³ elected 1303
Stephen of Keelsby,¹⁴ died 1332
Richard of Thornton,¹⁵ elected 1332, died 1339
John of Torksey,¹⁶ elected 1339
Ralf of Crossholm,¹⁷ elected 1340, resigned 1343
William of Grimsby,¹⁸ elected 1343

¹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 73. This visitation is of interest as showing that when there was a definite charge of drunkenness a definite penance was assigned; and that such a charge is not necessarily implied when it is only said that the canons (or nuns) 'are given to drinking after compline.'

² Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, fol. 63 d. 66.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 328. The bishop simply suggests John Baxter as 'very fit to be head.'

⁴ Harl. Chart. 45, C 32, and elsewhere.

⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 69.

⁶ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 140.

⁷ *Ibid.* 193, 216.

⁸ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 72.

⁹ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 83.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i, 124.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

¹² Harl. Chart. 44, D 32.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Inst. Burghersh, 41.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 79.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Inst. Bek. 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 93 d.

Alexander Disney,¹⁹ elected 1347, resigned 1352

Simon of Duffield,²⁰ elected 1352

Richard Ouresby,²¹ died 1412

John Cowyck,²² elected 1412

William Clifton,²³ occurs 1440

Robert Parke,²⁴ occurs 1522

Thomas Kerver,²⁵ occurs 1529 until 1534

John Baxter,²⁶ last prior, elected 1535

The common seal with counterseal of Prior William de Barton²⁷ is of the thirteenth century. The obverse is pointed oval representing the Virgin crowned and with a nimbus, the Child on her knee, in the right hand a sceptre, fleur-de-lizé.

✠ RIE DE ELLESHAM

The reverse is a smaller pointed oval counterseal showing the Virgin sitting in a canopied niche, crowned, holding the Child. In base the prior, half-length to the left in prayer.

S . WILL'I . DE . BARTONA PRIOR' . D
N and A are conjoined.

The thirteenth-century pointed oval seal of Prior Robert²⁸ represents the Virgin seated with the Child, in a carved niche. In base, below a trefoiled arch, the prior half-length to the right praying.

S' ROB'TI P[R]IOR[I]S BE

38. THE PRIORY OF KYME

The priory of Kyme was founded by Philip of Kyme, steward to Gilbert earl of Lincoln, before the year 1169,²⁹ in honour of Blessed Mary. It was never of any great importance. Its revenues provided fairly well for about a dozen canons: at the dissolution there were still eleven.

In 1317 the prior complained of trespasses on his property committed by Adam of Normanton.³⁰ An indult granted by the pope in 1402, that the canons might rent, let, or farm all their fruits, manors, and benefices without licence of the ordinary, looks as if they were in poverty at that time.³¹ The last prior, Ralf Fairfax, signed the acknowledgement of supremacy,³² and two years

¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bek. 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 53.

²¹ *Ibid.* Inst. Repingdon, 61 d.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 73.

²⁴ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36.

²⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2698, and vii, 1121 (51).

²⁶ *Ibid.* viii, 328.

²⁷ Harl. Chart. 44, D 32.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 45, C 25.

²⁹ Roger, prior of Kyme, occurs 1169 in Madox, *Form. Angl.* 251. The priory must have been built early in the reign of Henry II, if not in that of Stephen.

³⁰ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 8 d.

³¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 505.

³² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1024 (29).

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later received a licence for the continuance of his house, although it was of less value than £200 a year; a fine of £200 was exacted for this privilege.¹ The surrender was finally taken by Dr. London on 6 July, 1539;² the prior received a pension of £30, and the canons annuities varying from £5 to £5 6s. 8d.³

There are a good many notices of this house in the episcopal registers. In 1236, Bishop Grosteste visited it and removed the prior, substituting, as he said afterwards, a suitable man for an unsuitable; but as he did not ask the consent of the patron, Philip of Kyme, the latter questioned the new prior's right. The bishop wrote a courteous letter to Philip, taking the responsibility entirely on himself, and saying that he had done the same thing before, even in the houses under royal patronage. The new prior was an honourable and religious man, and had accepted the office 'non sponte sed coactu.' If Philip wanted to be angry, he must be angry with the bishop, not with the unoffending canons.⁴

In 1377 Bishop Bokyngham held a visitation. The canons were in the habit of serving their appropriate churches in person, and not by means of secular vicars—a custom common at the time as well as later—and their community life had suffered a little in consequence. The bishop ordered that henceforth none of them should serve churches or take charge of granges distant from the monastery, that the divine office might be well sustained. They were forbidden to wear swords or any other weapons, or to have their habits unnecessarily ornamented. There are also the usual injunctions as to going out without leave, eating and drinking outside the monastery, or entertaining friends too liberally within it.⁵ Similar injunctions were issued by Bishop Flemyng in 1422.⁶ An order was given by Bishop Repingdon in 1417 to bring back a canon who had gone without leave to join the Carmelites at Nottingham.⁷ A full report of Bishop Alnwick's visitation in 1440 is preserved. The prior complained that his canons were too fond of idle sports. The cellarer complained that there were too many boys in the choir, which was a hindrance to the divine office: he said the infirmary was out of repair, and that the obedientiaries ate in the town of Kyme when they went there on business, and one canon hunted for his own profit. Others complained of the accumulation of offices in the hands of a few, and of the too free access of seculars to choir and refectory. The bishop dealt with all these points. The time

spent in games should be given rather to contemplation, reading and study; seculars should be banished from choir and refectory, and the infirmary repaired.⁸

The canons of Kyme at the time of the first Act of Suppression loved their monastery and their religious life well enough to pay a heavy fine for continuance. What Dr. London says in 1539 of young canons being grieved that they might not marry after the surrender, since they were still priests,⁹ can scarcely reflect much discredit on Kyme, though he mentions this house in the same letter; for seven of the religious there were described as 'aged men,' and only two as 'young men.'¹⁰ London himself remarks that the prior was an 'honest priest' and had redeemed his house from debt¹¹—no slight credit, when his total income was only £101 os. 4d., and he had just had to pay a heavy fine. There seems little doubt indeed that the priory had an honourable ending, and that the canons were living at the last quietly and faithfully under their rule.¹²

The original endowment of the priory of Kyme consisted only of the demesne land and smaller benefactions in the neighbourhood,¹³ with several churches. In 1291 the temporalities of the prior were taxed at £39 10s. 6½d.¹⁴ In 1303 he held half a knight's fee in Thorpe Tilney and with another one-quarter in Thorpe and Swarby;¹⁵ about the same in 1346,¹⁶ and in 1428 half a fee in Immingham.¹⁷ In 1431 he held the manor of Immingham.¹⁸ In 1534 the clear revenue of the priory was £101 os. 4d., including the churches of Kyme, Swarby, Ewerby, Osbournby, Metheringham, Thorpe near Wainfleet, Calceby, Croft, Northolme, and Wainfleet All Saints.¹⁹ The Ministers' Accounts amount to £130 11s. 9½d.²⁰

PRIORS OF KYME

Roger,²¹ occurs 1169

Lambert,²² occurs 1177

⁸ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 79. Besides these general complaints it was mentioned that one canon had been guilty of apostacy and had gone to the Minorites, but now desired to return. One was accused of incontinence, but denied the charge.

⁹ Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 213.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, xiv (1), 1280.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² The sum of 17s. 8d. was distributed still to the poor every year in memory of Gilbert d'Umfraville earl of Angus, a benefactor of the fourteenth century. The prior of Kyme was appointed auditor for collection of moneys towards St. Mary's College at Oxford, and a visitor for the order, not long before the suppression. Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, fol. 66 d.

¹³ Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 11; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 377.

¹⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 59.

¹⁵ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 145, 162.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 201, 209.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 303.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), 117.

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 377.

²¹ Madox, *Form. Angl.* 251.

²² Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xx, fol. 95.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 519 (2); xiii (2), 457.

² *Ibid.* xiv (1), 1222.

³ *Ibid.* 1280.

⁴ *Epis. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 116-7.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 155. It is impossible, without the actual visitation report, to say how far injunctions are merely formal or meet actual difficulties.

⁶ *Ibid.* Memo. Flemyng, 235.

⁷ *Ibid.* Memo. Repingdon, 178.

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Roger,¹ occurs 1202
 Henry,² resigned 1251
 John of Brampton,³ elected 1251
 Peter of Lincoln,⁴ resigned 1267
 John of Timberland,⁵ elected 1267, resigned 1274
 Thomas of Spalding,⁶ elected 1274, resigned 1290
 Arnold of Thornton,⁷ elected 1290, resigned 1293
 Walter of Herdeby,⁸ elected 1293
 Roger Bretonius,⁹ resigned 1326
 Robert of Lincoln,¹⁰ elected 1326
 Henry of Whaplode,¹¹ elected 1376
 Hugh of Wainfleet,¹² died 1400
 Thos. de Bykyre,¹³ elected 1401, died 1401
 Robert of Langton,¹⁴ died 1407
 John Evedon,¹⁵ elected 1407
 Robert Ludburgh,¹⁶ occurs 1440
 Thomas Day,¹⁷ died 1511
 Ralf Fairfax,¹⁸ last prior, elected 1511

A thirteenth-century seal¹⁹ represents the Annunciation of the Virgin. On each side of the Virgin a fleur-de-lis growing on a long stalk in a flower-pot.

✠ SIGILLVM PRIORIS ET CONVENTUS DE KIMA

Cabled borders.

A fourteenth-century pointed oval seal²⁰ represents the Virgin standing in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides, with crown, the Child on the left arm, in the right hand a sceptre. In base, under a round-headed arch, the prior, to the left.

. — W P'OR' DE KYME.

39. THE PRIORY OF MARKBY

There is little doubt that the priory of St. Peter at Markby was founded during the reign of Henry II, though there is no mention of it earlier than 1204,²¹ for the founder, Ralf FitzGilbert, was by that time long since dead, and his lands were in the possession of his

grandson Hugh.²² Another early benefactor of the house was Alan of Mumby, who granted to the canons the churches of Mumby, Linc., and of Wycliffe, Yorks. Both of these advowsons were claimed at the beginning of the thirteenth century by the descendants of Alan, but the case was given each time for the prior.²³ In 1266 the prior complained that he had been disseised of his right of common pasture in Strubby.²⁴ In 1300 a writ of oyer and terminer was issued at the request of the prior, who alleged that certain persons had come to the monastery, besieged him and his men there, prevented food from being brought to them, and beaten such of his servants as they could find outside the gates; they had even dared to resist the king's ministers, who came to preserve the peace.²⁵ Neither the cause of this affair nor its termination are recorded.

In the fifteenth century there were about ten canons here, in 1534 there were eight besides the prior.²⁶ The house was dissolved under the first Act of Suppression. The prior received the rectory of Huttoft in commutation of a pension of £20,²⁷ his five brethren 20s. each, besides arrears of 'wages.'²⁸

A quarrel between the prior and the cellarer in the earlier half of the fourteenth century led to an appeal to the pope. The cellarer had been accused by certain seculars of wasting his time in hunting, and of wandering from the monastery without leave, and was in consequence deprived of his office. He purged himself, however, of these charges before his diocesan, and then visited Rome, and was made a papal chaplain. On his return the prior refused him admittance, and told him he might provide for himself. On appeal the pope ordered that if all this was true the cellarer was to be reinstated, and given an allowance twice as large as he had before.²⁹ The great pestilence settled the dispute by the death of the prior in the same year.

The visitation of Bishop Alnwick in 1438³⁰ shows this priory to have been in a worse condi-

²² *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 46.

²³ Bracton's *Note-book*, cases 409 and 1418. It was proved that Alan had not presented to either church, but they were appurtenant to manors of which he had seisin. This was in 1220 and 1230. In 1334, however, the church of Mumby was granted to the bishops of Lincoln (*Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* ii, 81, and Pat. 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 23), and in 1263 that of Wycliffe quitclaimed to Robert of Wycliffe. Feet of F. (Div. Cos.), 47 Henry III, n. 15.

²⁴ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 155.

²⁵ Pat. 28 Edw. I, m. 2 d.

²⁶ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, vii, 1121 (24).

²⁷ Ibid. xii (1), 575.

²⁸ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Henry VIII, 166.

²⁹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii, 336.

³⁰ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 84, 90.

¹ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 37.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Grosteste. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. Inst. Sutton, 4.

⁸ Ibid. 12 d.

⁹ Ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 16.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 87.

¹² Pat. 2 Henry IV, pt. 2, m. 39.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Beaufort, 22; Pat. 3 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 4.

¹⁴ Pat. 9 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 31.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Repingdon, 35.

¹⁶ Visitations of Alnwick, fol. 79.

¹⁷ Harl. MS. 6953, fol. 14 (from Epis. Reg.).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ B.M. Seals, lxvii, 8.

²⁰ Ibid. lxvii, 9.

²¹ Madox *Hist. of Exch.* 605.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

tion than any other in the county. The bishop prefaced his injunctions by saying that he had heard of many excesses here, both in religion and in the observation of rule, and in administration; and when he came he had found his worst expectations fulfilled, 'not even the shadow of religion,' he said, but debts, drinking, and suspicion of even worse sins.

The prior allowed that his house was 100 marks in debt, and that silence was badly kept throughout the monastery, even in the church and cloister; that neither senior nor junior canons practised contemplation, and that one Thomas Dugby was suspected of sinful intercourse with a woman at Markby. The sub-prior also allowed that religion was not kept, and seconded the complaints of the prior; on the other hand, all the canons joined in complaining of the incompetence of the prior, and negligence of the sub-prior. It was generally allowed that the canons went out without leave, and ate and drank in the town; one indeed went to his mother's house every day, and was almost the same as an apostate. Two went constantly to taverns, and one of them showed much vindictiveness of temper; he had a boy often about with him, especially at night.¹ Other seculars were admitted to the dormitory, and much too freely to all parts of the house.

Thomas Dugby confessed the sin of incontinence charged against him, and was put to penance.² The prior thought it best to resign, and the bishop issued injunctions for the better administration of the revenues of the house, as well as the keeping of the rule.

The prior of Markby was appointed a visitor of the order early in the sixteenth century.³ In 1519 Bishop Atwater visited and found some irregularities, but no grave faults. Accounts were not well kept, the canons were careless about their silence and about the customs of the refectory, the sick were not well provided for, and one brother was not only unlearned but unwilling to learn. The bishop ordered a due rendering of accounts, and renewed devotion to the rule of the order.⁴

The original endowment of the priory cannot be accurately stated, as the foundation charters are missing. The temporalities of the priory in

¹ Painful as such cases are to record, it is only right that they should be mentioned, in view of indiscriminate charges that have sometimes been made. In a careful study of the visitations of four counties—Lincoln, Leicester, Buckingham, and Bedford—only three such cases come to light: here, at Thornton Abbey, and at Missenden Abbey, Bucks. Here, further, the charge was not proved; the offender was warned, but not put to penance.

² To fast on bread, beer, and one vegetable for three months, and to say certain psalms for a longer period. Ibid.

³ Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, fol. 66 d. Another prior had been visitor in 1353 (Ibid. 56 d.).

⁴ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), fol. 50.

1291 amounted to £41 19s. 5d.,⁵ with pensions in certain churches. Mumby and Wycliffe, Yorks., belonged to the prior and convent at the beginning of the thirteenth century,⁶ as well as those which appear in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. In 1428 the prior held part of a knight's fee in Maidenwell.⁷ In 1534 the clear value of the priory was £130 13s. 0½d.⁸ The Ministers' Accounts amount to £202 1s. 2½d., including the rectories of Huttoft, Bilsby, Stickford, Great Carlton, Markby, and West Wykeham; and the manors of Huttoft and Ludford.⁹

PRIORS OF MARKBY

Eudo,¹⁰ resigned 1228

Geoffrey of Holm,¹¹ elected 1228, resigned 1232

Alan,¹² elected 1232

John of Hedon,¹³ elected 1247

Roger of Walmesgrave,¹⁴ elected 1261, resigned 1272

Simon of Ottringham,¹⁵ elected 1272, died 1290

Roger of Braytoft,¹⁶ elected 1290, died 1306

William of Laughton,¹⁷ elected 1306

Thomas,¹⁸ occurs 1342

John Edlington,¹⁹ died 1349

Richard of Leek,²⁰ elected 1349, occurs 1351

Peter of Scotton,²¹ elected 1372

John Fenton,²² elected 1433, resigned 1438

Henry Wells,²³ died 1508

Henry Alford,²⁴ elected 1508

Thomas Kirkby,²⁵ occurs 1522

John Penketh,²⁶ last prior, occurs 1529

⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 69.

⁶ Mumby was exchanged for Great Carlton in 1334 (Pat. 7 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23); Wycliffe quitclaimed to Roger of Wycliffe in 1263 (Feet of F. [Div. Co.], 47 Henry III, n. 15).

⁷ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 300.

⁸ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 50.

⁹ Mins. Accts. 27–28 Hen. VIII, No. 91. Certain benefactions in money, beans, and corn to the poor of Bilsby, Stickford, and Huttoft were still regularly paid in 1534 (*Valor Eccles.* [Rec. Com.], iv, 50).

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. Rolls of Grosteste.

¹⁴ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. Sutton, 4.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 19.

¹⁸ Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14 d.

¹⁹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii, 336.

²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 18.

²¹ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, 68.

²² Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 84. He gave an account of his administration since 1433.

²³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Smith, 117.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36.

²⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), p. 2698.

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The twelfth-century pointed oval seal¹ represents St. Peter, seated on a throne, lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left hand two keys. The dress bordered with pearls.

The legend is wanting.

A pointed oval seal of a thirteenth-century prior² represents the prior full-length, in the right hand an indistinct object, in the left hand a book.

. . . RIOR E : M

Another pointed oval seal of a prior of the fourteenth century³ represents the Virgin, with nimbus, seated in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides; the Child, with nimbus, standing on the left knee. In base a shield of arms—three birds, two and one.

. . . LENCII . DE . GRAVLERIO . PRIOR .
DE . MARKEY

40. THE PRIORY OF NEWSTEAD BY STAMFORD

The priory of Newstead was originally founded, like that of Elsham, as a hospital. The founder was William d'Albini (third of that name); and the house was built near the end of the twelfth century, in honour of Blessed Mary, 'at the bridge of Wass between Uffington and Stamford,'⁴ and was sometimes called the hospital of Uffington.⁵ It was intended to maintain seven poor and infirm persons of good character, under the charge of a master 'of honest and approved religion,' who was to be assisted by another priest with a deacon and a clerk.⁶ The founder a little later increased the revenues to endow thirteen beds in the hospital.⁷ His son, however, seems to have consented to a change in the purpose of the endowment, for he confirmed all the property of the hospital to a prior and canons before 1247.⁸

There may have been as many as six canons at the first,⁹ but as the value of the endowment decreased the number diminished. Small and insignificant as this house was, however, two of the general chapters of the order were held here during the fourteenth century, in 1340 and in

1362.¹⁰ In 1440, when Bishop Alnwick visited the priory, there were only three besides the prior, and of these one was too ill to appear, and one was living at Ulvescroft Priory. The prior complained that the house was 20 marks in debt, and almost in ruins, through the improvidence of his predecessor. One canon said they did not rise to mattins because they were so few. The bishop gave general injunctions as to the keeping of the rule; the canon at Ulvescroft must return at once, and the canonical hours must all be recited, even though they could not be sung.¹¹

Shortly before the dissolution a tenant of the priory was sued for not paying a certain rent to the prior; he defended himself on the ground that it was a bequest originally made that the canons might sing for the soul of Walter Huntingfield, but now they were so few that they could not afford to set apart a priest for this purpose for many years. Moreover they had made an agreement that the requiem should be sung sometimes at Badington and sometimes in the monastery, which was contrary to the conditions of the grant.¹² The state of things here described was probably true, by no fault of the canons, but only because of their poverty. Bishop Longlands, on the occasion of the election of the last prior, wrote compassionately to Cromwell of the poverty of the house, as if he had no other quarrel with it, and spoke of John Blakyth as a 'right honest sober man.'¹³ There were at the dissolution only two canons and a novice besides the prior¹⁴; he received a pension of £15,¹⁵ and the others were paid off in the usual way.

The priory was endowed with several parcels of land in the neighbourhood, with tithes from the bread, fish, and flesh prepared for the household of William d'Albini, and with pasture for 100 sheep and a few cattle.¹⁶ In 1301 Isabella de Roos granted to the prior and convent the advowson of Stoke Albany, Northants,¹⁷ and in 1308 William Roos granted a moiety of that of Grayingham.¹⁸ In 1321 they had also the advowson of Little Casterton, Rutland.¹⁹ In 1291 the temporalities of the priory amounted to £42 19s. 5d.²⁰ In 1303 the prior held a small fraction of a knight's fee in Uffington, Tallington, and Casewick²¹; in 1346 he had a quarter of a fee in the same places.²² In 1534 the clear

¹ Harl. Chart. 44, G 5.

² Ibid. 7.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 562; Chart. I.

⁵ In the episcopal registers of Hugh of Wells.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 562; Chart. I.

⁷ Ibid. Chart. II.

⁸ Ibid. Chart. III. The earliest mention of a prior is 1247. The earlier appointments are masters, in 1226 and 1232.

⁹ If the entry in Pat. 7 Edw. I, m. 5 d., charging Simon, prior of Newstead, and six canons with an assault and murder, refers to this house and not to the Gilbertine priory of Newstead.

¹⁰ Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, 47, 55.

¹¹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 82.

¹² Star Chamber Proc. (Hen. VIII), bdle. 33, No. 49.

¹³ Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 94.

¹⁴ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 576.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 562.

¹⁷ Pat. 29 Edw. I, m. 28.

¹⁸ Ibid. 33 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 15.

¹⁹ Ibid. 15 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 26.

²⁰ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 54, 69b.

²¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 166.

²² Ibid. 210.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

revenue of the priory was £37 6s.¹; the canons had no longer any churches. The Ministers' Accounts amount to £43 8s. 1d.² The bells, lead, &c., of the monastery were only worth £12 18s.³

PRIORS OF NEWSTEAD

Adam of Herefeld,⁴ presented 1226
Walter,⁵ presented 1232
Walter de Crek,⁶ elected 1247
Hamo de Gretford,⁷ elected 1262

Simon,¹¹ occurs 1279
Thomas of Deeping,¹² resigned 1293
Robert of Stamford,¹³ elected 1293, resigned 1308
Henry of Overton,¹⁴ elected 1308
—— Sutton,¹⁵
William Lilleford,¹⁶ occurs 1440
Stephen Sherp,¹⁷ occurs 1522
Thomas Hallam,¹⁸ occurs 1534
Richard Lynne,¹⁹ occurs 1534
John Blaky,²⁰ the last prior, occurs 1536

HOUSE OF AUSTIN CANONS OF THE ARROUASIAN REFORM

41. THE ABBEY OF BOURNE

The abbey of Bourne was founded in 1138 by Baldwin, a younger son of Gilbert de Clare and brother of the first earl of Pembroke.⁸ By the marriage of the founder's daughter with Hugh Wake the patronage of the house passed into the hands of the lords of Liddell, with whom it continued till the fourteenth century.

The foundation charter was made out to Gervase, abbot of St. Nicholas of Arrouaise, but it was not intended as a cell of that abbey; it was an independent house with an abbot of its own from the first. The Arrouasian canons differed very little from other Augustinians, and sometimes abandoned at an early date the slight distinctions they originally had; but the abbots of Bourne retained to the last some tradition of independence, and kept up also some links of connexion with the abbey of Missenden in Bucks, which had a similar origin.

In 1311 and 1324 attempts were made by the king's escheator to claim this house as a royal foundation, but the Wakes were successful in proving their right.⁹ It never attained any great wealth or importance; the original number of canons was probably twelve, who had dwindled after the great pestilence to seven¹⁰; they were eleven again in the fifteenth century, and at the surrender there were nine besides the prior.

In 1401 the abbot acquired the possessions of the alien priory of Wilsford, by purchase from

the abbot of Bec Herlouin²¹; but it did not bring them much increase of revenue. In 1536 the revenue of the house was under £200, and it was accordingly dissolved, the abbot receiving a pension of £24, and the canons 20s., besides their wages and capacities.²²

In 1309 the abbot complained of violence done to one of his canons by seculars.²³ In 1349 another abbot had some difficulties with his diocesan, which ended in his excommunication, but the bishop was obliged to invoke the secular arm to enforce the sentence.²⁴ In 1359 the abbot of Missenden, who had been guilty of tampering with the coinage, was imprisoned at Bourne.²⁵ The abbey does not seem to have been very happily ruled about this time. A canon of Bourne in 1368 received a licence from the pope to transfer himself to another house of the same order, on account of the injuries he had received from his own abbot²⁶; and it was noticed a little earlier that other canons had forsaken the abbey for the priory of Cottingham in Northamptonshire, which was also of the patronage of the Wakes.²⁷

¹¹ Pat. 7 Edw. I, m. 5 d. This may be the Gilbertine Newstead. It is the only entry where the words 'by Stamford' do not occur to prove the identity.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 9.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 22.

¹⁵ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), fol. 82. William Lilleford calls him his predecessor.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Linc. N. and Q. v, 36.

¹⁸ L. and P. Hen. VIII, vii, 1024 (20).

¹⁹ Valor Eccles. (Rec. Com.), iv, 109.

²⁰ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xiii (1) 576.

²¹ Cal. of Pap. Letters, v, and Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Repingdon, 122.

²² Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, 166.

²³ Pat. 2 Edw. II, m. 2 d.

²⁴ Ibid. 24 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9.

²⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gynwell, 116.

²⁶ Cal. of Pap. Letters, iv, 75. The inquiry into the matter was entrusted to the abbot of Missenden.

²⁷ Ibid. i, 245.

¹ Valor Eccles. (Rec. Com.), iv, 109.

² Dugdale, Mon. vi, 562.

³ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

⁵ Ibid. These two are presented as masters to the hospital of Uffington.

⁶ Ibid. Rolls of Grosteste. This is the first prior who occurs.

⁷ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

⁸ Foundation Chart. Dugdale, Mon. vi, 370; Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, 160; and Peerage Studies, 75.

⁹ Close, 4 Edw. II, m. 10, and 17 Edw. II. The patronage afterwards passed to the earls of Kent.

¹⁰ Cal. of Pap. Letters, iii, 574 (1335).

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

The injunctions of Bishop Flemyng in 1422 contain nothing but formal directions as to the maintenance of the rule.¹ The visitation of Bishop Alnwick in 1440 shows very little irregularity; the canons nearly all said *omnia bene*, but the prior said that they sometimes drank with their friends in the town of Bourne. A single case of apostacy was reported.² The report of Bishop Atwater in 1519 was again satisfactory. The brethren did not, however, observe the refectory, but ate habitually with the lord abbot; it was enjoined that henceforth some at least should go to the refectory. The bishop observed with approval that the abbot had ordered senior and junior canons alike to say their masses in regular order. Accounts, however, were not shown annually, and the sick needed better provision; the younger canons were exhorted to be more obedient to their seniors.³

About the same time the abbot of Bourne was summoned to a general chapter of the order, but declined to go, as it seems, on the ground of the Arrouasian origin of his house.⁴

Nothing is known of the last days of this monastery, except that one of its canons had to serve out capacities to his brethren and other ejected religious after the dissolution.⁵

The original endowment consisted of the churches of Bourne, Helpringham, Morton, East and West Deeping, Barholm, Stowe, South Hykeham, Skillington, East Wykeham (Est wic), Linc., and Thrapston, Northants; and lands in Bourne and Spanby, with mills and tithes of different kinds.⁶ The churches of Bitchfield and Glatton were granted at an early date by other benefactors.⁷ In 1291 the temporalities of the abbey in Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire were taxed at £42 11s. 9d.⁸ In 1303 the abbot had a third of a knight's fee as well as one and a half bovates in Bourne⁹; in 1346 a small fraction also in Scottlethorpe.¹⁰ In 1534 the clear revenue of the abbey was £167 14s. 6½d., including the rectories of Bourne, Morton, Helpringham, Bitchfield, Barholm, and Stowe.¹¹ The Ministers' Accounts amount to £187 1s. 7¾d.¹²; the bells, lead, &c., were worth £121 10s.¹³

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Fleming, 235 d.

² Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 64.

³ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), 47. The house was £80 in debt.

⁴ Cott. MS. Vesp. D. i, 66 d. He simply said that he was 'not of their chapter,' and the abbot of Dorchester (also Arrouasian) made a similar plea.

⁵ Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 450.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 371.

⁷ *Liber. Antiq.* (ed. Gibbon), 7; *Cal. of Pap. Pet.* i, 364.

⁸ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 66b and 68b.

⁹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 166, 168.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 193, 210, 211.

¹¹ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 103.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 371.

¹³ Mins. Accts. 27-28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

ABBOTS OF BOURNE

David,¹⁴ occurs about 1156

Baldwin,¹⁵ occurs 1212 to 1218

Everard Cutt,¹⁶ occurs 1224, resigned 1237

William of Ripton,¹⁷ elected 1237

Robert de Hamme,¹⁸ 1248, died 1260

Robert de Hasceby,¹⁹ elected 1260, resigned 1275

William of Spalding,²⁰ elected 1275

Alan de Wauz,²¹ died 1292

Thomas de Calstewith,²² elected 1292, died 1313

William of St. Albans,²³ elected 1313, resigned 1314

William of Abbotsley,²⁴ elected 1314, died 1324

John de Wytheton,²⁵ elected 1324, died 1334

Simon of Walton,²⁶ elected 1334, died 1355

Thomas of Grantham,²⁷ elected 1355, died 1369

Geoffrey of Deeping,²⁸ elected 1369, occurs to 1406

William Irnham,²⁹ occurs 1440

Henry,³⁰ died 1500

Thomas Fort,³¹ collated 1500

William Grisby,³² died 1512

John Small,³³ last abbot, occurs 1534

The twelfth-century common seal³⁴ represents St. Peter with a nimbus, seated on a throne to the left, lifting up the right hand in benediction; in the left hand a key of early form placed over the left shoulder.

SIGILLVM : ECCLESIE : BEATI : PETRI : APL'I :
DE : BRVNNA

The pointed oval seal of Abbot John Small³⁵ shows the abbot standing in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book.

. . . . LUM : IOHANNIS : ABBATIS : DE :
BRUN

¹⁴ Cott. MS. Vesp. C xx, fol. 91 d. Contemporary with Gilbert of Sempringham and Walo of Revesby.

¹⁵ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 106, 126.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* i, 173; Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosseteste.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosseteste.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 370; Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

²⁰ *Ibid.* ²¹ *Ibid.* Inst. Sutton, 7. ²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.* Inst. Dalderby, 45; Pat. 8 Edw. II, i, m. 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Inst. Dalderby, 52; Close, 17 Edw. II, m. 24.

²⁵ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 523.

²⁶ *Ibid.* and Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 62.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.* Inst. Buckingham, 34 d.; *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 75.

²⁹ Visitations of Alnwick (Alnwick Tower), 64.

³⁰ Harl. MS. 6953, fol. 13.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 1802.

³³ *Ibid.* vii, 1024.

³⁴ B.M. Seals, lxvi, 86.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 87.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSE OF AUSTIN NUNS

42. THE PRIORY OF ST. LEONARD, GRIMSBY

The priory of St. Leonard, Grimsby, was probably founded some time during the reign of Henry II. The name of the founder is unknown, but the house was placed before 1184 under the protection of the Austin canons of Wellow, for in that year the nuns complained to Pope Lucius II that one of their brethren had by threats compelled them to sell some of their property in Ravendale.¹ The relations of the nuns and canons apparently became friendly again soon after, for in 1232 and 1303 a canon of Wellow was chosen as warden of the priory.²

The house was a poor and obscure one. Its temporalities were only rated at 3s. in 1291. In 1296 the nuns had to beg alms to support themselves,³ and in 1297 certain men were excommunicated for an unjust dstraint upon their property.⁴ Another licence to beg was granted in 1311, on the ground that their houses, corn, &c., had been consumed by fire.⁵ Yet other licence to beg was granted in 1459 because their buildings had been burnt and their land inundated.⁶ In 1394 they were excused from payment of a subsidy at the bishop's request, on account of their poverty.⁷

There are no records of episcopal visitations of this house, though doubtless such were held from time to time. There are notices in 1337 and 1356 of the absolution of nuns of Grimsby—one for apostacy, another for a breach of chastity.⁸ In spite of its scanty revenue the priory was not suppressed in 1536; it lingered on till 15 September, 1539, when the prioress received a pension of £4, and the other nuns annuities of 30s. or 33s. 4d. each.⁹

The endowment of the priory consisted only of small parcels of land in the counties of Lincoln and York, with the churches of Grimsby, Little Coates, and Ravendale.¹¹ In 1291 the prioress was taxed only for 3s.¹² In 1534 the clear value of the priory was only £9 14s. 7d. including the churches of Little Coates and Ravendale (Randall). The Ministers' Accounts amount to £22 7s. 7d.¹³

PRIORESSES OF ST. LEONARD'S

Emma¹⁴
 Agnes of Bradley,¹⁵ died 1299
 Maud of Graffham,¹⁶ elected 1299, died 1309
 Amice or Avice Franks,¹⁷ elected 1309, occurs
 1321
 Alice of Alesby,¹⁸ resigned 1370
 Agnes of Humbleton,¹⁹ elected 1370, occurs
 1393
 Eleanor Billesby,²⁰ elected 1409
 Maud Beesby,²⁰ resigned 1465
 Joan Saxby,²¹ elected 1465, occurs 1490
 Beatrice,²² occurs 1507
 Anne Mallet,²³ occurs 1529
 Margaret Riddesdale,²⁴ last prioress

The pointed oval conventual seal²⁵ represents St. Leonard standing in an elaborately carved niche, with trefoiled canopy and tabernacle work at the side, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book. The inner edge of the field engrailed.

SIGILLŪ : COMNE : MONALIŪ : SĀI :
 LEONARDI : DE : GRYMMEBY

Cabled borders.

HOUSES OF THE GILBERTINE ORDER

43. THE PRIORY OF SEMPRINGHAM

The Order of Sempringham had its origin in 1131.¹⁰ In or about that year Gilbert of Semp-

¹ Lans. MS. 207, B, fol. 219 d. At the election of Joan Saxby in 1465 the bishop called the priory 'of the Augustinian order.'

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells, and Memo. Dalderby, 58 d.

³ Ibid. Memo. Sutton, 158 d. ⁴ Ibid. 188 d.

⁵ Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, 181 d.; and Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 545.

⁶ *Linc. N. and Q.* ii, 76.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 47.

⁸ Ibid. Memo. Burghersh, 385; Memo. Gynwell, 66 d.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv (2), 173.

¹⁰ 1131 is the date given in the Annals of Sempringham in MS. Barberini 2689 (Transcripts from Rome, 16 P.R.O.), also in the Annals of Derley, *Mon.* vii, p. xcvi. The later date, 1139, given by Dugdale and Tanner, was the date of Gilbert of Ghent's gift.

ringham left the household of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and returned to serve the parish church of Sempringham, of which he was rector.²⁶

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 545; Pat. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 29.

¹² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

¹³ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 68.

¹⁴ Lans. MS. 207 B, fol. 216 d.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 28. ¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 29; Lans. MS. 207 B, fol. 204.

¹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 44.

¹⁹ Ibid. and Lans. MS. 207b, 204.

²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Repingdon, 35d.

²¹ Lans. MS. 207 B, fol. 204. ²² Ibid. 204.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 545.

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv (2), 173.

²⁵ Egert. Chart. 476.

²⁶ The text of the life of St. Gilbert is printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, pp. v-xxix. For an English life cf. R. Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, i, 28.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

He found there seven maidens, who had learnt the way of holiness from him as children, and longed to live a strict religious life. Gilbert, having inherited from his father lands and possessions in Sempringham, resolved to give such wealth as he had for the use of those maidens. With the help and advice of Alexander, he set up buildings and a cloister for them against the north wall of the church, which stood on his own land at Sempringham. He gave them a rule of life, enjoining upon them chastity, humility, obedience, and charity. Their daily necessities were passed to them through a window by some girls chosen by Gilbert from among his people. His friends warned him that his nuns ought not to speak with secular women, who by their gossip might rekindle in them an interest in the world which they had renounced. On the advice of William, abbot of Rievaulx, he decided to yield to the request of the serving-maids, who begged that they too might have a dress and rule of life. Soon afterwards he took men as lay brothers to work on the land, giving them too a dress and a rule.

The little community grew in numbers, and amongst its earliest benefactors was Brian of Pointon.¹ In 1139 Gilbert accepted three carucates of land in Sempringham from Gilbert of Ghent, his feudal lord.² His first building had proved too small, and Sempringham Priory, with its double church, cloisters and buildings, was erected on the new site given by Gilbert of Ghent, not far from the parish church, and dedicated to the Virgin. In virtue of his gift Gilbert of Ghent was held to be the founder.

In 1147 Gilbert went to the general chapter at Cîteaux to ask the abbots to bear rule over his nuns. This they refused. Yet his journey was not unfruitful, for at Cîteaux he met Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, and Eugenius III, the latter of whom conferred on him the care of the order. Bernard invited him to Clairvaux, and there helped him to draw up the Institutes of the Order of Sempringham, which were afterwards confirmed by Eugenius III. Gilbert returned to England in 1148, and completed the order, by appointing canons to serve his community as priests, and to help him in the work of administration.

Within a brief space it is impossible to do more than point out a few of the distinguishing features of the order.³ Gilbert gave to the canons the rule of St. Augustine, and added many statutes from the customs of Augustinian and Premonstratensian canons. The chief officers were the prior, sub-prior, cellarer, precentor, and sacrist. In a double house the

number of canons varied from seven to thirty, but afterwards at Sempringham they were increased to forty.⁴ The lay brothers followed the rule of the Cistercian lay brothers.

The nuns of the order kept the rule of St. Benedict, and followed in every way the customs of the canons, 'so far as the weakness of their sex permitted.' Each house was under three prioresses, who for a week in turn held the chapters of nuns and sisters, presided in the frater, and visited the sick in the farmery. The other officers were the sub-prioress, cellaress, sub-cellaress, sacrist, and precentrix. The lay sisters were bound to serve and obey the nuns in all things. They cooked for the whole community under the supervision of a nun, who served for a week at a time. They also brewed ale, sewed, washed, made thread for the cobblers, and wove the wool of the house. All the clothes, except the shirts and breeches of the men, were cut out and made by the women.

The general administration of the property of the house was in the hands of a council of four proctors, consisting of the prior, cellarer, and two lay brothers. The expenditure was controlled by the nuns. The treasury was in their buildings, and the keepers were three mature and discreet nuns, who each had charge of a different key.⁵

Communications about business, food, and other matters were made at the window-house, which was so constructed that the speakers could not see each other.⁶ The supreme ruler of the order was the master, who, subject to good behaviour and health, was elected for life at a general chapter by representatives of nuns and canons from all the houses. The privilege of freedom of election was granted by Henry II,⁷ and confirmed in 1189 by Richard I,⁸ and the custody of the order, its houses, granges, and churches, was legally vested in the priors during the vacancy, which, in fact, lasted only a few days.⁹ The master was not attached to any house, but continually went from one to the other on his visitation. He appointed the chief officers and admitted novices. According to the rule his consent was necessary for all sales and purchases of lands, woods, and everything above

⁴ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, ii, 273.

⁵ For a fuller account of the financial management of a Gilbertine house cf. *The Finance of Malton Priory*, *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), xviii, 133-56.

⁶ The complex arrangements of a Gilbertine monastery can be easily understood with the aid of the plan of Watton Priory, printed and described by W. H. St. John in *Arch. Journ.* lviii, 1-34.

⁷ This grant by Hen. II is only known by confirmation of Ric. I, in which the date of his father's charter is not specified.

⁸ *Genealogist* (New Ser.), xvi, 226; Cott. MS. Claud. D, xi, fol. 28 v.

⁹ Transcripts from Rome (P.R.O.), No. 16, fol. 1-3.

¹ *Genealogist* (new ser.), xvi, 31.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 948, No. 1.

³ The rule of Sempringham is printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, pp. xxix-xcvii. It is briefly summarized in R. Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, 48-77.

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the value of three marks, and his seal was affixed to all charters, but these provisions were afterwards modified in practice. He had no benefices or other property set aside for the expenses of his visitations and other duties which might devolve on him. In the middle of the thirteenth century it appears that the houses of the order were contributing to the *communa magistri* in proportion to their means,¹ and in 1535 a fixed payment to the master 'of ancient custom' is mentioned in the outgoings of each house.²

The general chapter met each year at Sempringham on the Rogation Days,³ and was attended by the prior, cellarer, and two prioresses from each house, the scrutators general, and the scrutators of the cloister.

While Gilbert was master there were two serious crises in the history of Sempringham and the other houses of the order. Early in 1165 Gilbert and all the priors were summoned to Westminster to answer a charge of having sent money abroad to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and of having helped him to escape from England, the penalty for which was exile. The accusation, however, was false, though Gilbert scrupled to swear to his innocence. Meanwhile messengers arrived from Henry II to say that he would judge the case on his return from Normandy, and that Gilbert and his priors could go in peace.⁴

In 1170 a rebellion took place among the lay brothers, who complained of the harshness of the rule, and insisted on more food and less work. Two of them went to Rome, with ill-gotten gains, and slandered Gilbert and the canons to Alexander III, who intervened on their behalf. As Gilbert's cause was warmly espoused by Henry II and several of the bishops, the pope was convinced that he had been deceived. When the lay brothers found that they had failed to move Gilbert by violence, they asked for pardon and humbly entreated him to relax the rule for them. Accordingly, certain changes in their food and dress were solemnly made about 1187, in the presence of Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, with the consent of the general chapter of Sempringham.⁵

On 4 February, 1189,⁶ Gilbert died at Sempringham, and was buried on the 7th in the presence of a great concourse of people. His tomb was placed between the altars of St. Mary and St. Andrew, in the priory church, and could be seen on either side of the wall which divided the men from the women. Many miracles of healing

were reported to have been worked at the tomb in the next few years, and in 1200 Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, set about obtaining his canonization.⁷ After due inquiry into the truth of the alleged miracles, canonization was decreed by Innocent III. The translation of St. Gilbert took place on 13 October, 1202, in the presence of great crowds, an indulgence of forty days to pilgrims to his shrine being granted by the archbishop of Canterbury, and 110 days by several other bishops.⁸

The convent of Sempringham at first suffered poverty, but several benefactors had compassion on the nuns.⁹ In 1189 the possessions of the priory included the whole township of Sempringham, with the parish church and the chapel of Pointon, the granges of Kirkby, Marham, Cranwell, Fulbeck, Thorpe, Bramcote, Walcote, Thurstanton, the hermitage of Hoyland, a mill in Birthorpe, half a knight's fee in Laughton (Locton), the mills of Folkingham, and the churches of Billingborough, Stowe with the chapel of Birthorpe, Hanington, Aslackby, Buxton, Brunesthorpe, Kirkby, Bradstow, and moieties of Trowell and Laughton.¹⁰ Probably in consideration of this endowment Gilbert limited the number of nuns and lay sisters to 120, and of canons and lay brothers to 60.¹¹

It is worthy of notice that original grants of whole manors to the Gilbertines were very rare. They received lands within the manors of their benefactors and their feudal lords, usually in frankalmoign, owing no service to the lord's court. Henry II granted them full manorial rights throughout their own lands,¹² and thus a number of smaller manors were created, though except in royal charters¹³ these bore the ecclesiastical name of granges. Until the Black Death the Gilbertines cultivated their own lands to a great extent. Wherever they received a sufficient grant of land or pasturage they built a grange which was in itself a small religious house, with its oratory, frater, cloister, common

⁷ R. Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, 25-7.

⁸ Cott. MS. Cleop. B. i, fol. 140.

⁹ The chartulary of Sempringham perished in a fire at Staple Inn. A valuable series of Sempringham charters has been printed by Major Poynton in the *Genealogist* (New Ser.), xv, xvi, xvii.

¹⁰ *Genealogist*, xvi, 226-8.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, p. xcvi, cap. vi. The numbers fixed in the statute represented no ideal complement, but a real limit. The fixing of the numbers of nuns is ascribed to St. Gilbert in a Bull of Honorius III in 1220 (Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 9).

¹² Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 28.

¹³ e.g. Chart R. 36 Hen. III, m. 10, a grant of free warren in eleven manors belonging to Sixhills Priory. Several of these occur as granges in the *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 83, and in Mins. Accts. in 1539, Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 965.

¹ *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), xviii, 152.

² *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 34, 63, 83, 103, 123, &c.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 947.

⁴ R. Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, 16-19.

⁵ *Ibid.* 19-23.

⁶ *Ibid.* 24.

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room, and guest hostel. Workshops for smiths, carpenters, cobblers, tailors, and others all stood within the walled enclosure, but stables and sheds for cattle and sheep might be built outside. Only the lay brothers lived at the granges with the hired servants; they were under the rule of the grainger, a lay brother who fulfilled some of the same duties as the prior at the monastery. The supply of lay brothers fell far short of the demand for them, especially as the thirteenth century went on, and, indeed, the importance of hired labour, as early as 1164, was recognized in the agreement which was concluded between the Cistercian and Gilbertine orders.¹

Grants of pasturage were numerous, and the chief source of revenue of the Gilbertines, as of the Cistercians, was their wool. In some houses the wool was made into cloth, not only for the dress of the convent, but for sale.² Cloth of Sempringham was noted in John's reign.³ In 1193 all the wool of the order of Sempringham for one year was taken for Richard I's ransom.⁴ The Gilbertines were tempted by their exemptions from all tolls and customs⁵ to act, like the Cistercians, as factors in the wool trade throughout the county; ecclesiastical⁶ and royal prohibitions alike failed to check them from disobeying their own rule. The jealousy of other traders stirred Henry III and Edward I to threaten correction in 1262⁷ and 1302,⁸ but in 1342⁹ and 1344¹⁰ the same complaints reached Edward III, who also bade the Gilbertines desist utterly from such trading.

In spite of increasing possessions the convent was at no time wealthy; though the standard of life seems always to have been simple the revenues were small for the number of inmates. The numbers fixed by St. Gilbert represented no ideal complement, indeed the tendency was to exceed them, as at Sempringham, and the burden of maintaining so large a number of nuns is mentioned in more than one papal privilege. In 1226 Henry III gave the master a present of 100 marks for their support.¹¹ In 1228 he relieved the priory of the expense of providing food during the meeting of the general chapter at the mother-house on the Rogation Days by his gift of the church of Fordham, which was worth fifty-five marks a year.¹² Ten years later the revenues were materially increased. The Scotch

house at Dalmulin on the north bank of the Ayr, which was founded and endowed by Walter FitzAlan about 1221, was abandoned,¹³ and its possessions were transferred to the abbot and convent of Paisley in consideration of a yearly payment of forty marks to Sempringham.¹⁴ The parish churches of Sempringham, Birthorpe, Billingborough, and Kirkby were already appropriated.¹⁵ Yet in 1247 Innocent IV granted to the master the right to appropriate the church of Horbling, because there were 200 women in the priory who often lacked the necessities of life.¹⁶ The legal expenses of the order at the papal curia perhaps accounted for their poverty.¹⁷ The annual payment of forty marks was felt as a grievous burden by the abbot and convent of Paisley, and seems to have been ignored in several years, for in 1246 the prior and convent of Sempringham appealed to Innocent IV to right them.¹⁸ They were obliged to pay the whole of the expenses of the suit and remit half the arrears of the debt on condition that the abbot and convent of Paisley should make regular payments from that time onwards.

In 1254 the spiritualities of Sempringham were assessed at £170, the temporalities at £196 9s. 1d.¹⁹ In 1253 the prior and convent obtained a grant of free warren in all their demesne lands,²⁰ and in 1268 the right of holding a fair in the manor of Stow.²¹

The order was under the special protection of the papacy,²² and was exempt entirely from episcopal visitation. Accordingly, evidence of its internal history must be sought in papal bulls and registers. It would appear that on or before 1220 the general chapter petitioned that the sole power of making changes in the rule might be confirmed to them, and that the master and priors should not alter their liberties and constitutions.²³ Complaints were also made of the extravagance of priors who travelled with servants and baggage horses, and used silver cups, and other pompous vessels. In 1223 a visitation of the order was conducted by the abbot of Warden by order of the legate Otho.²⁴ The injunctions of the abbot of Warden showed that there was a tendency to relax the rule in somewhat unimportant matters. He directed that the cowl of the nuns should not be

¹ Stowe MS. 937, fol. 146.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* xlv, cap. iv.

³ *Doc. illustrative of Engl. Hist.* (Rec. Com.), 267.

⁴ Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 211.

⁵ Cott. MS. Claud. D, xi, fol. 28.

⁶ Douce MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 136, fol. 89.

⁷ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 156-7; cf. *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 317.

⁸ *Ibid.* 156b.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 39 d.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 10 Hen. III, m. 6.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 947.

¹³ John Edwards, *The Gilbertines in Scotland*, 7.

¹⁴ Cott. MS. Claud. D, xi, fol. 227.

¹⁵ *Liber Antiq.* (ed. A. W. Gibbons), 54, 55.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 232.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* i, 284; cf. *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), xviii, 155.

¹⁸ John Edwards, *The Gilbertines in Scotland*, 17; *Reg. de Passelet* (ed. Cosmo Innes), i, 24.

¹⁹ Cott. MS. Claud. D, xi, fol. 278 v.

²⁰ *Cal. Chart. R.* 37 Hen. III, m, 11.

²¹ *Ibid.* 52 Hen. III, m. 4.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, p. xiii.

²³ Cott. MS. Claud. D, xi, fol. 9.

²⁴ Douce MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 136, fol. 100.

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cut too long, that fine furs should not be used for the cloaks of canons and nuns, that the canons' copes should be made *minime curiose*. Variety of pictures and superfluity of sculpture were forbidden. The rule of silence was to be more strictly observed. The proctors were bidden to provide the same food and drink for the nuns as for the canons, and not in future to buy beer for the canons when the nuns had only water to drink. A very important papal visitation was undertaken when Ottoboni was legate in England from 1265 to 1268. He went to Sempringham in person, but delegated the duty of visiting other houses of the order to members of his household.¹ In 1268, after a careful study of the reports of the visitors, a series of injunctions was drawn up by Ralph of Huntingdon, a Dominican chaplain in the service of the legate, with the aid of Richard, chief scrutator of the order.² The democratic principles of the order had obviously been violated, and the master and heads of houses had shown arbitrary tendencies. It was necessary to insist that the master should strive to rule by love rather than fear, and to threaten priors and sub-priors who were stern to the verge of cruelty with deposition. The master was forbidden to receive men and women into the order without the advice of its members. The priors were warned against conducting business and manumitting servile lands and serfs without consulting their fellow proctors and seeking the consent of their chapters. The lucrative practice of collecting wool and selling it with the produce of their own flocks, was strictly, though in vain, forbidden. It was ordered that discipline should be firmly maintained among the regular servants of the priory and granges, and servants and labourers were forbidden to go off the monastery lands without special leave. Lay brothers who were skilled in surgery might only practise their art by the prior's leave, and if the patients were men. A tendency to treat the nuns with less consideration than the rule required was sternly repressed. They were to have all their rights and privileges, and no plea of urgent business might avail to deprive them of their assent to all transactions. Pittances provided for the nuns were not to be assigned to other purposes for any reason, and money given on the admission of a nun was to be devoted to their needs. The master was to see that they were not stinted in clothes and food.

In 1291 the assessment of the temporalities had risen to £219 17s. 11½d.³ The property continued to increase, as several licences were obtained subsequently to appropriate numerous small grants of land in mortmain.⁴ The right of holding a fair in the manor of Wrightbald

was conceded in 1293.⁵ At the beginning of the fourteenth century the annual sales of wool amounted to twenty-five sacks a year,⁶ and, whatever the net profits may have been, added largely to the income of the convent. It was doubtless on account of the important share of the order in the wool trade that Edward II asked in 1313 for a loan of 1,000 marks,⁷ and in 1315 for £2,000,⁸ for the assessment of all its spiritualities and temporalities scarcely exceeded £3,000.⁹

In 1303 the prior held in Lincolnshire half a knight's fee in Horbling, half in Irnham, half less one-twelfth in Laughton and Aslackby, a quarter in Cranwell, a quarter in Bulby, one-fifth in Bulby and Southorpe, one-eighth in Fulbeck, one-eighth in Screddington, one-sixteenth in Osbournby, one-twentieth in Bitchfield. In 1346 he held also a knight's fee in Stragglethorpe, one-sixth in Walcote, and one-thirty-second in Aunsley, and in 1428 in Leicester one-quarter of a fee in Thrussington.¹⁰

At the general chapter in 1304 it was decided, 'on account of frequent and continuous royal and papal tenths, contributions and exactions,' that in each house a grange, church, or fixed rent should be set aside to meet those demands.¹¹ The Gilbertines had been exempted by Henry II from all gelds and taxes,¹² and John especially mentioned, in his charter of confirmation, the aids of the sheriffs, tallage, and scutage.¹³ However, in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I the popes taxed both spiritualities and temporalities, and sometimes handed over the proceeds to the crown. In this way the order lost its privileges, and afterwards voted grants with the rest of the clergy in convocation. At this time the interests of farming and trading did not predominate to the exclusion of all else. In 1290 Nicholas IV granted a licence to the prior and canons of Sempringham to have within their house a discreet and learned doctor of theology to teach those of their brethren who desired to study that science.¹⁴ For some years the master had sent certain canons of the order to study at Cambridge,¹⁵ and in 1290 a house of residence was secured in the town, and contributions

⁵ Chart. R. 21 Edw. I, m. 12, on the vigil, feast, and morrow of the Nativity of the Virgin.

⁶ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, i (ed. 1905), 635, the prices varying at Sempringham from twenty marks to nine, according to the quality. For the importance of wool as a source of revenue in the Gilbertine priory of Malton, cf. *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (new ser.), xviii, 150.

⁷ *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), ii, pt. ii, 66, No. 9.

⁸ *Cal. Close*, 8 Edw. II, m. 12 d.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 6 Edw. I, m. 24.

¹⁰ *Feud. Aids* (P. R. O.), iii.

¹¹ Douce MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 136, fol. 96 v.

¹² Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 28.

¹³ *Chart. R.* (Rec. Com.), 1 John, m. 14.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 516.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* i, 514.

¹ Douce MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 136, fol. 88.

² Et seq. *ibid.* fols. 88 to 91.

³ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 70 etc.

⁴ e.g. *Cal. Pat.* 18 Edw. I, m. 43; 27 Edw. I, m. 20.

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were afterwards levied from all the houses of the order for the support of canons as scholars.¹ Two years later Robert Lutterel, rector of Irnham, gave a house and lands at Stamford that canons from Sempringham Priory might study divinity and philosophy at the university which was then flourishing in that town.² In 1303 a canon named Robert Manning of Bourne began to write, in the cloister at Sempringham, his book called *Handlyng Sinne*,³ which was an English version of Waddington's *Manual des Pèchés*, a satire on the failings and vices of English men and women of all classes of society. He had then lived fifteen years in the monastery, and had previously studied at Cambridge. The annals of the house were recorded in French from 1290 to 1326.⁴

In 1301 Prior John de Hamilton began to build a new church for the priory,⁵ as the earlier one had fallen into disrepair. Ten years before Nicholas IV had granted lavish indulgences to penitents who visited the priory church and chapels of St. John, St. Stephen, and St. Catherine,⁶ so the proceeds from their offerings were available. The rebuilding of other parts of the monastery was also in contemplation, for in 1306 the prior and convent obtained a papal bull enabling them to appropriate the churches of Thurstanton and Norton Disney for that purpose.⁷ However, the church was still unfinished in 1342, when Bishop Bek granted an indulgence for the fabric, 'which had been begun anew at great cost.'⁸ There were a number of reasons for the delay. The price of corn was very high in the years of famine from 1315 to 1321.⁹ Owing to the Scotch wars the payment of forty marks from the abbey of Paisley ceased altogether, probably before 1305,¹⁰ and it was not until 1319 that the prior and convent were able by way of compensation for their loss to appropriate the church of Whissendine, worth fifty-five marks, for the expenses of clothing forty canons and 200 women.¹¹

Probably by reason of its position as the head

¹ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, e.g. 34, 63, 83, 103, 123, &c.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 947-8.

³ *Handlyng Sinne* (Roxburgh Club).

⁴ *Le Livre de Reis de Brittanie* (Rolls Ser.), 323-55. The annals end abruptly in the unique MS. Barberini, 2689 (Vatican).

⁵ *Ibid.* 327.

⁶ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 516, 524.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 14.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bek, fol. 6.

⁹ *Le Livre de Reis de Brittanie* (Rolls Ser.), 331-7.

¹⁰ John Edwards, *The Gilbertines in Scotland*, 18.

In August, 1296, the abbot of Paisley acknowledged for himself and the convent that a sum of forty marks was owing to the master of Sempringham. He promised to pay ten marks on 30 August and thirty marks at Michaelmas. The ten marks were paid, but there are no later receipts.

¹¹ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, ii, 273.

house of a purely English order, Sempringham was in high favour with the three Edwards, who sent thither wives and daughters of their chief enemies. Wencilian, daughter of Llewellyn, prince of Wales, was sent to Sempringham as a little child, after her father's death in 1283, and died a nun of the house fifty-four years later.¹² Edward I allowed the acquisition of certain lands in mortmain because he had charged the priory with her maintenance,¹³ and in 1327 Edward III granted £20 a year for her life. In 1322, by order of the Parliament at York, Margaret, countess of Cornwall, was sent to live at Sempringham among the nuns.¹⁴ In 1324 Joan, daughter of Roger Mortimer, was received at the priory.¹⁵ Two daughters of the elder Hugh Despenser were also sent to take the veil at Sempringham, and in 1337 an allowance of £20 a year was made for their lives.¹⁶

The unsettled state of the country in the reign of Edward II and the earlier years of Edward III was very unfavourable to many monasteries. In 1312 Sempringham Priory was attacked by Roger of Birthorpe, Geoffrey Lutterel of Irnham, Edmund of Colville, and other knights; they broke into the monastery, assaulted the canons and their men and servants, and carried away their goods.¹⁷ However, Prior John and some of his canons and servants raided the park at Birthorpe to recover their animals which had been impounded.¹⁸ In 1330 the priors of Sempringham and Haverholme, accompanied by several of their canons and other persons, were charged by William of Querington and Brian of Herdeby with raiding a close at Evedon, cutting down the trees, carrying away timber, and depasturing and destroying corn with plough cattle.¹⁹ The next year the prior lodged a complaint against Brian of Herdeby and others who had assaulted a canon and a lay brother at Evedon, consumed his crops and grass at Burton, hunted in his free warren there, and carried off hares and partridges.²⁰

In 1320 the priory was in money difficulties and owed £1,000 to Geoffrey of Bramton, a clerk.²¹ Speculations in wool with Italian merchants followed.²² Inability to pay the king's taxes marked a financial crisis in 1337,²³ and again in 1345.²⁴ Consequent probably upon the

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 959; Peter of Langtoft, *Chron.* (ed. Hearne), ii, 243.

¹³ *Cal. Pat.* 30 Edw. I, m. 34; 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 27.

¹⁴ *Le Livre de Reis de Brittanie* (Rolls Ser.), 345.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 351.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 11 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 27.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 6 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 20 d.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 23 d.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 4 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26 d.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 39 d.

²¹ *Cal. Close*, 14 Edw. II, m. 18 d.

²² *Ibid.* 18 Edw. II, m. 28 d.; 19 Edw. II, m. 26 d.; 20 Edw. II, m. 13 d.; 3 Edw. III, m. 6 d.

²³ *Cal. Pat.* 11 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 19 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 6.

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poverty of the house, the Master of Sempringham, in 1341, obtained exemption from future attendance at Parliament.¹ He had been regularly summoned from the great Parliament of 1295, until 1332,² but, as in the case of other abbots and priors, attendance was doubtless found to be a great burden and expense.

No record remains of the ravages of the Black Death at Sempringham or any other house of the Gilbertine order, although there is some evidence of distress in the priory in 1349. On the eve of Trinity Sunday in that year there was a great storm and flood, the water in the church rose as high as the capitals of the pillars, and in the cloister and other buildings it was six feet deep. Many of the books were destroyed and eighteen sacks of wool were damaged.³ On 9 November the king granted a licence to the nuns to appropriate Haddon church, which was valued at twenty-four marks a year, for their clothing.⁴

There is little doubt that none of the Gilbertine houses ever recovered from the effects of the Black Death. They were constrained to abandon almost entirely the cultivation of their own lands, and to let their numerous granges on leases.

In 1399 Boniface IX gave permission to the master, priors, canons, lay brothers, nuns and sisters of the order of Sempringham to farm, to fit laymen or clerks for a fixed time, their manors, churches, chapels, pensions, stipends and possessions, without requiring the licence of the ordinary.⁵ Thus they lost their profits from the wool trade, which had probably exceeded their revenues from all other sources.⁶ The sheep everywhere died in thousands from the pestilence, and it was in fact impossible for the Gilbertines to carry on their former occupations of farming and trading with any success.

There are indications of a decline in discipline and morals, as well as in numbers. In 1363 the master, Robert of Navenby, was seeking to obtain from Urban V the rights of a mitred abbot that he might himself give benediction to his nuns.⁷ The bishop of Lincoln however protested. In 1366 many nuns of Sempringham had not received benediction, and as the master, William of Prestwold, refused to listen to the prioress, they petitioned Bishop Bokyngham, who came to Sempringham, to right them.⁸ The number of nuns had then fallen to sixty-seven. In 1382⁹ Richard II granted a licence for the master and priors of the order to seize

and detain all vagabond canons and lay brothers, and in 1383¹⁰ and 1390¹¹ mandates were issued to the sheriffs and others to arrest an apostate canon. In 1397 Boniface IX sent a mandate to the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishop of Ely, to investigate the charges against William of Beverley,¹² who was elected master in 1393. It was reported that on his visitation he took immoderate procurations, burdened the houses by the excessive number of the members of his household and of his horses, and committed many grievances and enormities against the statutes of the order. The bishops were to punish him if guilty, to visit the houses, correct and reform what was amiss, to revise the statutes of the order, and frame others if expedient. In 1405 the pope issued another mandate,¹³ stating that William of Beverley, master of the order, had dilapidated divers goods, movable and immovable, had enormously damaged it, reduced it to great poverty, and continued in the same course. If found guilty he was to be deprived. However, whether the order obtained any redress is not known; the next master was not elected until 1407.¹⁴

The history of Sempringham Priory, and of the order generally, in the fifteenth century, is very obscure. In 1400 a papal indulgence was granted for the repair of the priory church,¹⁵ and in 1409 a legacy was left for the fabric of the bell tower.¹⁶ In 1445 Henry VI granted to Nicholas Resby, master of the order, that the houses of Sempringham, Haverholme, Catley, Bullington, Sixhills, North Ormsby, and Alvingham should be free and exempt from all aids, subsidies, and tallages, and should never contribute to any payments of tenths or fifteenths made by the whole body of the clergy or of the provinces of Canterbury and York separately.¹⁷ However, the prior and convent of Sempringham were compelled to pay £40 in 1522 as their share of a grant from the spirituality towards Henry VIII's personal expenses in France for the recovery of that crown.¹⁸

With the abandonment of farming, except on the immediate demesne, the need of the order for lay brothers disappeared; they probably died out altogether early in the fifteenth century, and there is no record of any at the dissolution. Servants, too, probably very largely took the place of the lay sisters.

At a general chapter held at St. Catherine's, Lincoln, in 1501, it was resolved that the number of canons, which 'in those days was less

¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, v, 248.

² *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), ii, pt. 3, fol. 1420.

³ Transcripts from Rome (P.R.O.), 16, fol. 3.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 23 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 19; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 22.

⁵ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 200.

⁶ Cf. *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (new ser.), xviii, 156, App.

⁷ *Cal. Pap. Pet.* i, 413.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, fol. 48 d.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 29.

¹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 11 d.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 2 d.

¹² *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 15.

¹³ *Ibid.* vi, 96.

¹⁴ Transcripts from Rome (P.R.O.), 16, fol. 3.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 403.

¹⁶ *Early Linc. Wills* (ed. A. W. Gibbon), 127.

¹⁷ *Pat.* 23 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 4.

¹⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii (2), 1048.

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than usual,' should be increased.¹ The priors were to seek suitable persons, that with greater numbers religion might prosper. This attempt at revival was to some extent successful, for in several houses, as at Sempringham itself, the number of canons fixed at this chapter was reached before the dissolution. In all the houses of the order there were, in 1538, only 143 canons, 139 nuns, and 15 lay sisters. Nothing was alleged by the crown visitors against the Gilbertines in Lincolnshire, and they appear to have been living blameless lives, neither in poverty nor in wealth.

Robert Holgate, chaplain to Cromwell, who became master of the order in 1536,² exerted his influence to prevent the surrender of the Gilbertine houses under the Act for the Suppression of the Smaller Monasteries in 1536, for only four out of twenty-six houses had revenues over £200 a year. No resistance was offered in 1538, when Dr. William Petre came down to take the surrenders. On 18 September, Robert the master, Roger the prior, and sixteen canons surrendered Sempringham Priory.³ The prior received Fordham rectory and £30 a year, the canons and prioresses and sixteen nuns were also pensioned.

In 1535 the clear yearly value of the house was £317 4s. 1d.⁴ Of this sum £128 16s. 7d. was drawn from the rectories of Sempringham with the chapel of Pointon, Stow with the chapel of Birthorpe, Billingborough, Horbling, Walcote, Loughton, Cranwell, Norton Disney, Kirkby Laythorpe, and Hacconby, in Lincolnshire; Whissendine in Rutlandshire; Fordham in Cambridgeshire; Thurstanton in Leicestershire; and Buxton in Norfolk. The remainder of the property included granges or lands and tenements at Sempringham, Threckingham, Stow, Pointon, Dowsby, Ringesdon Dyke, Billingborough, Horbling, Walcote, Newton, Pykworth, Os-

burnby, Kysby, Folkingham, Aslackby, Woodgrange, Kirkby, Bulby, Morton, Wrightbald, Brothertoft, Wilton, Kirton Holme, Wrangle, Cranwell, Stragglethorpe, Carlton and Fulbeck, and a few other places in Lincolnshire; Ketton, Cottesmore, and Pickwell in Rutland; Thurstanton and Willoughby in Leicestershire; Bramcote, Trowell, and Chinwell in Nottinghamshire; and Walton in Derbyshire. Six granges appear to have been farmed by bailiffs for the monastery and the rest were let on lease. The demesnes of Sempringham were worth £26 13s. 4d. a year.

In the hands of the crown bailiff four years later the property brought in £383 5s. 5d.⁵

MASTERS OF THE ORDER OF SEMPRINGHAM

St. Gilbert⁶

Roger, elected 1189

John, elected 1204

Gilbert, elected 1205

Robert, elected 1225

William, elected 1251

Patrick, elected 1262

John de Homerton, elected 1276

Roger de Bolingbroke, elected 1283

Philip de Burton, elected 1298

John de Glinton, elected 1332, resigned 1341

Robert de Navenby, elected 1341

William de Prestwold, elected 1364

William de Beverley, elected 1393

John de Hanworth, elected 1407, occurs 1425⁷

Walter Iklyngham, elected 1435⁸

Nicholas Resby, occurs 1445⁹

James, occurs 1501¹⁰

Thomas, occurs 1508¹¹ and 1511¹²

Thomas de Hurtesby, occurs 1535¹³

Robert Holgate, 1536 to 1538¹⁴

PRIORS¹⁵ OF SEMPRINGHAM

Torphim, occurs 1164¹⁶

Roger, occurs 1204¹⁷

Thomas, occurs 1242¹⁸

Roger, occurs 1282¹⁹

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 948.

⁶ The list of masters to 1407 is taken from Transcripts from Rome (P.R.O.), 16, fols. 1-3.

⁷ *Cal. Pap. Letters* vii, 418.

⁸ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 304.

⁹ Pat. 23 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 4.

¹⁰ Douce MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 136, fol. 106.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 947.

¹² Douce MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 136, fol. 110.

¹³ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 34.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 947; Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 118.

¹⁵ Owing to their exemption from episcopal control the election of the Gilbertine priors is not recorded in the Lincoln registers, hence the incomplete lists.

¹⁶ Stowe MS. 937, fol. 146 v.

¹⁷ Add. MS. 6118, fol. 405 v.

¹⁸ Orig. Chart. (Bodl. Lib.), No. 247.

¹⁹ Elected master. Transcripts from Rome (P.R.O.), 16, fol. 2.

¹ Douce MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 136, fol. 106.

² Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 118; Emily Day, *Notes on the Life and Portrait of Robert Holgate*.

³ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, p. 40; Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 32.

⁴ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 102. Shortly after the dissolution of the Gilbertine houses in Lincs. a report was sent up to Cromwell of their value. The gross yearly value was estimated as £1,407, but out of this sum pensions to the amount of £574 6s. 8d. were granted to the priors and canons, prioresses and nuns. The sum realized by the sale of household stuff, stock and store, with the plate, was £266 3s. 2d., but wages, rewards, costs, and all manner of charges reached the high figure of £756 9s. 8d. The value of the bells and lead was estimated at £3,972 13s. 4d., so the capital sum realized was £4,729 3s. The pensions were considered a heavy charge on the annual revenue, but as there were a good number of benefices it was suggested that as they all fell vacant they should be given to the canons in lieu of their pensions. Tanner MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 105, 63b.



ABBAY OF GRIMSBY OR WELLOW



HOSPITAL OF ALL SAINTS, STAMFORD



SEMPRINGHAM PRIORY



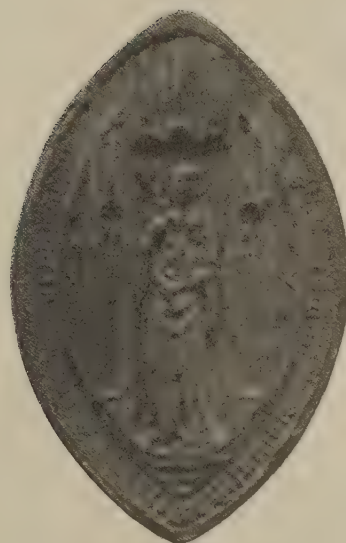
HOSPITAL OF HOLY INNOCENTS, WITHOUT LINCOLN



VAUDEY ABBEY



HAGNABY ABBEY



PRIORY OF ST. LEONARD, GRIMSBY

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

John of Hamilton, occurs 1301¹ and 1312²
 John of Glinton, occurs 1325³ and 1332⁴
 William of Prestwold, occurs 1364⁵
 William Cusom, occurs 1366⁶
 John Jordan, occurs 1522, 1529, and 1535⁷
 Roger, occurs 1538⁸

PRIORESSES OF SEMPRINGHAM

Edusia of Pointon, Elizabeth of Arderne,
 Matilda of Willoughby, occur 1366⁹
 Agnes Rudd and Margery Marbury, occur
 1538¹⁰

The seal attached to a deed of 1457¹¹ is in shape
 a pointed oval, and represents the Annunciation
 of the Virgin, and in the base there is a carved
 corbel.¹²

The seal of the master is a pointed oval, and
 represents him three-quarters length to the right,
 holding a book.¹³ The legend is SIG V .
 GILLEBERTI • MAGISTRI.

44. THE PRIORY OF HAVERHOLME

The Gilbertine priory of St. Mary, Haverholme, was founded as a double house in 1139 by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln.¹⁴ In 1137 he had offered the site, a marshy island in the river near Sleaford, to the abbot of Fountains for a Cistercian abbey.¹⁵ Abbot Gervase accepted it; two years were spent in erecting those monastic buildings which were absolutely needful, and on Candlemas Day, 1139, a band of monks was sent from Fountains to take possession.¹⁶ The place displeased them, and the bishop gave them instead the site on which the house of Louth Park was built. Alexander then offered Haverholme to his former confessor, Gilbert of Sempringham, who had lived in his household for eight years. The number of nuns at Sempringham was increasing very rapidly, the Cistercian buildings were ready for them at Haverholme, and the bishop considered that there was sufficient arable and pasture land for their needs.¹⁷ St.

Gilbert sent nuns, lay sisters and lay brothers to Haverholme, but at first they suffered severely from poverty. In 1140 Simon Tushett 'had compassion on their good life, and fearing that they would lack the wherewithal to live,' granted them lands in Ashby.¹⁸ Henry II,¹⁹ Roger Mowbray,²⁰ and Roger de Lacy²¹ were among their later benefactors.

St. Gilbert added canons to the community soon after his return from Cîteaux, in 1148.²² He afterwards limited the numbers in the house to 100 nuns and lay sisters, and 50 canons and lay brothers.²³

In October, 1164, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, found shelter at Haverholme, among other houses of the Gilbertine order, when he fled abroad from the Council of Northampton.²⁴

In 1254 the spiritualities of the house were assessed at £40, the temporalities at £100 11s. 10d.²⁵ Three years later Richard of Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln, held that the resources of the house were insufficient for the maintenance of guests and poor, and appropriated to the use of the convent the church of Sleaford (Vetus Lafford) and a moiety of Ruskington.²⁶ In 1291 the value of the temporalities had increased by over £18 a year,²⁷ and about the beginning of the fourteenth century the annual sales of wool amounted to 15 sacks.²⁸ At that time the revenues probably sufficed for the needs of the house; apparently no efforts were made to get a licence to appropriate lands in mortmain, money was not advanced by the Italian merchants, no special difficulty was experienced in the payment of the taxes.

In 1303 the prior held one knight's fee in Dorrington, seven-eighths of a fee in Ruskington, three-quarters in Hougham, a quarter in Brauncewell, a quarter in Wilsford, one-sixth in Marton, one-sixth in Dorrington, one-tenth in Timberland, one-seventeenth in Boothby, four-fifths of half a fee in Wellingore, and seven-eighths of half a fee in Anwick.²⁹ Like other monasteries and townships, the prior was presented for neglect before the justices of sewers. In 9 Edward II complaint was made that the south side of the water from Happletreeness to Kyme was in decay, the prior was bound to repair a

¹ *Le Livre de Reis de Brittanie* (Rolls Ser.), 327.

² *Ibid.* 329.

³ *Cal. Close*, 19 Edw. III, m. 26 d.

⁴ Elected master. Transcripts from Rome (P.R.O.), 16, fol. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* 16, fol. 3.

⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell*, fol. 48 d.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, iii, No. 6047; *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36; *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 102.

⁸ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 40.

⁹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell*, fol. 48 d.

¹⁰ *Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.* 233, fol. 32.

¹¹ *Harl. Chart.* 111, C. 37.

¹² The seal attached to the Deed of Surrender (Aug. Off.), 210, is bad.

¹³ *Harl. Chart.* 44, A.

¹⁴ *Dugdale, Mon.* vii, 948.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* v, 299.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* vii, 948.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Add. MS.* 4937, fol. 110.

¹⁹ *Lansd. MS.* 207a, fol. 119.

²⁰ *Dodsworth MS.* (Bodl. Lib.), 144, fol. 93.

²¹ *Lansd. MS.* 207a, fol. 119.

²² *Dugdale, Mon.* vii, p. xii.

²³ *Ibid.* p. xcvi, cap. vi.

²⁴ *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 323-5.

²⁵ *Cott. MS. Claud. D.* xi, fol. 278v.

²⁶ *Liber Antiq.* (ed. A. W. Gibbon), 105.

²⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 70b.

²⁸ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (ed. 1905), i, 635, at prices varying from 18 to 8½ marks the sack.

²⁹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, *passim*.

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great part of it and refused.¹ It was also stated that he ought to provide a boat at the Bothe near the Wathe mouth, the public crossing from Kesteven, to carry over foot passengers by day and by night.²

The disturbed state of the country in the reign of Edward II and the earlier years of his son is notorious, and Haverholme Priory did not escape being embroiled with neighbours. In 1316 a commission of oyer and terminer was issued on the prior's complaint that certain men fished in his free fisheries at Iwardy, carried away his fish and other goods, and threw one of the canons into the water.³ In 1327 John Bussy of Thistleton, knt., and Hugh Wysman of Agham and others broke into the prior's close at Marston by Hougham, carried away his goods, writings and muniments, and assaulted his servants.⁴ Three years later certain men fished in his fisheries at Old Lafford and Haverholme, broke the banks between which the water flowed to his mills, and flooded 300 acres of his meadow land. They assaulted two of the canons, a lay-brother, and the prior's servant, imprisoned one canon until he made a fine of £10 for his release, and robbed the other of 40s. of the prior's money.⁵ There is no record of any reprisals, but in 1330 the prior and two of the canons with the prior of Sempringham and others trespassed on a close at Evedon.⁶

The later history of the priory is quite obscure. Shortly before the dissolution there were many manuscripts but few printed books.⁷

The house was surrendered on 24 September, 1538, by the prior and six canons.⁸ Pensions were granted to the prior and four canons, the prioress and seven nuns.⁹

In 1535 the clear value of the property was only £70 15s. 10½d. out of which the net income drawn from the rectories was £7 13s. 8d.¹⁰ The demesne lands farmed by the prior's convent were worth £9 6s. 8d. a year.

In the hands of the crown bailiff, four years later, the property brought in £103 17s. 6½d., and included the rectories of Ruskington, Sleaford, and Anwick, lands in Ruskington, Anwick, and Dorrington, and four mills in Lincolnshire, lands and tenements in Staunton, Thorp, Thoroton, Shelton, and granges at Warborough and Staturm in Nottinghamshire.¹¹

¹ Dugdale, *Hist. of Imbanking and Draining* (ed. 1772), 200 (11).

² Ibid. 201 (12).

³ *Cal. Pat.* 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 10 d.

⁴ Ibid. 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 21 d.

⁵ Ibid. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 4 d.

⁶ Ibid. 4 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26 d.

⁷ Add. MS. 6413, fol. 9 v.

⁸ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 22.

⁹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 58b.

¹⁰ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 118.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 950.

PRIORS OF HAVERHOLME

Richard, occurs 1164¹²

Simon, occurs 1234¹³

Odo, occurs 1255¹⁴

William de Walden, occurs 1330¹⁵

Robert Home, occurs 1522¹⁶

William Hall, occurs 1535¹⁷ and 1538¹⁸

PRIORESS OF HAVERHOLME

Margaret Woodhouse, occurs 1538¹⁹

A seal, attached to a deed [1196-1203]²⁰ is a pointed oval, and represents the Virgin seated, with a crown, the Child between her knees, the right hand uplifted.²¹ The legend is imperfect,

SIGILLVM SANT . . . RHOL . . .

The prior's seal of the thirteenth century²¹ is a pointed oval, and represents the prior standing on a carved platform, lifting up his hands. The legend is

SIGILL' PRIORIS DE HAVERHOLME.

45. THE PRIORY OF ST. CATHERINE OUTSIDE LINCOLN

The Gilbertine priory of St. Catherine, outside Lincoln, was founded by Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln, probably soon after the confirmation of the order of Sempringham by Eugenius III in 1148.²² The bishop endowed it with the prebend of Canwick, the mother church of Newark, and the chapel in Newark Castle, houses and lands and a tenth of the toll of the borough except during fairs, and the churches of Norton Disney, Marton, Newton on Trent, and Bracebridge.²³ There was therefore some justice in the charge of Giraldus Cambrensis that he favoured the regulars at the expense of his see.²⁴ He also handed over to the canons the custody of the hospital of St. Sepulchre at Lincoln and its property.²⁵

¹² Stowe MS. 937, fol. 146 v.

¹³ Lansd. MS. 207a, fol. 165.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 4 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26 d.

¹⁶ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 37.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 118.

¹⁸ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 22.

¹⁹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 58b.

²⁰ Harl. Chart. 44, E, 18.

²¹ W. de Gray Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, i, 579.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 969. In virtue of the foundation it became customary for the bishops of Lincoln to spend the night before their installation in the cathedral at this priory. *Linc. Cath. Stat.* (ed. H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth), pt. ii, 273, 553.

²³ Ibid. Norton was transferred to Sempringham, temp. Bishop Hugh of Grenoble (*Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 273).

²⁴ *Angl. Sacr.* (ed. Wharton), ii, 417.

²⁵ *Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 323; Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 969.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

This hospital was an older endowment founded by Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln (1094–1123). Baldwin Wake (*circa* 1205–13) granted certain parcels of land to the brethren and poor of the hospital. The hundred rolls show that the lay brethren held separate estates.¹

The priory was founded as a house for canons, but it seems probable that lay sisters were soon introduced to undertake the care of the sick. St. Gilbert limited the number of women in the house to twenty, while there might be sixteen men.² It is unlikely that there were nuns at this house to bear rule over the lay sisters, although in 1314 Edward II requested the prior and convent to grant to Eleanor Darcy the allowance of a canoness of that house for life, having sent her to them at the instance of Henry de Beaumont.³ The lay sisters appear to have been continuous. In 1319 Edward II sent Christiana de Hauville, whose husband and three sons were slain by the Scotch rebels, to have her maintenance among the sisters of that house until she was able to live of her own again, her lands and goods having been laid waste and utterly destroyed.⁴ The lay sisters were remembered in a will of 1392,⁵ and five of them served the hospital at the dissolution.⁶

Compared with other houses of the order, the endowment and later benefactions were considerable. In 1254 the spiritualities were assessed at £91 13s. 4d., the temporalities at £180 12s. 4d.⁷ At the beginning of the fourteenth century the profits of the wool trade were very large, for the sales then averaged 35 sacks a year.⁸ However, the claims of the poor and sick were obviously unlimited, and in the fourteenth century it was the custom of the canons to send out collectors. In 1309 Bishop Dalderby notified to the archdeacons of the diocese that divers persons were fraudulently seeking alms, whereas the prior had only sent out three collectors.⁹ A few years later he granted an indulgence to all who should contribute to the fabric of the hospital or the maintenance of the sick.¹⁰ In 1328 Edward III issued a mandate for five years to sheriffs, bailiffs,

and others to arrest unauthorized persons who were converting the contributions to their own use.¹¹

There is evidence of considerable activity at the end of the thirteenth century. In 1285 the prior and convent got a licence to build a windmill on the east of the priory gate.¹² A few years afterwards the first of the Eleanor crosses was erected on Swines Green, opposite the gates, as the body of the queen rested at the priory in November, 1290, on the first night of the journey from Harby to London.¹³ In 1291 the prior and convent obtained a papal indulgence for visitors on the feasts of St. Catherine, St. Gilbert, and St. James.¹⁴ In 1294 they were allowed to enclose a plot of land for the enlargement of the priory,¹⁵ and twelve years later to build an aqueduct for a water supply.¹⁶ In 1306 they paid as much as 60 marks for a royal licence to appropriate in mortmain Stapleford church by Norton Disney.¹⁷ In 1308 they appropriated the church of Newark.¹⁸ In 1316 they obtained a further licence to appropriate lands in mortmain to the value of £40 a year,¹⁹ but too late to prevent them from being fined five marks for receiving twenty-one small benefactions without licence.²⁰

The result of somewhat reckless speculation in lands and wool was apparent early in the reign of Edward III. In 1330 the house owed to one merchant of Genoa £408 6s. 1d.,²¹ and two years later no less than £956 to several Italian merchants.²² However the obligations were met, and the bonds subsequently cancelled.²³

The house suffered from serious assaults resulting in considerable damage and loss to property. In 1316 the prior complained that nineteen persons entered his close at Scopwick, assaulted his men and servants, drove away his cattle, impounded 500 sheep and detained them so long that most of them died of hunger.²⁴ In 1333 the abbot of Kirkstead, two of his monks and others, took away four ships worth £40 from the prior's ferry at Timberland, and ten nets from his fishery.²⁵ However not a month later a commission of oyer and terminer was appointed on the complaint of the abbot of Kirkstead, who charged the prior of St. Catherine's

¹ *Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 266.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* p. xcvi, cap. vi.

³ *Cal. Close*, 7 Edw. II, m. 6d. Henry de Beaumont in 1307 received the manor of Folkingham near Sempringham. (*Cal. Close*, 1 Edw. II, m. 19.) He was a benefactor to Sempringham Priory (*Cal. Pat.* 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27), and therefore in a position to know the constitution of St. Catherine's outside Lincoln.

⁴ *Ibid.* 12 Edw. II, m. 20d.

⁵ *Early Linc. Wills* (ed. A. W. Gibbon), 86.

⁶ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 34.

⁷ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 278 v.

⁸ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (ed. 1905), i, 635, the price varying from 22½ marks the sack to 10, according to the quality.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 129.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 385.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 2.

¹² *Ibid.* 13 Edw. I, m. 23.

¹³ *Arch. Journ.* xxxiii, 187.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 523.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 22 Edw. I, m. 28.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 35 Edw. I, m. 46.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 6 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 14.

¹⁸ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 235.

¹⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 31.

²¹ *Cal. Close*, 4 Edw. III, m. 41d. and 22d.

²² *Ibid.* 6 Edw. III, m. 25d. and 11d.

²³ *Cal. Pat.* 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 3d.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 17 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 19d.

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with poaching on his fisheries and trampling down his corn at Canwick.¹

In 1303 the prior held a knight's fee in Houghton and Walton, half a fee in Toft, half in Pointon, one-third in Syston, a quarter in Friskney, a quarter in Harmston, a quarter in Fulletby and Oxcombe, a quarter in Bracebridge, a quarter and one-eighth in Stapleford, one-fifth of half a fee in Navenby, one-tenth in Hagworthingham, one-twelfth in Boothby, one-twentieth in Toft Newton, one-twentieth in East Hykeham, one-twentieth and one-twelfth and one-thirty-second in Haddington, one-fortieth in Timberland, one-fortieth and one two-hundredth in Boultham. In 1346 he also held half a fee in Welby, a half in Pointon, a quarter in Foston and Bennington, and one-twentieth in Claxby.²

The Black Death affected the fortunes of the house very severely. Even in 1348 the prior urged that the possessions of the house were not sufficient for its burdens,³ and in 1391 the house was poor and in debt, labour was scarce, wages high and taxation heavy, while hospitality and the care of the sick were serious charges.⁴ Bishop Bokyngham accordingly allowed the prior and convent to appropriate the church of Mere.⁵ They were favoured just at that time by Lincoln citizens and county knights, and acquired several benefactions on the condition of services and masses.⁶ In 1393 they added another five marks to their revenues by appropriating the church of Harmston.⁷

In 1390 the prior was released from the obligation of collecting the tenths of the clergy in the diocese,⁸ an office very frequently held by his predecessors.⁹

Attempts to economize at the expense of the secular clergy and their parishioners brought the convent into conflict with the bishops in the fifteenth century.¹⁰ In 1463 the prior had neglected to provide a chaplain at Saxby.¹¹ Four years later he was compelled to increase the stipend of the vicar of Alford by six marks a year.¹² Papal intervention enabled him to set

aside ordinations of vicarages and to send canons whom he could recall at will to serve the churches of Newark and Mere.¹³

Just before the dissolution the house was unfortunate in its priors. Robert Holgate, who afterwards became the last and most unworthy master of the order, robbed it of a chalice and a pair of censers of some value, and was cited by his successor, William Griffiths, to answer the charge before the king's commissioners.¹⁴ Griffiths was a turbulent person. He was said to have been deprived for promoting the rebellion in Lincolnshire in 1536, and for dissipating the goods of his house.¹⁵ He entered the priory by force, expelled the new prior, and maintained his position until the surrender, when in spite of his conduct he secured a pension of £40.¹⁶

The priory was surrendered on 14 July, 1538,¹⁷ two months before the other Gilbertine houses in the county. The thirteen canons were pensioned,¹⁸ but the lay sisters got nothing.

In 1535 the clear yearly value of the property was £202 5s. 0½d.¹⁹ It included the granges or manors of Harmston, Wellingore, North Hykeham, Stapleford, Long Bennington, Belchford, Cherry Willingham, and Saxby; in Nottinghamshire, Coddington, and in Yorkshire Brampton, lands and rents in many other places in Lincolnshire, and the rectories of Stapleford, Alford with Rigsby Chapel, Marton, Bracebridge, Canwick, Hackthorn, Mere, Friskney, Harmston, North Hykeham and Saxby. Granges and rectories alike were let, and the canons lived on their rents. The cost of the maintenance and education of some orphans in the hospital, of five lay sisters to look after them and the sick amounted to only £21 13s. 4d. a year.

Four years later in the hands of the crown bailiff the property brought in £209 5s. 9d.²⁰

PRIORS OF ST. CATHERINE WITHOUT LINCOLN

Adam,²¹ occurs 1164
Gilbert,²² occurs 1202
William,²³ occurs 1218
Vivian,²⁴ occurs 1225
Hugh,²⁵ occurs 1232
Roger,²⁶ occurs 1236

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 17 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 18 d. Final Concords, 293. The church of Saxby was given by William Foliot and confirmed by his nephew Jordan in 1236.

² *Feud. Aids*, iii, *passim*.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 16.

⁴ *Linc. Epis. Reg.* Bokyngham, fol. 391.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 13 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 4; 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 12; 15 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 13; 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 34; pt. ii, m. 2.

⁷ *Linc. Epis. Reg.* Memo. Bokyngham, fol. 397 d.

⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 14 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 30.

⁹ e.g. *Ibid.* 22 Edw. I, m. 8; 24 Edw. I, m. 22; 1 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 13, &c.

¹⁰ *Linc. Epis. Reg.* Chedworth, fol. 81 d.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.* fol. 85 d.

¹³ *Ibid.* Memo. Smith (1496-1509), fol. 6 d. An entry of a bull of Boniface IX, dated 1394.

¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), No. 1103.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* No. 397.

¹⁶ *Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.* 233, fol. 78b.

¹⁷ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 27.

¹⁸ *Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.* 233, fol. 78b.

¹⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 30.

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 969.

²¹ Stowe MS. 937, fol. 146b.

²² *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 271.

²³ *Final Concords*, 133.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 180.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 248.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 293.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Ralph,¹ 1245
 Henry,² 1269
 Gilbert,³ occurs 1323
 William,⁴ occurs 1333
 Richard de Stretton,⁵ *ob.* 1334
 Walter de Shireburn,⁶ 1334
 Robert de Navenby,⁷ occurs 1340
 William,⁸ occurs 1344
 Roger de Houton,⁹ occurs 1348
 Hamo,¹⁰ occurs 1390
 Walter Iklyngham,¹¹ occurs 1428 and 1435
 Richard Misyn,¹² 1435
 John Busseby,¹³ occurs 1447
 Robert,¹⁴ occurs 1511
 John Jonson,¹⁵ occurs 1522
 Robert Holgate,¹⁶ occurs 1529
 William Griffiths,¹⁷ occurs 1538

Several seals of the thirteenth century are attached to deeds in the British Museum.¹⁸ In shape they are pointed ovals. One represents St. Catherine seated on a throne with a nimbus, in her right hand a sceptre, in her left hand a book.¹⁹ Overhead is a small round-headed arched canopy. The legend is SIGILL' ECCLESIE BEATE KATERINE VIRGINIS LINCOLIE. Another represents St. Catherine standing on a platform with crown and nimbus, in her right hand a sword, in her left hand a book, and at the right side a wheel.²⁰ The legend is . . . OR ET CONVENTOS . . . s. STE KATRINE LI . . . A seal *ad causas* represents St. Catherine crowned standing slightly turned to the right on a corbel, in her right hand a book, in her left a wheel, is in the style of the fourteenth century and of the date 1522.²¹

46. THE PRIORY OF BULLINGTON

The Gilbertine priory of St. Mary, Bullington, was founded as a double house between 1148 and 1154 by Simon, son of William de Kyme.²²

¹ *Linc. N. and Q.* vii, 41.

² *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 273.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 17 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 18 d.

⁴ *Cal. Close*, 7 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14 d.

⁵ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii. ⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Transcripts from Rome, 16 (P.R.O.), fol. 2.
 Robert became master of Sempringham in 1340.

⁸ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 297.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 14 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 30.

¹¹ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 304.

¹² Warton, *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, i, 265.

¹³ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 305. ¹⁴ *Ibid.* 307.

¹⁵ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), No. 6047.

¹⁷ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, p. 27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Harl. Chart. 57 F, 51; Eg. Chart. 480.

¹⁹ Cf. the similar seal attached to the Deed of Surrender (Aug. Off.), No. 97.

²⁰ Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, i, 628.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 952.

He gave as a site part of his park of Bullington, and part of his wood and lands on the north and east of the priory, the churches of Bullington and Langton, Hackthorn mill, lands for a grange at Faldingworth, and pasturage in Aldfeld for 600 sheep.²³ His son, Philip de Kyme, provided for the maintenance of seven canons his demesne land in Faldingworth, the churches of Spridlington and Winthorpe, and a moiety of Friskney.²⁴ He gave 20 acres in Huttoft for the clothing of the convent,²⁵ and for the farmery of the nuns the church of St. Albinus at Spridlington.²⁶ The prior and convent of Sempringham made over their lands at Skirbeck, near Boston, for the care of the sick,²⁷ and also granted for half a mark yearly the church of West Torington,²⁸ of which St. Gilbert held the rectory.²⁹ Alexander de Crevequer granted 52 acres in Hackthorn, and common of pasture for 500 sheep.³⁰ He also united to Bullington the small Gilbertine priory, which his father had founded on the island of Tunstall.³¹

The numbers were limited by the statute of St. Gilbert to 100 nuns and lay sisters, and 50 canons and lay brothers.³²

Throughout the thirteenth century the prior and convent continued to acquire both lands and churches. In 1248 they obtained a bull from Innocent IV enabling them to appropriate the church of Prestwold, worth 65 marks, because they had to maintain 100 women who, for lack of necessities, suffered in health.³³ In 1254 the spiritualities were assessed at £100, the temporalities at £96 3s. 6d.³⁴ In 1277 a licence was obtained to appropriate in mortmain lands, tenelements, or churches to the value of £40 a year,³⁵ the endowment was increased by small sums spread over many years,³⁶ but in 1291 the assessment of the temporalities had risen to £111 5s. 7½d.³⁷ In 1310 John Dalderby, bishop of Lincoln, allowed the prior and convent to appropriate the church of Ingham, because the house was burdened with 'a multitude' of nuns and lay sisters, the revenues were quite inadequate, and great expenses 'which ought to be still greater' were incurred in providing hospitality.³⁸ Yet the house had a large trade in wool,

²³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 952.

²⁴ Add. MS. 6118, fol. 375v.

²⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 380v.

²⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 383.

²⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 393.

²⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 375v.

²⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, p. vi; cf. *Arch. Journ.* xxxiii, 183.

³⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 953.

³¹ *Ibid.* 953, 982.

³² *Ibid.* xcvi, cap. 6.

³³ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 258.

³⁴ Cott. MS. Claud. D, xi, fol. 278v.

³⁵ Harl. Chart. 43 D, 16.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 70b.

³⁸ Harl. Chart. 43 H, 35.

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selling in the fourteenth century 18 sacks a year.¹

In 1303 the prior held a knight's fee in Hardwick by Wragby, half a fee in Ingham, a quarter of the fee of Croft, Friskney, Burgh and Winthorpe, one-eighth of another in Burgh, a quarter of a fee in Fulletby and Oxcombe, one-thirtieth of another in Oxcombe, one-sixth in Redbourne, one-sixth and one-fortieth of one fee in Hainton, and one-twelfth in Lissington, one-eighth and one-fifteenth in Hainton, one-tenth in Hackthorn, one-twelfth in Wragby, and one-eightieth of half a fee in Rand. In 1346 he also held half a fee in Torrington, and in 1428 three-quarters of a fee in Bilsby and Huttoft.²

Bullington, like the other Gilbertine houses, never recovered from the effects of the Black Death. The revenues from churches in Lincolnshire dwindled greatly; indeed in 1428 there were not ten persons domiciled in the parishes of Bullington³ and St. Albinus, Spridlington.⁴ For this reason the prior and convent suffered the church of St. Albinus at Spridlington to fall into ruin, and in 1417 they gladly consented to its union with the church of St. Hilary.⁵ In 1448 they petitioned that their third of the church of Fulletby might be united to the remainder, as no rector would accept that portion on account of its great poverty.⁶

In 1449, just before the Wars of the Roses, they complained to the bishop of Lincoln of trespass and damage in ten of their granges, and prayed him to excommunicate the offenders in virtue of a bull of Innocent IV.⁷

The house was surrendered on 26 September, 1538, by the prior and nine canons,⁸ the prioress and fourteen nuns were included with them in the pension list.⁹

In 1535 the net annual value of the property amounted to £158 7s. 11d.¹⁰ Of this sum £91 6s. 2d. was drawn from the rectories of Hackthorn, Burgh in the Marsh, Winthorpe, West Torrington, Langton, Friskney, and Prestwold. All the granges and tenements were let, and the demesne at Bullington farmed by the prior and convent was only worth £5 a year.

In the hands of the crown bailiff four years later the property brought in £78;¹¹ however, the more valuable rectories, the site of the priory, and several of the granges had already been granted away.¹²

¹ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (ed. 1905), i, 635, at prices varying from 22 to 9½ marks a sack.

² *Feud. Aids*, iii, *passim*. ³ Ibid. 311. ⁴ Ibid. 331.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Repingdon, fol. 151 d, 171.

⁶ Ibid. Memo. Alnwick, fol. 23.

⁷ Harl. Chart. 43 I, 11.

⁸ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 10.

⁹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 134.

¹⁰ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 84.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 954.

¹² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), No. 651.

PRIORS OF BULLINGTON

Richard, occurs 1164¹³

Henry, occurs 1199¹⁴

Hugh, occurs 1215¹⁵

William, occurs 1226 and 1235¹⁶

Walter, occurs 1261¹⁷

Gilbert, 1308¹⁸

Robert Hotun, 1402¹⁹

Henry, 1452²⁰

Thomas Ingilby, occurs 1522²¹

Richard Bretton, 1529,²² 1535, and 1538²³

PRIORESS OF BULLINGTON

Mary Sutton, occurs 1538²⁴

There are several seals of Bullington Priory. The first,²⁵ attached to a deed of the twelfth century, is in shape a pointed oval. It represents the Virgin seated, wearing a flat cap and dress with long sleeves, and holding the Child on her lap with her left hand, and in her right hand she has a flower.²⁶ The legend is SIGNUM COVENTUS SANTE MARIE DE BVLINGTON.

An early chapter seal of the thirteenth century,²⁷ in shape a pointed oval, represents an ornamental fleur-de-lis. The legend is SIGILLVM DE BVLLINTVM.

A later chapter seal of the thirteenth century is a smaller pointed oval, and represents a bust in profile to the left, couped at the neck.²⁸ The legend is wanting.

A seal *ad causas* of the early fourteenth century is a pointed oval, and represents the Virgin crowned, and with a nimbus, seated in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides, the Child on her left knee. In base, under a pointed arch, the prior is kneeling in prayer, to the right.²⁹ The legend is . . . PRIOR' ET CONVENTVS DE BOLINGTON AD CAUSAS.

A seal of Prior Walter of the middle of the thirteenth century is a small pointed oval, with an eagle displayed.³⁰

The seal attached to the surrender represents the Virgin crowned, with the Child on her lap.³¹

47. THE PRIORY OF ALVINGHAM

The Gilbertine priory of St. Mary, Alvingham, was founded as a double house between 1148 and 1154, possibly by Hugh de Scotney or one of his tenants.³² In a few years the convent

¹³ Stowe MS. 937, fol. 145v.

¹⁴ Add. MS. 6118, fol. 388v.

¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 421.

¹⁶ Add. MS. fol. 421, 407.

¹⁷ Harl. Chart. 44 A, 43; 44 A, 44.

¹⁸ Ibid. 44 B, 5.

¹⁹ Ibid. 43 F, 12.

²⁰ Ibid. 44 B, 15.

²¹ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36.

²² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), No. 6047.

²³ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 10.

²⁴ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 134.

²⁵ Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, i, 467.

²⁶ Ibid. 468.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ D. of Surrender (Aug. Off.), 24.

³² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 958.

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possessed lands in Alvingham, Cockerington, and Calthorp, and the churches of St. Adelwold, Alvingham, and St. Mary, Cockerington, which stood in the same churchyard, within the precinct of the priory, and the churches of St. Leonard, Cockerington, Cawthorpe, Keddington, and Newton.¹ Hamelin, the dean, gave three parts of the church of St. Adelwold of Alvingham, the fourth part having been given by Roger Fitz Gocelyn.² In view of this endowment, St. Gilbert limited the number of inmates to eighty nuns and lay sisters, and forty canons and lay brothers.³

Before 1251 the prior and convent had granges at Alvingham, Cockerington, Grainthorpe, Keddington, Newton, Cabourne, Coningsby, and Swinfleet,⁴ houses or rents in Lincoln, Louth, Boston, and Great Grimsby, and lands in several other townships in the county.⁵ Like many other religious houses they profited by the embarrassment of lesser barons and knights, and in 1232 were able to purchase the greater part of the manor of Alvingham from John de Melsa, his father and mother, by paying off their debt of 87½ marks to certain Jews.⁶

Their claim to two parts of the church of St. Andrew, Stainton, involved them in a struggle with Robert Grosteste.⁷ He revoked the appropriation made by his predecessor,⁸ but in 1245 the prior's appeal to Innocent IV was finally successful.⁹ The grant of the church of Grainthorpe by Brian of Yarborough¹⁰ was disputed by his sons, but the suit was decided in favour of Alvingham in 1251.¹¹

A wise compact with the neighbouring Cistercian house of Louth Park in 1174 provided against that most fruitful source of strife, the acquisition of lands.¹² It was agreed that neither house should hire nor acquire for a price cultivated or uncultivated lands without the consent and advice of the other. If the convent of Louth Park broke the contract the convent of Alvingham could take a third of the land for a third of the price paid. On the other hand, the convent of Louth Park could take two-thirds of the land of Alvingham for two-thirds of the price. The pact was to be kept in twenty townships in Lincolnshire.

In 1254 the spiritualities of the house were assessed at £56 13s. 4d., the temporalities at

£53 17s. 4½d.¹³ The number of small grants in Alvingham and Cockerington suggests that the prior and convent were popular with their neighbours, or at least very successful in inducing them to part with their land. In 1291 the temporalities had increased to £81 14s. 2½d.¹⁴ The revenues were considerably augmented by the sale of wool, which averaged ten sacks a year at the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁵

In 1303 the prior held half a knight's fee in Newton, half in Keddington, one-quarter in Alvingham, and one-sixth of another, a quarter in Yarborough and Grimblethorpe, one-sixth in Swinhope, one-eighth and one-fortieth in Cockerington, one-twentieth in Tathwell. In 1428 he also held a quarter in Welton.¹⁶

In 1402 Boniface IX granted an indulgence for the chapel of the Virgin at the gate of the priory.¹⁷

The prior commented on the economic effects of the Black Death in a petition to Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln, in 1448.¹⁸ The rectors of the church of Grainthorpe had ceased 'for frivolous reasons' to pay a pension of £10 a year, and the prior was anxious to exercise his privilege to appropriate the church, which was worth 47 marks. He pleaded that owing to floods, sterile lands, pestilence among sheep and cattle, and other sinister events in the past, the convent could not maintain its wonted hospitality. An appeal to Pope Paul II in 1465 resulted in a bull enabling the prior to hold some benefice *in commendam* on account of the great cost of hospitality.¹⁹

The house was surrendered on 29 September, 1538, by the prior and seven canons.²⁰ The prioress and eleven nuns were included with them in the pension list.²¹

In 1535 the clear yearly value of the property amounted to £128 14s. 10d.²² Of this sum over £38 was drawn from rectories. The demesne lands farmed by the prior and convent were worth £20 a year. All the granges, lands, and tenements were let. The Earl of Northumberland unjustly held possession of a wood worth £10 a year.

Four years later, in the hands of the crown bailiff, the property brought in £131 16s. 5d.,²³ and included the rectories of Alvingham, Cockerington St. Mary, Cockerington St.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 958.

² Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 10.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 958.

⁴ *Ibid.* vii, 960. The bull should be assigned to Innocent IV, not Innocent III. Robert was master 1225-51.

⁵ *Ibid.* vii, 958.

⁷ Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 3 v.

⁸ *Liber Antiq.* (ed. A. W. Gibbons), 67.

⁹ Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 96.

¹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 96 v. 98.

¹² *Ibid.* fol. 130 v.

¹³ Cott. MS. Claud. D, xi, fol. 278 v.

¹⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 771, 325b.

¹⁵ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (ed. 1905), i, 635, the prices varying from 18 to 9 marks the sack, according to the quality.

¹⁶ *Feud. Aids*, iii, *passim*.

¹⁷ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 574.

¹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Alnwick, fol. 77 d.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Memo. Chedworth, fol. 74.

²⁰ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 7.

²¹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 27.

²² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 58.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 961.

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Leonard, Keddington, Grainthorpe, and Stainton, and granges, lands, and rents in those places, and at Yarborough, Stewton, South Somercotes, Wold Newton, Clee, Great Grimsby, Swinfleet, Flixborough, Normanby, Boston, Rasen, Louth, Lincoln, and elsewhere.

PRIORS OF ALVINGHAM

Geoffrey, occurs 1174¹
Reginald, occurs 1195²
Martin, occurs 1208³
Roger, occurs 1229⁴
William of Freisby, 1232⁵ and 1240⁶
Richard, occurs 1247⁷
Alexander, occurs 1256⁸
Ralph, occurs 1267⁹ and 1282¹⁰
Thomas, occurs 1307¹¹
Gilbert, occurs 1309¹²
William, occurs 1317¹³
G. de Nesse, occurs 1340¹⁴
Thomas of Brompton, occurs 1376¹⁵
John Busby, occurs 1436¹⁶
John Burton, occurs 1465¹⁷
Robert Ingelby, occurs 1534¹⁸ to 1538¹⁹

PRIORESS OF ALVINGHAM

Joan Barker, occurs 1538²⁰

A seal of the thirteenth century²¹ is a pointed oval, and represents the Virgin, crowned, seated on a carved throne, with ornamental corbel; the Child on the left knee. The legend is—

S. SANTE MARIE DE ALVINGHAM A[D CAUS] AS.

A similar seal is attached to the surrender.²²

48. THE PRIORY OF SIXHILLS

The Gilbertine priory of St. Mary at Sixhills was founded as a double house between 1148 and 1154, by one of the de Greslei family, possibly Robert, the founder of Swineshead Abbey, or his son.²³ William son of Haco of Saleby and Thomas his son gave all their land in Sixhills and the church of the vill, and the sixth

part of the church of Nettleton. Thomas son of William gave the churches of Saleby and East Rasen. Jocelin, brother of the queen, with the assent of King John, and of Agnes de Percy his wife, gave the manor of Ludford for £100. Robert son of Robert [Twenge] gave the manor of Legsby.²⁴ Doubtless in view of the considerable possessions of the house, the numbers were limited by St. Gilbert to 120 nuns and lay sisters, and 55 canons and lay brothers.²⁵

Before 1205 the prior and convent held the manor of Ludford on the condition of a yearly rent of 10 marks to be paid to the proctor of the prior and canons of St. Lo at Boston Fair.²⁶ The prior and convent possessed before 1235 the rectories of Sixhills, Market Rasen, North Willingham, Tealby, Saleby, East Wykeham, Cadeby, and a moiety of West Wykeham.²⁷ In 1252 they obtained the right of free warren in their demesne lands in the manors of Sixhills, Legsby, Barkworth, Wykeham, Kirmond, Binbrook, Tealby, Willingham, Nettleton, Kingthorpe, and Blesby.²⁸ Henry III also granted them at the same time a weekly market in their manor of Ludford and a yearly fair on the vigil and feast of St. Peter ad Vincula.²⁹ In 1254 the spiritualities of the house were assessed at £66 8s. 8d., the temporalities at £100 11s. 8d.³⁰ Within the next forty years their acquisitions of land included the manor of Toft,³¹ and added as much as £75 to their endowment.³² Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells, gave this manor of Toft near West Rasen with the advowson of the church.³³ The wool trade was exceedingly profitable, and at the beginning of the fourteenth century the average sale was 18 sacks a year.³⁴

In 1303 the prior held a knight's fee in Willingham, and one-twelfth of another, one-third of a fee in Tealby, a quarter in Grimblethorpe, one-fifth in Kirmond, one-sixth in Herdwick and Wykeham, one-eighth in Hainton, one-tenth in Nettleton, one-twelfth in Binbrook, one-twentieth in Helpringham, one-twentieth in Burgh and Girsby, one-fortieth in Covenham, one-forty-eighth in Lissington, one-fifty-first in Walesby. In 1402 he also held a knight's fee in Toft Newton.³⁵

¹ Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 130 v.

² Ibid. fol. 146 v.

⁴ Ibid. fol. 146 v.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 128.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 142 v.

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 162.

¹² Ibid. fol. 41.

¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 137 v.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, fol. 144 d.

¹⁶ Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 118.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Chedworth, fol. 74.

¹⁸ Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 118.

¹⁹ Dep. Keeper's Rep. viii. App. ii, 7.

²⁰ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 27.

²¹ B. M. Seals, lxvi, 80.

²² Deed of Surrender (Aug. Off.), No. 3.

²³ Dugdale, Mon. vii, 964.

³ Ibid. fol. 143 v.

⁵ Ibid. fol. 130 v.

⁷ Ibid. fol. 142 v.

⁹ Ibid. fol. 161 v.

¹¹ Ibid. fol. 121.

¹³ Ibid. fol. 85.

²⁴ K.R. Memo. Roll, 186, inter Communia Recorda East. 10 Hen. IV, rot. 13, on which are many other charters.

²⁵ Dugdale, Mon. xcvi, cap. vi.

²⁶ Ibid. 964, Chart. R. 24 Hen. III, m. 4.

²⁷ Liber Antiq. (ed. Alfred Gibbons), 56, 57.

²⁸ Chart. R. 36 Hen. III, m. 10.

²⁹ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 278 v.

³⁰ Cal. Pat. 20 Edw. I, m. 17.

³¹ Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.).

³² K.R. Memo. R. 186. Cf. n. 24 supra.

³³ W. Cunningham, Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce (ed. 1905), i, 635, at prices varying from 18 to 9 marks the sack.

³⁵ Feud. Aids, iii.

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Among the nuns from 1283 to 1336 was Gladys, daughter of David, prince of Wales.¹ After her father's execution Edward I sent the little girl to be veiled in a Gilbertine convent, afterwards making an allowance of £20 a year for her maintenance.² Robert Manning of Bourne was living at Sixhills in 1338, when he wrote *The Story of England*.³

In the middle of the fifteenth century the number of inmates had greatly diminished, and the house was very poor. In 1462 it was alleged that all the lands and possessions of the priory for the maintenance of twenty-eight persons did not exceed £40 a year.⁴ Shortly before the dissolution the convent suffered from an epidemic sickness.⁵

The house was surrendered by the prior and seven canons on 29 September 1538⁶; the prioress and fourteen nuns were pensioned with them.⁷

In 1535 the net yearly value of the whole property amounted to £135 os. 9d.⁸ The demesne lands at Sixhills were worth £26 13s. 4d.

In the hands of the crown bailiff four years later, the property, unencumbered by a number of small charges previously upon it, brought in £168 1s. 3½d.⁹ It included rents in Kirmond, Hainton, Howton, Ludford, Toft Newton, Nettleton, Legsby and Tealby, several mills and the rectories of East Rasen, Tealby, North Willingham, Sixhills, Ludford, Cadeby, East Wykeham, Sawlby and Legsby.

PRIORS OF SIXHILLS

Hugh, occurs 1164¹⁰ and 1174¹¹
 Nicholas, occurs 1228¹² and 1242¹³
 Simon, occurs 1292¹⁴
 John de Henton, 1302–3¹⁵
 Richard Wakefield, occurs 1462¹⁶
 William Saleby, occurs 1472¹⁷
 James Wales, occurs 1522 and 1538¹⁸

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 959; Peter of Langtoft, *Chron.* (ed. Hearne), ii, 243.

² *Cal. Pat.* 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 20 d.

³ *The Story of Engl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 1.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 2 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 6.

⁵ Add. MS. 6413, fol. 6.

⁶ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 41.

⁷ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 181.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 83.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 965.

¹⁰ Stowe MS. 937, fol. 146 v.

¹¹ Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 130 v.

¹² *Reg. Mon. de Passelet* (ed. Cosmo Innes), 19, 401, 402.

¹³ Harl. Chart. 44 A, 39.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 20 Edw. I, m. 17.

¹⁵ Ibid. 2 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 6.

¹⁶ Ibid. 2 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 6.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Rotherham, fol. 12.

¹⁸ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 83; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2, 41.

PRIORESS OF SIXHILLS

Joan Manby, occurs 1538¹⁹

A seal attached to a charter dated 1245²⁰ is in shape a pointed oval, and represents the Virgin with a crown, seated, the Child on the left knee, on the left three kneeling ecclesiastics, and in the field an estoile and three roundels. The legend is—

SIGILL' CAPI ATE SIXELE.

49. THE PRIORY OF NORTH ORMSBY OR NUN ORMSBY

The Gilbertine priory of St. Mary, North Ormsby, was founded as a double house between 1148 and 1154 by Gilbert son of Robert of Ormsby, with the consent of his lord, William, earl of Albemarle.²¹ He endowed it with the moieties of the churches of Ormsby and Utterby, and a third of his land in each township, the whole of his fee of Warlotes, and certain other lands. Robert, steward of William of Percy, gave to the nuns the churches of South Elkington and Little Grimsby, pasturage for sixty sheep, besides lands in Little Grimsby and Fotherby.²² Ralph de Wihom gave all he had in the churches of Ormsby and Utterby. Hugh de Wildeker gave half, Roger de Clere a quarter, and William son of Amfrid de Hagh a quarter of the church of Fotherby. Hugh of Bayeux gave what he had in half the church of Grimoldby.²³ Before 1189 William de Vesci granted the hermitage of Spaldingholm in Yorkshire, and pasturage for 200 sheep and a fixed number of cattle between the Fuln and the Derwent.²⁴

In view of this endowment the number of inmates was limited by St. Gilbert to 100 nuns and lay sisters and 50 canons and lay brothers.²⁵

In 1254 the spiritualities of the house were assessed at £46 6s. 8d., and the temporalities at £100 8s. 7d.²⁶ It seems that the prior and convent did not afterwards acquire much more property; however, they possessed seven or eight granges, and had a profitable share in the wool-trade, selling on an average 8 sacks a year at the beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁷

In 1303 the prior held three-quarters of one knight's fee in Ormsby, a quarter and one-tenth of another, half, one-third, and one-eighth in Little Grimsby, and several fractions in

¹⁹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 181.

²⁰ B.M. Harl. Chart. 44 G, 49.

²¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 963.

²² Ibid.

²³ K.R. Memo. R. 186, inter Communia Recorda East. 10 Hen. IV, rot. 12.

²⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 963.

²⁵ Ibid. xcvi, cap. vi.

²⁶ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 278 v.

²⁷ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (ed. 1905), i, 635, at prices varying from 19 to 10 marks a sack according to the quality.

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Fotherby, Kelsey, Salmonby, Scrafield, Hameringham, and Elkington.¹

After the Black Death the revenues of the house were greatly diminished. In 1352 and again in 1378 the prior and convent obtained a royal licence to appropriate the valuable church of Ludborough,² but for some reason they did not succeed. They were probably induced by lack of funds to seek an indulgence from Boniface IX in 1399 for the fabric and maintenance of the Lady Chapel.³ It was perhaps in exchange for a gift of money and some other signal benefit that in 1464 the prior made a formal grant of the right of next presentation to the church of Welton to two merchants of that place.⁴

Shortly before the dissolution there were many manuscripts at North Ormsby, though but few printed books.⁵

In 1534 the prior subscribed to the king's supremacy.⁶ The house was surrendered by the prior and five canons on 30 September, 1538,⁷ and nine nuns were included with them in the pension list.⁸ Four other canons held livings of the convent.⁹

In 1535 the net valuation of the whole property amounted to only £80 11s. 10d.¹⁰ Out of this sum over £20 was derived from appropriated churches, viz. from North Ormsby, Utterby, Fotherby, South Elkington, Grimoldby, and Little Grimsby. All the granges, lands, and tenements were let, and the demesne farmed by the prior and convent was worth only £4 a year.

In the hands of the crown bailiff four years later the property brought in £126 3s. 9½d.,¹¹ and included the rents of granges at Utterby, Fotherby, Little Grimsby, Friskney, North Kelsey, and two at South Elkington, besides the rectories.

PRIORS OF NORTH ORMSBY

- Thomas, occurs 1164¹² and 1174¹³
- Robert Pygot, occurs 1464¹⁴
- Thomas Tyesdale, occurs 1522¹⁵
- William Robinson, occurs 1533¹⁶
- Thomas Robinson, occurs 1535¹⁷
- Christopher Cartwright, occurs 1538¹⁸

¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, *passim*.

² *Cal. Pat.* 2 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 36.

³ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, v, 10 Boniface IX.

⁴ Entered in Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Rotherham, fol. 12.

⁵ Add. MS. 6413, fol. 5.

⁶ Browne Willis, *Mitred Abbeyes*, ii, 121.

⁷ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 36.

⁸ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 91b.

⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 62, 63.

¹⁰ Ibid. 59. ¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 964.

¹² Stowe MS. 937, fol. 146v.

¹³ Misc. Laud MS. (Bodl. Lib.), 642, fol. 130v.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Rotherham, fol. 12.

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv, (1), 105b, No. 55 (1.)

¹⁶ Ibid. No. 55 (2).

¹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 59.

¹⁸ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 36.

PRIORESS OF NORTH ORMSBY

Joan Stokwith, occurs 1538¹⁹

The common seal of the date 1272 is a pointed oval and represents the Virgin with a crown, seated on a carved throne, the Child on her left knee.²⁰

On another of the fifteenth century the Virgin is seated in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides.²¹

The legend is—

SIGILLUM · COE · DOM · B MARIE · DE · N . .
· · ORMSBY

50. THE PRIORY OF CATLEY

The Gilbertine priory of St. Mary, Catley, was founded as a double house between 1148 and 1154 by Peter of Billingham.²² He endowed it with the whole island of Catley, the site of a grange and some arable land at Walcote; the church of Billingham and the chapel of Walcote; pasturage for 400 sheep in the two townships, and rights of fishing on Walcote marsh. The number of inmates was limited by St. Gilbert to sixty nuns and lay sisters and thirty-five canons and lay brothers.²³ The priory was always one of the poorest houses of the order of Sempringham. In 1254 the spiritualities were assessed at £20, the temporalities at £30 17s. 11d.,²⁴ and in 1291 these had increased only to £34 12s. 10d.²⁵ At the beginning of the fourteenth century the average yearly sale of wool was seven sacks,²⁶ which added considerably to the income of the nuns and canons.

In 1303 the prior held half a knight's fee in Brauncewell, one-third in Dunsby, a quarter in Billingham and Walcote, a quarter in Digby, one-fifth of half in Ingleby, one-fifth and one-twenty-fourth in Hemswell, one-eighth in Dorrington, one-tenth and one-sixtieth of one in Glentworth, and one-twenty-fourth of another. In 1401 he also held one-seventh in Scopwick.²⁷

In 1338 the house was in serious financial straits, and Edward III pardoned the payment of the tenth, £5 11s. 3¼d.²⁸ Seven years later the prior, canons, and nuns again petitioned to be excused from the tax. They urged that by fires and murrain of their animals they were so impoverished that they had neither crops nor goods for their sustenance.²⁹ The loss of tenants and

¹⁹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 91b; cf. also Deeds of Surrender, No. 185.

²⁰ B. M. Seals, lxvii, 24.

²¹ Ibid. 25.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 967.

²³ Ibid. vii, p. xcvi, cap. vi.

²⁴ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 278v.

²⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 70b.

²⁶ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, i (ed. 1905), 635, at prices varying from 19 to 8½ marks the sack, according to the quality.

²⁷ *Feud. Aids*, iii, *passim*.

²⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 7.

²⁹ Ibid. 19 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 9.

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the mortality among their sheep after the Black Death no doubt greatly increased the embarrassment of the priory.

The house was surrendered by the prior and two canons on 25 September, 1538.¹ Pensions were also granted to the prioress and four nuns.²

In 1535 the net valuation of the property amounted to £34 18s. 6d., of which £8 4s. 10d. was drawn from the rectories of Billingham and Digby.³ The demesne lands of the priory were only worth £4 a year.

In the hands of the crown bailiff four years later the property brought in £38 18s. 11d., and included, besides the rectories, the grange of Scopwick, and lands and tenements in Billingham, Timberland, Walcote, Digby, Ingelby, Saxilby, Lincoln, and Rowston.⁴

PRIORS OF CATLEY

Thomas,⁵ occurs 1245

Thomas South,⁶ occurs 1522

William Swift, occurs 1535 to 1538⁷

PRIORESS OF CATLEY

Margaret Gastwek, occurs 1538⁸

The seal, of the thirteenth century,⁹ is a pointed oval, and represents the Virgin, with a crown, seated on a throne, the Child on the left knee; on base under an arch, the prior kneeling in prayer to the right. The legend is—

s' . PRIORATUS . DE . CATTELE¹⁰

51. THE PRIORY OF TUNSTALL

The Gilbertine priory of St. Mary of Tunstall was founded as a double house before 1164 by Reginald de Crevequer.¹¹ He endowed it with the island of Tunstall, the whole of his fee in the island of Hade, the meadow between the islands, and rights of common.¹² Before 1189 his son Alexander de Crevequer united the house to the Gilbertine priory of Bullington.¹³

PRIOR OF TUNSTALL

Alan, occurs prior in 1164¹⁴

¹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 15.

² Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fol. 30.

³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 123.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 968.

⁵ *Linc. N. and Q.* vi, 239.

⁶ *Ibid.* v, 37.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) iv, 123; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 15.

⁸ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 283, fol. 30.

⁹ B.M. Seals, lxi, 90.

¹⁰ cf. also Deed of Surrender (Aug. Off.), No. 51.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 982.

¹² *Ibid.* 954, No. xii.

¹³ *Ibid.* 953.

¹⁴ Stowe MS. 937, fol. 146 v.

52. THE PRIORY OF NEWSTEAD-ON-ANCHOLME

The Gilbertine priory of Holy Trinity, Newstead-on-Ancholme, was founded for Gilbertine canons by Henry II in 1171.¹⁵ He endowed it with the whole island of Rucholm, on which the priory stood, and other lands in Cadney and Hardwick to the value of £8 10s. a year.¹⁶ The abbot and convent of Longvilliers granted their lands in Kirton for a yearly rent of £5.¹⁷ King John added land in Housham worth £3 6s. a year.¹⁸ The endowment was small, and the number of canons and lay brothers was limited by St. Gilbert to thirteen.¹⁹

In 1254 the spiritualities, including the rectory of Barnetby, were assessed at £15, the temporalities at £42 17s. 5d.²⁰ The prior and convent increased their income by the sale of wool, which at the beginning of the fourteenth century averaged ten sacks a year.²¹ In 1291 their temporalities had increased in value by over £6,²² and in 1329 they obtained a licence to appropriate in mortmain nineteen gifts of land and rents, amounting in all only to the yearly value of 10s., in part satisfaction of a licence to acquire land yielding 10 marks.²³

In 1303 the prior held one-twenty-fourth of a knight's fee in Housham, one-thirty-fourth in Searby, and a quarter and an eighth in Scawby, and in 1346 half a knight's fee in Hibaldstow.²⁴

The economic results of the Black Death were doubtless felt with exceptional severity in a house with such small resources. The prior had trouble with his villeins, and in 1384 a commission of oyer and terminer was appointed touching the withdrawal by his bondmen and bond tenants, who had banded together to resist him.²⁵

In 1397 money was needed for the repair and maintenance of the priory church, and an indulgence was granted for that object by Boniface IX.²⁶

Edward IV released the prior of the yearly rent of £5, formerly paid to the abbot of Longvilliers, as the lands were then not worth more than 10s. a year.²⁷

The priory was surrendered on 2 October, 1538, by the prior and five canons,²⁸ all of whom received pensions.²⁹

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 966; *Pipe Roll* (Pipe R. Soc.), 17 Hen. II, 99.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 966.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 967.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. xcvi, cap. vi.

²⁰ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 278 v.

²¹ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (ed. 1905), i, 635, the price being 15 marks a sack.

²² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 71.

²³ *Cal. Pat.* 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 26.

²⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iii, *passim*.

²⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 8 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 43 d.

²⁶ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 68.

²⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 3 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 9.

²⁸ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 33.

²⁹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233 f.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

In 1535 the net valuation of the property amounted to £38 14s. 5d., of which £8 came from the rectory of Barnetby.¹ Granges and other lands were let, and the demesne land of the priory was only worth £4 7s. a year.

In the hands of the crown bailiff four years later the property brought in £56 18s., including, besides the rectory, the granges of Housham, Hibaldstow, and Stirton, near Scawby, and lands at Cadney.²

PRIORS OF NEWSTEAD

William Robynson,³ occurs 1522

Thomas, occurs 1529⁴

John Orrey, occurs 1535⁵

Richard Hobson, occurs 1538⁶

The seal affixed to the surrender is round, and has upon it a large 'N' surmounted by a cross. There is no legend.⁷

53. THE PRIORY OF ST. SAVIOUR, BRIDGEND IN HORBLING

The Gilbertine priory of St. Saviour, Bridgend, was founded in or before 1199 by Godwin the Rich of Lincoln.⁸ As early as 1177 he became a benefactor to Sempringham, and was received by St. Gilbert into full fraternity.⁹ At Bridgend he gave the chapel of St. Saviour and certain lands and tenements for the maintenance of a house for canons, and bound them, after providing for their own support, to keep in repair the causeway through the fens called Holland Bridge and the bridges over it as far as the new dike near Donington.¹⁰

The history of the house is largely a record of disputes about the causeway. From the middle of the thirteenth century the canons found that its repair was a heavy burden, and on the evidence of numerous complaints against them they appear to have ignored their obligations. In 1263 the jurors before the king's justices stated that the canons had obtained a papal bull authorizing them to collect money for the causeway.¹¹ With the proceeds and other legacies they used to repair it. Twenty years before it was damaged in a great flood, and since then the canons had spent their money on buying land. The jurors contended that with their revenues the canons might very

well repair the causeway. In 1275 it was declared that the lands at the prior's disposal for that purpose were worth 10 marks a year. He took tolls to the amount of £5, and yet did nothing.¹² In 1295 the lands at Bridgend were valued by the jurors at £20.¹³ It is difficult to reconcile their statements with other valuations. The original endowment was very small; in 1254 the temporalities were assessed at £10 4s. 2d.,¹⁴ and in 1290 only at £5 8s. 6d.¹⁵ The canons had scarcely any wool to sell to add to their income.¹⁶ In 1307 Edward I granted the right of taking tolls for seven years in aid of the repairs to the causeway,¹⁷ and the grants were regularly renewed by the crown.¹⁸ However, ten bridges were out of repair in 1325,¹⁹ and in 1331 the people of Kesteven and Holland petitioned the Parliament that auditors might be assigned to the prior who took the tolls and did nothing to the bridges.²⁰ The petition was granted. In 1333 the prior appeared before the Parliament at York and showed that the property barely sufficed for the maintenance of the canons, and the repair of the causeway was only a secondary charge upon his house.²¹ In 1366 Bokyngham bishop of Lincoln granted an indulgence for the repair of Holland Bridge,²² and in 1379 Richard II granted a licence to the prior to beg for seven years throughout England for that purpose.²³ In a grant of pontage by Henry IV the supervision of the repairs was taken from the prior.²⁴

Bridgend probably suffered from its nearness to Sempringham, as benefactors were naturally attracted to the mother-house of the order. It is unlikely that there were ever more than three or four canons and a few lay brothers at this priory. After the Black Death the house was doubtless in great poverty. In 1356 Edward III granted the right of holding a weekly market in Bridgend and of a yearly fair on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen.²⁵ In 1357 he extended the fair to the morrow of the feast and granted another fair on the feast and morrow of St. Luke.²⁶

In or before February, 1445, a serious fire devastated the church and monastic buildings, and Alnwick bishop of Lincoln issued an indulgence of forty days to all who should contri-

¹² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 388.

¹³ *Ibid.* 224.

¹⁴ *Cott. MS. Claud. D*, xi, fol. 278 v.

¹⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 71.

¹⁶ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (ed. 1905), i, 635.

¹⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 35 Edw. I, m. 37.

¹⁸ e.g. *Cal. Pat.* 3 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 11 d.;

¹⁹ Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 13; 3 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 18.

²⁰ Dugdale, *Hist. of Imbanking and Draining*, 202.

²¹ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 32a.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 969.

²³ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* Bokyngham, fol. 32 d.

²⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 970.

²⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1 Hen. IV, pt. vi, m. 37.

²⁶ *Chart R.* 30 Edw. III, m. 13.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 31 Edw. III, m. 5.

¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 71.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 967.

³ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), No. 6047.

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 71.

⁶ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 33.

⁷ *Deeds of Surrender* (Aug. Off.), No. 166.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* viii, 969; *Cart. R.* 1 John, pt. i, m. 14.

⁹ *Genealogist* (New Ser.), xv, 159.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 969.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Hist. of Imbanking and Draining*, 219.

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bute before Michaelmas to the relief of the priory.¹

At the dissolution the house had become a cell of Sempringham, and was surrendered as part of the possessions of that priory on 18 September, 1538.² The prior received a pension of £3 6s. 8d.³

The value of the property, which lay almost entirely in Bridgend, in 1535 amounted only to

£5 1s. 11½d.¹⁰ In the hands of the crown bailiff four years later it brought in £7 7s. 2d.¹¹

PRIORS OF BRIDGEND

John Eveden, occurs 1445¹²

Christopher Cartwright, occurs 1535¹³

William Style, *alias* Skelton, occurs 1538¹⁴

No seal of this priory exists.

HOUSES OF PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS

54. THE ABBEY OF NEWHOUSE OR NEWSHAM

The abbey of Newhouse was the first of this order established in England, the founder being Peter of Gousla, who held in Newsham 'one knight's' fee of Ralf de Bayeux, and founded the abbey,⁴ and Ralf wishing to share in the foundation enfranchised that fee.⁵ The dedication of the house was to the honour of St. Mary and St. Martial, and the date of foundation 1143.⁶ Ralf de Bayeux, as well as Peter de Gousla, received the honours of a founder, being admitted to the fraternity of the house; the absolutions of the dead and other like offices were said for him as for the canons. William de Romara, earl of Lincoln, and Elias d'Albini were also benefactors of the monastery.⁷

The canons of Newhouse were involved in a long suit with the nuns of Elstow during the twelfth century as to the advowson of the church of Halton-on-Humber. The nuns claimed it about 1170, and, in spite of the award given by the abbot of Rievaulx and the prior of Bridlington, persisted in their suit till a bull from Pope Alexander III ordered them to molest the canons no further.⁸

In 1385 the canons complained of poverty due to pestilence, barrenness of lands, and heavy burdens of hospitality. Recent storms had almost reduced the monastic buildings to ruins.⁹

Early in the sixteenth century the abbot was involved in a suit with Sir Thomas Burgh, who had violently possessed himself of a certain grange, granted some time before to his father by a former abbot for protection under a charge

of murder. Sir Thomas, however, declared that the grange was his right for 'general council in all lawsuits, which he had always given and would still give,' and not in recompense for any particular favour.¹⁵

The house was dissolved under the first Act of Suppression, the abbot receiving £20 pension and the ten canons the usual allowance for secular apparel, with wages due.¹⁶

The abbey of Newhouse was a daughter house of the abbey of Lisques, near Calais, and itself the parent of eleven others, amongst which Barlings, Topholme, and Newbo were numbered;¹⁷ and this position gave the abbots a good deal of dignity within the order. They had indeed to be consulted at the election of abbots in all their daughter-houses, but they were also chosen from time to time to represent the order generally in important matters. There were no less than five Premonstratensian abbeys in the county of Lincoln, and it is not surprising to find that provincial chapters were frequently held in this part of England—at Lincoln in 1310, 1459, 1476, 1485, and 1495; at Legbourne in 1489; at Grantham in 1492.¹⁸ As early as 1279 the abbot of Newhouse acted jointly with the abbot of Hales Owen on affairs of the order in Wales.¹⁹ In the memorable quarrel of the English abbots with Abbot Adam of Prémontré as to the payment of subsidies demanded by the mother-house, but forbidden by the kings of England on pain of treason, the Lincolnshire abbots played a prominent part. In

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Alnwick, fol. 57.

² *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 40.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv (ii), No. 235.

⁴ Liber Niger and Yarborough Roll, *Linc. N. and Q.* vii, 20.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 865; Sloane MS. 4935, fol. 49.

⁷ Ibid. 875.

⁸ Harl. Chart. 44, I, 3; 43 G, 23, 24. A pension was paid to the nuns from the church till the dissolution.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 318.

¹⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 105.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vii, 970.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Alnwick, fol. 57.

¹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 105.

¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv (ii), No. 235.

¹⁵ Star Chamber Proc. 16 Hen. VIII, bdle. 33, No. 30.

¹⁶ Mins. Accts. 27–28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

¹⁷ Sloane MS. 4935, fol. 49. The abbots of Newhouse had also some jurisdiction over the nunnery of Broadholm, Notts, of this order (*Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 159).

¹⁸ Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo - Premonstratensia*, i, 125–73.

¹⁹ Pat. 7 Edw. I, m. 24.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

1311 the abbots of Newhouse and Croxton, being visitors for the order in that year, used their point of vantage for the purpose of collecting opinions from their brethren and concerting plans of action. A canon of Newhouse, *homo solidus in ordine et lingua approbatus*, was deputed to receive the confidences of the English abbots and report them to his superiors.¹ The same two abbots, also in 1311,² sent a summons to all their brethren of the midlands to contribute towards the expenses of the appeal then lodged at Rome against Abbot Adam's exactions and unfeeling disregard of the dilemma in which he had placed all the English houses of the order. Again, in 1346, another abbot of Newhouse was commissioned to reform the abuses of the order throughout England, and received royal licence to send £40 subsidy to Prémontré, but no more.³ Some similar commission about 1382 very nearly brought a successor of his into serious trouble. He was arrested and summoned before the king's council on suspicion of a purpose to go beyond seas and 'sue things prejudicial to the king.'⁴

In 1472 the abbot of Newhouse was censured for not providing an abbot for the daughter-house of Alnwick.⁵ Just about this time⁶ we learn more in detail of the actual condition of the house from the visitation reports of Bishop Redman.

In 1475 there were nineteen canons professed besides the abbot, but no particular complaints were made. It seems that the age and increasing infirmities of the abbot, who resigned three years later, prevented him from understanding fully the state of his own house and giving a satisfactory report of it;⁷ for in 1478 five of the brethren were charged with incontinence and apostasy, and two of these had conspired to break into the cellarer's chamber and do him some hurt. At the petition of the resigning abbot, the abbot of Barlings, and the whole convent, all seven were respited for a time in hope of amendment. John Swift, abbot of Barlings, was elected abbot in place of Thomas Ashton. He was ordered to increase the number of canons (then fifteen only, with two novices) as soon as possible; to provide the ex-abbot with a pension, a chamber of his own, and a canon to say the divine office with him; and to supply one of the brethren with food and fatherly affection.⁸

¹ Gasquet, op. cit. i, 31.

² Ibid. 32-35.

³ Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 35; and pt. iii, m. 3.

⁴ Ibid. 5 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 21 d.

⁵ Gasquet, op. cit. i, 94.

⁶ The only earlier visitation recorded is one conducted in 1343 by the abbots of Halesowen and Haganby in the name of the abbot of Prémontré. They reported a 'state of mutual peace between head and members, and between the members themselves,' and nothing which required correction. The house, however, was considerably in debt (Harl. Chart. 44, E. 15).

⁷ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 6.

⁸ Sloane MS. 4935, fol. 50-4.

In 1482 one canon was again found guilty of incontinence and apostasy; he was excommunicated a second time. The numbers had increased by three. Injunctions were given as to keeping of silence, 'the very key of the religious life,' as to drinking after compline, regular attendance in choir, and speaking in chapter without leave; all faults were to be corrected and punished, and no one was to go out without a companion.⁹

In 1488 four canons were found guilty of going out without leave, and on submission were ordered to say the whole psalter within a week; if the offence were repeated they were to have forty days of penance *gravioris culpae* and seven years' banishment.¹⁰

In 1491 one of the canons excommunicated in 1478 was declared apostate for the third time. Another had grievously sinned with a nun of Irford. Yet the visitor pronounced the tone of the house generally to be good, and the abbot and canons were living in real harmony.¹¹ In 1494 two canons were slightly punished for mistakes at mass, and another for unnecessary adornment of his habit and for wearing slippers. The numbers had then fallen to eleven.¹² In 1497 there were again seventeen, and in this year, as well as 1500 and 1503, the report of the house was extremely satisfactory. By the last visitation the abbey was in excellent order, both temporal and spiritual, and the bishop expressed his astonishment at the beauty and extent of the new buildings which the abbot had been able to erect.¹³

It is pleasant to record an improvement so marked and so steady during the thirty years of Bishop Redman's administration of the order, and that at a time when the monasteries of England are popularly supposed to have been in a very bad way. There is no reason to suppose that the standard thus attained was lost before the dissolution; on the contrary, the little we

⁹ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 39-44.

¹⁰ Ibid. 69-70. The common phrase in monastic visitations, 'poena gravioris culpae,' seems to carry much the same meaning in all religious orders. It implied separation from the common life of the brethren at all points: a separate place, with other signs of humiliation, both in refectory and choir; a certain measure of fasting and abstinence; and sometimes the offenders were prohibited from any speech with the brethren during the term of penance. Penalties of the kind are found in the Rule of St. Benedict, cap. xxiv-xxv, where there is a distinction made between *culpae leviores* and *graviores*. The modern distinction, illustrated in the *Constitutions* of the abbey of Solesmes (1901), is between *culpae graves*, *graviores*, and *gravissimae*. The present writer was kindly informed by the Rev. Dr. Cox that this ancient severity of discipline is still enforced among the White Canons of to-day, as he had found from his acquaintance with a member of the order living in England in 1878.

¹¹ Ibid. 94-113.

¹² Ibid. 127.

¹³ Ibid. 134, 155, 160.

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know is to the credit of the convent. The last abbot but one was chosen by Archbishop Cranmer as his suffragan, and at his death in 1534 Cranmer wrote himself to urge the appointment of the sub-prior to the vacant post—his own 'friend and old acquaintance.'¹

It seems probable that at the dissolution the canons of Newhouse for the most part took refuge in other houses of the order; for in 1537 two young canons sent a petition to Cromwell, in which they stated that, 'being under twenty-four years of age, they were dismissed from their order' when the house was dissolved: as if their elder brethren had fared differently.²

The original endowment of the abbey of Newhouse included a knight's fee at Newhouse, and lands of William de Romara at Killingholme and Cabourne, with the churches of Habrough, East Halton, one-third of Saxilby and one-sixth of Brocklesby.³ Other churches were granted later. In 1303 the abbot of Newhouse held half a knight's fee in Killingholme, the same in Melton and Ulceby, one-third in Brocklesby, one-quarter in Keelby, one-quarter in Nettleton, one-sixth in Hardwick and East Wykeham, with smaller fractions in Hundon (in Caistor), Crosby, Stapleford, Glentworth.⁴ In 1346 the return was much the same;⁵ in 1428 again almost the same, with half a knight's fee also in Huttoft.⁶ In 1534, however, the clear annual value of the abbey was only £99 2s. 10½d.⁷ The Ministers' Accounts of 1536 amount to £182 11s. 0½d., including the rectories of Brocklesby, East Halton, Killingholme, Kirmington, Glentworth, Saxilby.⁸

ABBOTS OF NEWHOUSE

Gerlo,⁹ first abbot, 1143-60

Amblardus,¹⁰ occurs 1177

David,¹¹ occurs 1177-83

Gervase¹²

Adam,¹³ occurs 1199

Lambert,¹⁴ occurs 1200-03

Walter¹⁵

Geoffrey,¹⁶ occurs 1219

Osbert,¹⁷ occurs 1226-30

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii, 685, 686.

² *Ibid.* xii (2), 1341.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 865.

⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 140-212.

⁵ *Ibid.* 216-57. ⁶ *Ibid.* 271-97.

⁷ *Valor Eccles.* iv, 74.

⁸ *Mins. Accts.* (27-28 Hen. VIII), No. 91.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 865.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* and *Harl. Chart.* 43 B, 14.

¹¹ *Harl. Chart.* 43 A, 22, 25. ¹² *Ibid.* 50 I, 4.

¹³ Addy's *Beauchief*, 29, 39.

¹⁴ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 21.

¹⁵ *Harl. Chart.* 50 E, 50.

¹⁶ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 120; *Harl. Chart.* 52 D, 13; 44 G, 24.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 184; *Harl. Chart.* 52 E, 40.

Thomas,¹⁸ occurs 1242-75

John de Cave,¹⁹ occurs 1278-94

Thomas de Hedon,²⁰ elected 1296, occurs to 1310

Ralf,²¹ occurs 1327

Alan,²² elected 1334, occurs to 1354

Robert of Thornton,²³ elected 1355

William of Teleby,²⁴ occurs 1377-83

Hugh,²⁵ occurs 1395-1419

Henry of Limber,²⁶ elected 1420, occurs to 1435

Robert,²⁷ occurs 1446-62

Thomas Ashton,²⁸ occurs 1475, resigned 1478

John Swift,²⁹ elected 1478, resigned 1497

William Sawndalle,³⁰ elected 1497, occurs to 1503

Thomas,³¹ resigned after 1503

John Max,³² occurs 1518

Christopher Lord,³³ occurs 1522 and 1529, died 1534

Thomas Doncaster or Harpham,³⁴ last abbot, elected 1534

The twelfth-century pointed oval seal of Newsham³⁵ represents St. Martial, bishop of Limoges, patron saint of the abbey, full length, with mitre and vestments partly embroidered, lifting up the right hand in benediction; in the left hand a pastoral staff. From the left hand a long maniple of morse hangs down.

SIGILLV - CONVEN[TVS - SCI - MARCIA]LIS - APL'I
DE NEHVSA

An early thirteenth-century pointed oval seal³⁶ represents St. Martial, with mitre, standing on a corbel, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book. In the field on each side an elegant scroll of conventional foliage, and on the right a mullet, on the left a crescent.

SIGILL' : ECLESIE : SCL : MARCIAL' : D' : NEHVVS

¹⁸ *Harl. Chart.* 44 G, 48, 49, 52; 44 H, 10; Close, 5 Edw. I, 7 d.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 44 H, 9; 52 D, 20.

²⁰ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* Sutton, 159; *Harl. Chart.* 44 H, 16.

²¹ *Harl. Chart.* 44 H, 21.

²² *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* Burghersh, 285 d.; *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 159.

²³ *Ibid.* Memo. Gynwell, 77.

²⁴ *Harl. Chart.* 44 H, 29; *Pat. 5 Ric. II*, pt. i, m. 21 d.; *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst.* Buck, 125.

²⁵ *Stafford, Exeter Epis. Reg.* 263; *Exch. Trans. of Receipts*, vol. 71, fol. 19.

²⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* Flemmyng, 246.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Memo. Chedworth, 22, 33 d.; *Harl. Chart.* 43 F, 2.

²⁸ Sloane MS. 4935, fol. 50.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 51 d.; Ashmole MS. 1519, 52 d. fol. 56.

³⁰ Ashmole MS. 1519, 529, 541.

³¹ Gasquet *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, i, 122.

³² *Harl. Chart.* 45 A, 11.

³³ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 2698.

³⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 686.

³⁵ *Harl. Chart.* 44 G, 15.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 55.

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Another thirteenth-century seal¹ represents St. Martial with mitre, seated on an ornamental throne, the sides of which terminate in animals' heads and necks, beneath a trefoiled canopy; lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left hand a pastoral staff. In the field on each side a crescent between a group of four pellets *en losange* above it, and a mullet and three pellets fesse wise below it. In base, under a carved arch with the foiled openings in the spandrels, the abbot, half length, in prayer, to the right.

S'ECCL'LE : SCI - MA IS : APL'I : DE :
NEVHV

The borders are beaded.

A small pointed oval counter-seal of a thirteenth-century abbot² represents the abbot standing on a carved corbel, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book. The field replenished with an estoile of six points between two groups of small pellets, on the left a crescent between two corselets, and as many groups of pellets on the right.

✠ S' : ABBATIS : DE : NEVHVS

An early thirteenth-century seal of Abbot Osbert³ represents on the pointed oval, obverse, the abbot standing on a carved corbel, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book. In the field on each side a small quatrefoil.

✠ SIGILL' : OSB'TI : ABBATIS - ET : CONVENTVS :
D' : NEH'

The reverse, a small heptagonal counter-seal, bears a dexter hand and vested arms, crossing from the base, holding a pastoral staff. In the field on the left an estoile of seven points.

✠ SECRETVM : ABBATIS : [D' : IVE]HVS

The border is cabled.

The pointed oval seal of a later abbot⁴ represents two saints standing in a double-arched niche, with carved canopy and narrow central shaft. In base, under a carved round-headed arch, the abbot, half length, with pastoral staff, in prayer, to the left,

. II - ABBAT

55. THE ABBEY OF BARLINGS

The abbey of Barlings was founded in 1154 by Ralf de Haya,⁵ son of the constable of Lincoln Castle, and lord of Burwell and Carlton. It was at first placed at a site called Barling

¹ Harl. Chart. 44 G, 47.

² Ibid. H, 3.

³ Ibid. G, 27.

⁴ Ibid. H, 24.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 915; Cott. MS. Faustina B, i, 108 d; Sloane MS. 4935, fol. 108. The house was dedicated in honour of the Assumption of Blessed Mary.

Grange, but afterwards removed to Oxney, within the same vill of Barlings.⁶ Hugh, Hamelin, and Robert Bardolf were early benefactors of the abbey. Maud, the wife of William Longespee, gave it the manor of Caenby for the support of four more canons, in addition to the original thirteen. Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln and Salisbury, gave the manor and church of Swaton.⁷

In 1209, in a suit with Robert de Montbegon, the abbot lost the advowson of Broughton church, but gained that of Tuxford.⁸ Towards the end of the thirteenth century the abbots of Barlings and Peterborough had some trouble in determining the bounds of a common pasture, and received a licence to divide it by ditches and other landmarks.⁹ In 1318 the abbot of Barlings, like so many other religious of this period, had to complain of trespasses upon his property.¹⁰ During the reign of Edward III two abbots were under the special favour of the king and of Queen Philippa, and in aid of the re-building of the conventual church at this time they were exempted for several years from payment of tenths.¹¹ In 1343, nevertheless, the canons were in a good deal of difficulty, and had to petition for the appropriation of a church.¹² In 1412 it was stated that there were about twenty-seven canons in the monastery, but its revenues were so diminished by poverty, debt, and the burden of hospitality, that they could scarcely be sustained, and they received an indult allowing them to celebrate 'private masses called annuals' in the conventual church at the request of the faithful who should contribute to their needs.¹³ It seems that the abbey recovered its prosperity somewhat during the fifteenth century, as Bishop Redman in 1497 praised the administration of the abbot, and noticed that it was in good temporal estate.¹⁴

The revenue of this abbey only, of the Premonstratensian order in Lincolnshire, was above £200 in 1534, and it might therefore for a while have survived the first Act of Suppression. Popular rumour, however—in this case an excellent prophet—said that the greater houses would not stand long after the fall of their less favoured neighbours. Abbot Mackarel therefore thought it well to provide for emergencies, and placed in

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 915.

⁷ Ibid. and Cott. MS. Faustina B, i.

⁸ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords.*

⁹ Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 46.

¹⁰ Ibid. 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 28 d, 24 d.

¹¹ Close, 20 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 12; 21 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 3; Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 17. A special protection for life was granted to Abbots Thomas and Alexander. Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14.

¹² *Cal. of Pap. Petitions*, i, 29. The petition was made by Queen Philippa, on the ground of the singular devotion she, the king, and nobles had to this house.

¹³ Ibid. v, 545.

¹⁴ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 155.

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the hands of certain trustworthy persons about £250 in money and £100 in plate, vestments &c., so that in case of dissolution he and his brethren might not be left destitute. When a prisoner in the Tower, after the insurrection of 1536, he confessed to having taken these precautions: he had gathered his brethren in chapter and told them what was commonly reported, and advised them to do as others had done; that is, to set apart some of their best plate and vestments, so that they could be sold, if need were, for the benefit of the whole convent, adding, 'I promise you of my faith and conscience, ye shall have your part thereof, and of every penny that I have during my life.'¹ There will, of course, be diverse opinions as to these proceedings; yet it should at least be remembered that the revenues of the monastery had been originally granted for the maintenance of divine service in the abbey, and for the support of the canons there; and if divine service had to cease by no fault of theirs, the canons might well feel entitled to such share in the endowments as would keep body and soul together till better days should come. And hitherto, at the dissolution of the minor houses, no one but the superior had received any pension. The rank and file had been dismissed with 20s. and 'capacities' of very doubtful value. However this may be, there is no doubt that this confession told heavily against the abbot at his trial, and that the attempt was an offence unpardonable in the eyes of the king and Cromwell, who had other designs for the disposal of monastic property.

As to the abbot's part in the insurrection, a good deal has been said about it already, but it is really impossible now to arrive at any positive conclusions. There is not a shred of evidence, at any rate, that he had any connexion with the murder of the chancellor; nor does there seem to be any real probability² in the story that he actually wore harness or joined the host in person. His own account of his dealings with the insurgent leaders is very similar to that given by the monks of Bardney and Kirkstead. Under threats he provided meat and lodging on Wednesday night, 4 October, for a large company. On the morrow, being bidden to join the host, he refused on the ground of his religion, but offered to go and sing the litany for them. By Friday, after news that several of the

neighbouring gentry had been compelled to join the host, he took provisions to them on a large scale, and on Saturday sent six canons.³ By Sunday, 15 October, he and his brethren were lodged as prisoners in Lincoln Castle.⁴ On his way to prison he bade his servants shift for themselves, and save something for him if possible out of the wreck that was coming.⁵ His cellarer was let out on bail later to collect rents &c.,⁶ but he himself was sent up soon after Christmas to the Tower. He was examined there twice, on 12 January and 23 March, but neither there nor in Lincoln ever owned to having aided the rebels any more than their violence compelled him to do. He said he would have fled at the beginning of the rising, but that he feared for his house; and denied repeatedly having bidden the host to 'go forward.' He had indeed promised to bring more provisions later in another place, hoping thus to make his escape.⁷ This is his own story, and the assertion that he encouraged the rebels and bade them go forward rests only on the evidence of men who, like himself, were in danger of their lives, and strongly tempted to save themselves at the expense of others. It is only necessary to add that the canons examined told much the same story as their superior, and that finally, on 26 March, 1537, he with six others was condemned to death, and suffered the extreme penalties of the law.⁸ The attainder of the house followed; and the remaining canons were dismissed with a pittance even smaller than that accorded to their brethren already adrift upon the world.⁹

Of the internal history of the abbey we know little in detail till the end of the fifteenth century. It was, however, evidently in good standing with the order at all times, and the abbots were prominent among the English Premonstratensians. It was in this abbey that the superiors of the province met in 1311 to discuss the question of their duty to the mother house.¹⁰ William of Kirkton, a canon of this house, was chosen as proctor-general for the English abbots of Lincolnshire and the abbot of Welbeck, and made the appeal to Rome in their name against the abbot of Prémontré.¹¹ It was to him, therefore, that William of Steeping, the proctor who

¹ Cott. MS. Cleop. E, iv, fol. 245.

² The accusation that the abbot was in harness is only found in Chapter House Book, 118, fol. 1. 'The abbot of B. and divers of his canons' accused by Edward Dymmoke and other gentlemen that 'they' were among the commons in harness. The actual words of these depositions are not given, and the word *they* may refer merely to the canons generally. None of the depositions recorded speak of the abbot as having joined the host himself, though they dwell much on his 'comfortable words' and 'great presents.'

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 805.

⁴ *Ibid.* 834.

⁵ Cott. MS. Cleop. E, iv, fol. 245.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* Chapter House Book, 119, fol. 11-13; and *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 805; xii (1), 702; *Ibid.* 765. The story is given at greater length from the above sources by Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 74-80.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (i), 734 and 764 and xiv (1), 402. The six canons were condemned at Lincoln with the monks of Bardney and Kirkstead. Controlment Roll, 30 Hen. VIII, m. 6.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 700 and xiii (2), 1, 195.

¹⁰ Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, i, 18-20.

¹¹ *Ibid.* i, 22.

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had been sent to Rome, wrote reporting progress and requesting further supplies of money.¹ In 1383 the abbots of Barlings and Welbeck were visitors for the order throughout England.²

In 1488, when Bishop Redman visited Barlings, there were twenty canons besides the abbot, and apparently there was very little to correct.³ In 1491 two cases of apostasy were reported. One canon was put to penance for incontinence. The brethren generally were warned against the adoption of new fashions and unnecessary ornamentation of their habits.⁴ In 1494 the visitor had nothing to censure except the disregard of these admonitions as to the habit of the brethren, and especially the wearing of slippers.⁵ In 1497 very high praise was accorded to the abbot and convent, and the good temporal estate of the house was judged to be the result of faithfulness to rule and to the spirit of the religious life.⁶ When Thomas Belesby died in 1503, Bishop Redman wrote of him to the brethren in terms of cordial sympathy.⁷

The last abbot, Matthew Mackarel, was bishop of Chalcedon and suffragan to Bishop Longlands. He was beatified, with a number of his fellow-sufferers, by the late Pope Leo XIII.

The original endowment of this abbey consisted of the vill of Barlings and its church; of lands and mills in Langworth, Walmsgate, Kirkby, Riseholme, Buslingthorpe, and elsewhere in the county, and the churches of Broughton, Tuxford, Scothorn, and Bungay, Suffolk.⁸ In the next century the manor of Caenby was added.⁹ In 1312 Simon le Chaumberleyn of Edlington had licence to alienate to the abbey the manor and church of Stainton.¹⁰ In the fourteenth century the abbey was found in possession of manors at Barlings, Scothorn, Stainton, Revesby, Fulstow, Glentham, Carlton Wildeker, Middle Carlton, South Carlton, Mumby, Great Carlton, Carlton by the Sea, Reepham, Walmsgate, and Swaton,¹¹ as well as the churches of Scothorn, Snelland, Reepham, Caenby, Sudbrook, with Bungay, Suffolk, Middleton, Oxon, and Allington, Wilts.¹²

In 1291 the temporalities of the abbey were worth £137 13s. 9d. a year.¹³ In 1303 the abbot held a knight's fee in Carlton Paynel, half a fee in Carlton, and divers fractions in Mumby, Theddlethorpe, Boothby, Dunston, Burwell, Newbold,

Stainton, Swaton.¹⁴ The only considerable addition at a later date was the manor of Riseholme.¹⁵

In 1534 the clear revenue was £242 5s. 11½d.,¹⁶ including the churches of Scothorn, Reepham, Stainton by Langworth, Swaton, and Bungay; and the manors of North Carlton, Caenby, Glentham, Scothorn, Swaton, Market Stainton, and Snelland occur in the first Ministers' Accounts of the abbey, which amount to £316 9s. 2d.¹⁷ A large number of bequests to the poor on the abbey lands were duly paid till the dissolution: £18 to thirteen poor persons every year in memory of Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln; 6s. 8d. in memory of John of Gaunt and his wives; on Maundy Thursday and the feasts of St. Nicholas and St. Thomas of Canterbury, to every poor person who came to the gate, a loaf of bread and a herring, and bequests of less interest.¹⁸

ABBOTS OF BARLINGS

- Adam,¹⁹ twelfth century
- Ralf,²⁰ between 1156 and 1166
- David²¹
- Akarius,²² 1190
- Robert,²³ occurs 1205 and 1216
- Clement,²⁴ occurs thirteenth century
- Robert,²⁵ occurs thirteenth century
- Ingelram,²⁶ occurs 1267
- Ralf,²⁷ occurs 1277
- Richard of Sutton²⁸ (or of Hanworth), occurs 1281 to 1317
- Thomas of Edenham,²⁹ occurs 1322 to 1340
- Alexander of Ramsey,³⁰ elected 1341, occurs to 1367
- John of Kirkton,³¹ occurs 1367 to 1396
- Hugh,³² occurs 1400
- Thomas Maryng,³³ occurs 1403 to 1433
- John Spalding,³⁴ elected 1438, occurs to 1452

¹⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 133-67. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* 359.

¹⁶ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 130.

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 916.

¹⁸ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 130.

¹⁹ Harl. Chart. 58 H, 4. ²⁰ *Ibid.* 51 B, 51

²¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, fol. 38.

²² Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Prem.* ii, 29.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 916; Cott. MS. Faustina, B, i, fol. 108.

²⁴ Harl. Chart. 51 D, 24. ²⁵ Cott. Chart. xxix, 89.

²⁶ Cott. Chart. xxvii, 60.

²⁷ Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, fol. 95.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Faustina, B, i, fol. 108 d.; Sloane MS. 4934, fol. 27; Exch. T. R. vol. lxxi, fol. 24.

²⁹ Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 34; Cott. MS. Faustina, B, i, fol. 170.

³⁰ Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 15; Exch. T. R. vol. lxxi, fol. 25.

³¹ Exch. T. R. vol. lxxi, fol. 29-31. In *Coll. Anglo-Prem.* ii, 29, mention is made of Abbot George *ante* 1393 without reference.

³² Exch. T. R. vol. lxxi, fol. 31.

³³ *Ibid.* fol. 28, 31-2; Harl. Chart. 44 A, 12; and *Durham Obit. Rolls* (Surtees Soc.), 105.

³⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Alnwick, 34 d. Harl. Chart. 44 B, 15.

¹ Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, i, 45.

² Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 2.

³ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 70 d.

⁴ *Ibid.* 94-113. ⁵ *Ibid.* 119 d.-27.

⁶ *Ibid.* 135-55.

⁷ Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, ii, 118-20. His predecessor, William Lincoln, had presided with Bishop Redman at a provincial chapter in 1479.

⁸ Cart. Antiq. H, 20; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 916.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 916.

¹⁰ Cal. Pat. 1307-13, p. 482.

¹¹ Cott. MS. Faustina, B, i, fol. 116.

¹² *Ibid.* 165 d. ¹³ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 70.

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William Lincoln,¹ elected 1459, occurs to 1479

Thomas Belesby,² occurs from 1478, died 1503

William Forman,³ elected and resigned 1503

John Bayns,⁴ elected 1503

Matthew Mackarel,⁵ last abbot, occurs 1529

The fourteenth-century pointed oval seal of Barlings⁶ represents on the obverse the Virgin crowned, seated on an elegantly-carved throne, under a canopy in form of a church with trefoiled arch supported on four slender columns, and holding the Child. In the field on the left a crescent, on the right an estoile. In base, under a pointed arch with carved foliage at the sides, an ox's head to the right, in allusion to the second name of the abbey.

S' CONVENTVS : BEAT . . . RIE : DE : BARLINGE.

The small oval signet of Abbot Thomas de Maryng⁷ represents in a carved border of eight cusps, our Lord on the cross, with the letters T . H . O . M . E in the field.

✠ IHESV • FILI • DEI • MISERERE • MEI

A small pointed oval counter-seal of the fifteenth century⁸ represents the Virgin crowned, seated in a canopied niche, in the right hand a sceptre, on her left knee the Child standing up. In a small niche in the canopy the Almighty seated, lifting up the hands. In a carved niche on the left St. John Baptist full length, in the left hand the Agnus Dei; in the right hand a chalice and in the left hand a palm branch. In the base, in a niche with round-headed arch, the abbot, with pastoral staff, head slightly turned to the right, kneeling in prayer, between two shields of arms: on the left three cinquefoils, on the right an estoile of sixteen points.

S' ABBATIS : ECCL'IE : BEATE : MARIE : DE : BARLINGIS

The pointed oval seal of Abbot Akarius⁹ represents an ox passant guardant issuing from the left, in front of it a long cross. The legend is defaced.

56. THE ABBEY OF HAGNABY

The abbey of Hagnaby is said to have been founded in 1175 by Agnes, widow of Herbert de Orreby, in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr.¹⁰

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Chedworth, 53 d.; Sloane MS. 4935, fol. 51.

² Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 96; Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, i, 118-20.

³ Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, i, 120.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2698.

⁶ Harl. Chart. 44 A, 16. ⁷ Ibid. 44 A, 11.

⁸ Ibid. 44 A, 12.

⁹ Ibid. 45 A, 4.

¹⁰ Sloane MS. 4935, fol. 25; Cott. MS. Vesp. B, xi, fol. 9 d. Her husband is here called 'founder' also, and is said to have been buried in the chapter-house.

It was a colony from Welbeck Abbey. John and Isabel de Orreby were benefactors of the next generation.¹¹ Very little is known of the history of this house, but the name of the abbot of Hagnaby occurs as acting in conjunction with the other abbots of the order in Lincolnshire during the quarrel with Adam de Crécy. The abbot of Hagnaby was appointed visitor for the English province at least once in the fourteenth century.¹²

Bishop Redman visited this house, like the rest, towards the close of the fifteenth century, and every time between 1475 and 1503 gave a good report of it, both in spiritual and temporal matters. In 1478 there was not only no debt, but money was owing to the canons, and there was an abundance of provisions. It was enjoined that the abbot just resigned should receive due reverence wherever he went, and that 20s. should be assigned to every priest for clothing, according to the instructions of the General Chapter.¹³ The order of the house was again commended in 1482 and 1488, only on the latter occasion the visitor remarked that silence might be better kept in the refectory and cloister.¹⁴ In 1491 several canons who were old and infirm had to be dispensed from certain observances. Some directions were given as to singing, and it was ordered that the great bell of the church should be rung at the elevation of the Host.¹⁵ In 1494 no corrections were made, except that one canon needed reproof for not saying the gospel before mass.¹⁶ In 1497 the injunctions as to silence were repeated, but this was the only fault found. The cellarer was enjoined to give in his accounts more regularly.¹⁷ In 1500 the canons were again reminded of their rule of silence, and certain ritual observances prescribed, as appointed by the General Chapter. An infirmary was to be provided.¹⁸

These visitation reports speak very well for Hagnaby when we remember how careful and unsparing a visitor Bishop Redman was when he found anything amiss, whether it was mere irregularity or grave fault. There were about twelve canons during this time.

No later details of the history of the house are as yet known. Having an income of less than £100, it was suppressed under the earlier Act in 1536; the abbot received a pension of £16, and the canons, six in number, 20s. each. There were no arrears of 'wages.'¹⁹ It was afterwards stated that one of the causes which excited popular indignation at the time and helped to bring about the Lincolnshire rising was the irreverent manner in which the king's officers, at the dissolution of this house, took

¹¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. B, xi, fol. 19 d. 21 d. 25.

¹² Harl. Chart. 44 E, 15. The date is probably 1343.

¹³ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 13-19 d.

¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 29-45, 70.

¹⁵ Ibid. 94 d.-113.

¹⁶ Ibid. 119 d.

¹⁷ Ibid. 127.

¹⁸ Ibid. 154-5.

¹⁹ Mins. Accts. 27 and 28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

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down the pyx, containing the Blessed Sacrament, which hung above the altar.¹

The original endowment of the abbey of Hagnaby was probably small, and included only parcels of land within the county, and the church of Hagnaby. In 1291 the temporalities were valued at £20 2s. 5d.² In 1428 the abbot held only three small fractions of a knight's fee in Skidbrook, Maidenwell, Trusthorpe and Fulsthorp.³ In 1534 the clear value of the revenue was only £87 11s. 4d., including the parish church.⁴ The Ministers' Accounts amounted to £160 1s. 4d.⁵ Bells, lead, &c., were sold for £109 5s. 6d.

ABBOTS OF HAGNABY

Thomas,⁶ occurs between 1195 and 1214

William of Fultorp,⁷ elected 1228

Peter⁸

Roger of Retford,⁹ resigned 1270

John of Barrow,¹⁰ elected 1270, died 1291

John,¹¹ elected 1291

Alan,¹² elected 1301

William,¹³ occurs 1310

Walter,¹⁴ elected 1312, occurs 1316

William,¹⁵ occurs 1336, 1343, and 1346

John de Wynthorp,¹⁶ elected 1412

John Wodthorpp,¹⁷ elected 1440

William Anderby,¹⁸ resigned 1475

Robert Alford,¹⁹ elected 1475, occurs to 1488

John Boston,²⁰ occurs 1491 to 1529

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 701.

² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 70.

³ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 258, 265, 297.

⁴ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 51.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 891.

⁶ Harl. Chart. 54 E, 9. It seems probable that the superiors of Hagnaby were at first priors. Thomas, William and Peter are called priors only, and Roger of Retford is called 'first abbot' without explanation, in the chronicle of the house, which gives the date of foundation as 1175 and Roger's resignation as above.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells. He is only said to be 'presented to the rule of the house,' but is called prior in Harl. Chart. 45 C, 36, and Cott. Chart. xxix, 72.

⁸ Cott. Chart. xxvii, 65. Contemporary of Geoffrey, prior of Markby, 1228-32.

⁹ Cott. MS. Vesp. B, xi, fol. 26, where he is called first abbot, and Alan fourth.

¹⁰ Ibid. His death is recorded 20 Edw. I.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 9.

¹² Cott. MS. Vesp. B, xi, fol. 51 d.

¹³ Sloane MS. 4934, fol. 27.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 241; and Close, 10 Edw. II, m. 28 d.

¹⁵ Gasquet, *Coll. Angl.-Premonstratensia*, ii, 223; Harl. Chart. 44 E, 15; *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii, 233.

¹⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Flemyng, 62 d.

¹⁷ Ibid. Memo. Alnwick, 36. The name looks suspiciously like the preceding one; it is possible that the name of the abbot who died was put in by mistake for the one elected.

¹⁸ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 24.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. 113; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2698.

John Hethnes,²¹ occurs 1522

Edmund Toft,²² last abbot, occurs 1534

The fourteenth-century pointed oval seal of Hagnaby²³ represents Becket's martyrdom under a trefoiled canopy with church-like architecture over it. In base, under a round-headed arch with arcading at the sides, an ecclesiastic, half length, in prayer, to the right.

S' ABBATIS : ET : CONVENTVS : E[CCE] : BI :
THOME : MATYRIS : DE : PRATIS

57. THE ABBEY OF TUPHOLME

The abbey of Tupholme was founded some time before 1190 by Gilbert de Neville and his brother Alan, in honour of the Annunciation;²⁴ Geoffrey the son of Alan was also a benefactor,²⁵ and Ralf de Neville in 1342 endowed the house with the manor of Ranby.²⁶ Henry earl of Lancaster granted the manor of Burreth in 1329.²⁷ Burreth had been held by the Nevilles, and later by William Tochet of the honor of Bolingbroke which the earl held. The abbey was not very wealthy, but it had sometimes as many as twenty-four canons during the fifteenth century. In 1347 it was heavily burdened with debt,²⁸ and it is probable that the abbot died in the great pestilence.²⁹

Bishop Redman visited this house regularly from 1475 to 1503. In 1478 one canon was excommunicated as an apostate.³⁰ In 1482 another was found guilty of the same offence, but was pardoned, on his penitence, at the earnest intercession of the abbot and convent. A debt of £20 had been cleared off since the last visitation, and the house was well provisioned and had increased its numbers from eleven to sixteen.³¹

In 1488 there were as many as twenty-four canons, including novices.³² In 1421 they were enjoined to wear their hoods outside their capes, and not to carry long knives. Leave to go without the cloister was not to be granted as freely as it had been.³³

In 1494 the abbot was ill; but the proctor of Bishop Redman, who conducted the visitation, found nothing to correct.³⁴ In 1427 one canon

²¹ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36.

²² *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 51.

²³ Harl. Chart. 44 E, 14.

²⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 870. The date must be previous to 1190, for Gilbert de Neville died in that year.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Inq. a.q.d. File 216, No. 14.

²⁷ Ibid. File 199, No. 92.

²⁸ *Cal. of Pap. Pet.* i, 107.

²⁹ There was a new abbot that year.

³⁰ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 13-19.

³¹ Ibid. 29-45.

³² Ibid. 113.

³³ Ibid. 95.

³⁴ Ibid. 119 d.-28.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

was found guilty of fostering contentions among his brethren, and was ordered to recite the whole psalter as a penance. Another, guilty of incontinence, was condemned to forty days' penance *gravioris culpe* and a five years' banishment to another monastery. A third was guilty of disobedience and false charges against the abbot; he had forty days' penance *gravioris culpe* and ten years' banishment to Sulby.¹

In 1501 Bishop Redman was well satisfied with the house, and his injunctions were merely formal.²

At the dissolution in 1536 the last abbot received a pension of £18; his eight canons the usual reward of 20s.³

The original endowment consisted of the demesne at Tupholme and other smaller parcels of land; with the churches of Burreth, Middle Rasen, Market Stainton, Ranby, and Sturton.⁴ The temporalities of the abbey in 1291 were assessed at £29 9s. 4d.⁵ In 1303 the abbot held only a fraction of a knight's fee in Ranby and Stainton.⁶ In 1346 he had a quarter of a fee besides in Burreth,⁷ and the same in 1428.⁸ The clear revenue of the abbey in 1534 was £100 14s. 10d.;⁹ the Minister's Accounts amount to £137 17s. 1d., including the manors of Middle Rasen, Ranby, Ashby near Horn-castle, Brocklesby, and Gautby, and the rectories of Stainton, Ranby, Sturton, and Burreth.¹⁰

ABBOTS OF TUPHOLME

Ivo,¹¹ occurs late in the twelfth century
Geoffrey,¹² occurs 1202 to 1230
Thomas,¹³ occurs 1276 to 1289
Ralf,¹⁴ elected 1293
William,¹⁵ elected 1310, occurs 1316
Roger,¹⁶ occurs about 1348
Simon of Lincoln,¹⁷ elected 1349
John of Beseby,¹⁸ elected 1373

¹ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 135. The meaning of *poena gravioris culpe* has been explained under New-house, q. v.

² Ibid.

³ Mins. Accts. 27 and 28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 870.

⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 70.

⁶ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 139.

⁷ Ibid. 216, 219.

⁸ Ibid. 280, 298.

⁹ *Valor Eccles.* iv, 36.

¹⁰ Mins. Accts. 27 and 28 Hen. VIII, No. 91.

¹¹ Lans. MS. 207 C, fol. 252. He was a contemporary of Geoffrey, son of Alan de Neville.

¹² Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 36, 124; Close, 14 Hen. III, m. 3 d.

¹³ Harl. Chart. 45 A, 14; Close, 17 Edw. I, m. 8 d.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 59.

¹⁵ Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, 153; Harl. Chart. 45 A, 19.

¹⁶ Harl. Chart. 45 A, 17.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 11.

¹⁸ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 118 d.

William of Tynton,¹⁹ elected 1383, occurs 1385

John Spalding,²⁰ died 1456

John Coventry,²¹ elected 1456

John Ancaster,²² occurs 1474

Thomas Sotby,²³ occurs 1488 to 1491

Thomas Gryme,²⁴ occurs 1494 to 1509

John Sword,²⁵ occurs 1522

John Ancaster,²⁶ last abbot, occurs 1529

The thirteenth-century pointed oval seal of Tupholme²⁷ represents the Virgin, with nimbus, seated on a throne, with carved fontals and footboards; on her left knee the Child with cruciform nimbus, lifting up His right hand in benediction, in the left hand a flower.

Legend on a bevelled edge—

✠ SIGILLVM : ABBATIS : ET : CONVENTVS :
S' : MARIE : DE : TOPEHOLM

The reverse is a smaller pointed oval counter-seal, under a trefoiled arch with church-like canopy the Virgin, half-length, the Child, half-length, with nimbus, on the left arm. In base, under a carved and trefoiled arch with a pinnacle on each side, the abbot, kneeling, in profile to the left, with pastoral staff.

58. THE ABBEY OF NEWBO

The abbey of Newbo, between Barrowby and Sedgebrook, was founded by Richard de Malebisse²⁸ about 1198 in honour of the Assumption of Blessed Mary.²⁹

In 1227 the abbot was involved in a suit with the prior of Thurgarton, Notts, as to the advowson of the church of Allington. Both parties produced charters granted by Henry Bisset, and both of these were declared genuine. It was not clear, however, which had been made first; so the abbot and prior thought it best to place themselves upon the assize, when the jurors gave their verdict that the prior's charter was of earlier date.³⁰ In 1307 the abbot had another suit in the court of King's Bench as to the advowson of Kneeton, Notts. He had certainly made the last presentation; but Joan of Kneeton said that the advowson was appendant to the

¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, 125.

²⁰ Ibid. Memo. Chedworth, 11 d. 33 d.

²¹ Ibid.

²² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, 267; and Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 5 d.

²³ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 113.

²⁴ Ibid. 119 d.; Harl. Chart. 45 A, 22.

²⁵ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36.

²⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2698.

²⁷ Harl. Chart. 45 A, 14.

²⁸ One of the justices itinerant of Yorkshire; he was a leader in the attack upon the Jews of York, 1190, and died 1209 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

²⁹ Sloane MS. 4935, fol. 48.

³⁰ Bracton's *Note Book*, case 1831.

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manor, and both had belonged to her and her husband jointly. At the time of the last presentation her husband might have protested, but did not; and she was then under age and in his power, and could not. The case, however, was given for the abbot.¹

In 1310 the abbots of Langton and Sulby, in obedience to a mandate from Prémontré, called upon the abbot of Newbo to summon a general chapter of the English abbots at Lincoln.² He accordingly did his part by sending a citation to the abbots of Welbeck, Dale, Beauchief, and those of Lincolnshire, warning them that they would be required to pay arrears due to the mother-house;³ but the king's writ of prohibition stopped the levying of contributions at this time, and led soon after to the appeal made against Prémontré at the Holy See.⁴

In 1336 a general chapter was held in the abbey of Newbo.⁵

In 1401 the monastery was almost depopulated by the results of pestilence and poverty. A licence had to be granted to the abbot in this year to admit twelve canons regular of the order, priests or in minor orders, who should be willing to transfer themselves to Newbo for their lifetime, or until more novices should come to the house.⁶ There was evidently some difficulty in finding enough to fill up the vacant places; for about the same time a further licence was granted to the abbot to dispense twelve secular persons from any kind of defect of birth, and to promote them to holy orders; they might hold benefices or any ecclesiastical dignities.⁷ The indulgence of the Portiuncula was granted at the same time to penitents visiting the conventual church and contributing to its repair.⁸ No doubt some time passed before the abbey recovered its numbers and prosperity; but by the end of the century all seems to have been fairly well.

Bishop Redman visited this house from 1475 to 1503. In 1482 he found it heavily in debt, and ordered a full statement of accounts to be made to the abbot of Topholme, who with the abbot of Croxton was to be consulted in all matters of business until the next visitation. The canons were enjoined to give themselves to study, when the weather prevented outdoor work. All hunting-dogs were to be expelled from the abbey, on pain of excommunication.⁹

¹ Plac. de Banco (1 Edw. II), No. 171, m. 82 d.

² Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, i, 6.

³ Ibid. 8. ⁴ Ibid. 9 et seq.

⁵ Ibid. 230-2.

⁶ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 429.

⁷ Ibid. 383. ⁸ Ibid. 384.

⁹ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 29, 39, 45, 113. Between this visitation and the next one of the canons went out of his mind, and the abbot was ordered by the general chapter of that year 'to put him in prison or keep him in safe custody.' Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, i, 153.

In 1491 the debt was much reduced, and all was well within the monastery.¹⁰ In 1494 the abbot met Bishop Redman at Croxton, and was there enjoined not to allow any drinking after compline; canons absenting themselves from mattins were to fast the next day on bread and water.¹¹

In 1497 the visitor prohibited all games played for money; the canons were forbidden to eat in secular houses; recreation twice a week, and on Sundays and festivals besides, was recommended, but left to the discretion of the superior.¹²

In 1500 the abbot's administration was praised, but a canon was severely punished for leaving the monastery when leave had been refused him, although he returned the same night. He was condemned to fifty days' severe penance and three years' banishment. Another was sharply rebuked for wearing slippers.¹³ The numbers varied during this period from eight to twelve.

The abbey was dissolved before Michaelmas, 1536. The abbot received a pension of £12, the six canons had 20s. each, and a novice 6s. 8d.¹⁴

The original endowment of the abbey included the vill of Newbo, the church of Acaster, and one-third of that of Kneeton, Notts.¹⁵ The church of Allington was claimed by the abbot at the beginning of the thirteenth century of the gift of Henry Bisset; but he had to quit-claim it to the prior of Thurgarton.¹⁶ The advowson of Northorpe was granted in 1379 by John de Warrop, canon of Lincoln.¹⁷

The temporalities of the abbot in 1291 were assessed at £13 15s. 2d.;¹⁸ in 1303 he held two-eighths of a knight's fee in Gonerby and a small fraction besides;¹⁹ in 1346 the same with half a fee in Allington;²⁰ in 1428 half a fee in Casthorpe.²¹

In 1534 the clear revenue of the house was £71 8s. 11d., including the rectories of Acaster Malbis (Yorks.), Kneeton (Notts.), and Northorpe (Linc.).²² The Ministers' Accounts amounted to £129 10s. 3d.²³

¹⁰ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 95.

¹¹ Ibid. 119-26.

¹² Ibid. 136. As to the money, it must be remembered that every canon lawfully possessed 20s. a year for clothing, and those who held benefices might have other small sums besides.

¹³ Ibid. 154. It will be noticed here, as in other Premonstratensian houses, how severe were the penalties for all infractions of rule.

¹⁴ Mins. Accts. 27 and 28 Hen. VIII, No. 166.

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 887.

¹⁶ Bracton's *Note Book*, case 1831.

¹⁷ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 10.

¹⁸ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 70.

¹⁹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 144, 147.

²⁰ Ibid. 200, 202, 206.

²¹ Ibid. 336.

²² *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 111.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 887.

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ABBOTS OF NEWBO

Ralf,¹ occurs 1227
 Matthew,² occurs 1242
 William,³ elected 1276, occurs 1310
 Ralf,⁴ occurs 1401
 Simon of Mumby,⁵ elected 1406
 John,⁶ elected 1412

William Gresley,¹² occurs 1433
 William Bottesford,¹³ elected 1436
 Peter York,¹⁴ occurs 1475 to 1478
 John Mownckton,¹⁵ occurs 1482 to 1491
 John Colby,¹⁶ occurs 1494 to 1500
 William Broll,¹⁷ occurs 1522
 Richard Carre,¹⁸ last abbot, occurs 1529

HOUSE OF PREMONSTRATENSIAN NUNS

59. THE PRIORY OF ORFORD

The priory of Orford or Irford, in Stainton-le-Vale, was probably built some time during the reign of Henry II by Ralf d'Albini, in honour of Blessed Mary.⁷ Scarcely anything is known of its history. There is a notice of its poverty in 1341, when the nuns were allowed to appropriate the church of Wragby.⁸

A nun of Orford was excommunicated in 1491 by Bishop Redman for breach of her vow of chastity, her partner in crime being a canon of Newhouse.⁹ There are no notices of visitation of this house in Bishop Redman's register, but he issued some regulations as to the reception of nuns here and at Broadholme. None were to be admitted unless they could read and sing—and only under the form authorized for use in the order.¹⁰

The house was not dissolved, as it might have been, under the first Act of Suppression; and during the Lincoln rebellion the prioress was

required to furnish a horse for Dom William Moreland, late of Louth Park, to ride upon.¹⁹ There were seven nuns and a prioress when the surrender was finally made on 8 July, 1539.²⁰ Dr. London made the same general remarks about this house as he did of Heynings and Nuncotham.²¹ The prioress received a pension of £5, and her sisters annuities of 40s. or 26s. 8d.²² She and four others were living in 1553, and one of them had married.²³

The original endowment is unknown. In 1341 William Roos, of Hamlake, gave the nuns the advowson of Wragby church to assist their poverty, and it was still appropriated to their house at the dissolution.²⁴ Their revenue in 1534 was £13 19s. 9d. clear, including the rectory of Wragby.²⁵ The Ministers' Accounts came up to £25 5s. 7d.

PRIORESSES OF ORFORD

Julian de Redmere,²⁶ occurs 1341
 Joan Thompson,²⁷ last prioress, occurs 1534

HOUSES OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

60. THE COMMANDERY OF MALTBY BY LOUTH

Though the knights of St. John held a good deal of property in Lincolnshire at the dissolution, only a small part of it had come down to them from their early endowment. They had but two commanderies in the county (or perhaps three) before 1312, when the property of the Templars passed into their hands. Of these the earlier was that established at Maltby during the reign of Stephen by Ranulf, earl of Chester,¹¹ a

considerable benefactor of many religious houses in Lincolnshire.

This commandery does not, however, seem to have been a very large one. Its master was accused in 1275 of unjustly citing his men before the warden of the hospital in London, and of wearying them out with trouble and expenses until they were willing to do whatever he

¹ Bracton's *Note Book*, case 1831.
² Harl. Chart. 44 A, 9.
³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend, Sloane MS. 4934, fol. 27.
⁴ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 383.
⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Repingdon, 22.
⁶ Ibid. 67 d.
⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 936.
⁸ Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 47; Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bek, 75 d.
⁹ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 94-113.
¹⁰ Ibid. 37.
¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 835-6.

¹² Addy's *Beauchief*, 22.
¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Alnwick, 29, 31.
¹⁴ Ashmole MS. 1519, fol. 5-21.
¹⁵ Ibid. 29 d. 95.
¹⁶ Ibid. 119-54.
¹⁷ *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 36.
¹⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2698.
¹⁹ Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 60.
²⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1235.
²¹ Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 213.
²² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1280.
²³ Exch. Accts. bdle. 76, No. 26.
²⁴ Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 47.
²⁵ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 78.
²⁶ Close, 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 42 d.
²⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1280.

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pleased. He was accused at the same time of appropriating a free warren in Tathwell.¹

In 1338 there was still a 'Bailiwick' at Maltby, having a squire as preceptor, and with him two brethren, a knight, and a squire; there were three corrody-holders as well, dependent upon the revenue of the commandery, which amounted to 174 mks. 6s. 8d., and the expenses of the house and hospitality, and other outgoings being 75 mks. 6s. 6d., there were 99 mks. 10s. 2d. clear, to pay into the common treasury.²

The smaller commandery at Skirbeck was, it is supposed, afterwards united with that of Maltby.

The original endowment seems to have included the parish church of Maltby, with lands at Maltby and Tathwell, and half a knight's fee at Rauceby.³ At the dissolution the preceptory of Maltby, with the advowson of churches and of the chapel of Skirbeck, was valued at £34.⁴

PRECEPTOR OF MALTBY

William de Hambleton,⁵ occurs 1338.

61. THE COMMANDERY OF SKIRBECK

The commandery or bailiwick of Skirbeck is said to have been founded originally as an ordinary hospital, and to have been handed over to the hospitallers about 1230 by Sir Thomas Moulton.⁶ In 1338 twenty poor people were maintained in the infirmary; there was a preceptor in charge, and a chaplain to serve the house. It was

stated at that time that the endowment of the bailiwick consisted of the manor of Skirbeck only, with the chapel of the manor, and of Winstow (then let to farm); that its revenues amounted only to 126 mks. 11s. 7½d., of which 118 mks. 11s. 8½d. went in expenses and the support of twenty poor according to the ordination of the lord of Moulton, the founder of the house; and that it had been difficult even to raise sufficient for this during the last sixteen years, because of severe inundations.⁹ There were two corrody-holders attached to the house, both chaplains. It seems that the revenue had already diminished, if it had really a few years before sustained four priests as well as the twenty poor in the infirmary and relieved as many as forty who came every day to the gate.¹⁰ As time went on, and the value of land became still less after the great pestilence, this house apparently ceased to have a separate existence, and became merged in the preceptory of Maltby.¹¹

The only preceptor whose name survives is John of Steeping, who occurs 1338.¹²

62. THE COMMANDERY OF LINCOLN

In a charter dated 1257¹³ mention is made of a house which was of the fee of the hospitallers of Lincoln. This would seem to imply the existence of a bailiwick or commandery there at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but if this is correct, it had ceased to be when the survey of 1338 was taken.

HOUSES OF KNIGHTS' TEMPLARS

63. THE PRECEPTORY OF WILLOUGHTON

This preceptory was founded by Roger de Builli during the reign of Stephen.⁷ Simon de Cancy was a benefactor of the same period, as were also William de Romara, earl of Lincoln, and his half-brother Ranulf earl of Chester; Hugh of Bayeux, Robert of Boulogne, Simon de Vere, Robert de Roose, Alan d'Avenel, all added something to the original endowment.⁸ It seems

probable that the manor of Mere formed only a part of the endowment of this house, and did not support a separate preceptory; there was not even a *camera* there in 1338, at which date it merely occurs as a member of Willoughton.¹⁴

In 1275 the brethren of this house were accused of extending their rights without full warrant, to the damage of the king and of the country-side. They had made the floodgate on their property at Bracebridge smaller than it ought to be.¹⁵ They had impeded the flow of water at Grimsby, raised a wall on the king's highway, and kept a free guesthouse there, paying no tallages.¹⁶

¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 336. Only the accusation is entered, as is usual on the Hundred Rolls; it may or may not have been true. There is nothing to show.

² L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 59.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 835; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 278; Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 57.

⁴ *Mins. Accts.* London and Middlesex, 31 and 32 Hen. VIII, No. 114.

⁵ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 57.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 804. The original dedication is said to have been to St. Leonard.

⁷ *Ibid.* and 835-6. From John Stillingflete's book.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 60.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 804.

¹¹ It was granted probably as parcel of the preceptory of Maltby to Charles duke of Suffolk in 1542 (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 137 [22]).

¹² L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 60.

¹³ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 460.

¹⁴ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers* (Camden Soc.), 144-51.

¹⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 287.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 292 and 401-2.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

In 1312, when the order was suppressed, and the lands of the Templars taken into the king's hands, the corrody-holders were placed for a time under the charge of a warden.¹ By 1338, however, the preceptory had passed to the Knights Hospitallers, and was held by a preceptor, who was also its chaplain, with a squire as his companion; there were then three corrody-holders.² There were two small *cameræ* or cells of this house at Horkstow and Bottesford at this time,³ but by the dissolution their revenues had been merged in those of the preceptory.

In 1415 the preceptories of Willoughton and Eagle were under the charge of the same brother,⁴ but at the dissolution they again had separate rulers.

The original endowment of the house was considerable, including nearly the whole of the vill of Willoughton, with a moiety of the advowson of the church, the churches of Hareby, Goulceby, Thorpe, Bottesford, and Gainsborough, with lands at Cawkwell, Goulceby, Hareby, Kirkby, Bottesford, Bracebridge, Caenby, and Grimsby.⁵ In 1338, when the house came to the Hospitallers, it still held the churches of Gainsborough, Goulceby, Thorpe-in-the-Fallows, and half Willoughton, with lands at Cawkwell, Thorpe, Ingham, Cabourn, Limber, Saxby, Mere, Waddington, East Keal, Claxby, Thimbleby, Gainsborough, and Walcote, valued at £284 3s. 5d., and charged with reprisals, amounting to £82 10s. 8½d.⁶

In 1534 the clear income was £174 11s. 1½d., including the churches of Gainsborough, Goulceby, Horkstow, and half Willoughton. Alms were daily distributed to the poor at the door and in the hall of the preceptory to the value of £13 6s. 8d.⁷

PRECEPTORS OF WILLOUGHTON

Thomas de Thurmeston,⁸ occurs 1338

Henry Crownhall,⁹ occurs 1414

John Sutton,¹⁰ occurs 1534

64. THE PRECEPTORY OF EAGLE

The preceptory of Eagle is said to have been founded by King Stephen, who presented the manor on which it was built to the Templars.¹¹

This house also passed to the Hospitallers in 1312; a preceptor and a chaplain were living

¹ Close, 6 Edw. II, m. 12 and 7.

² L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers* (Camden Soc.), 144-51.

³ Ibid. 116.

⁴ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 354.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 835-6.

⁶ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 144-51.

⁷ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 137.

⁸ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 144.

⁹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 354.

¹⁰ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 137. Preceptor also of Beverley, Yorks. (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 620).

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 835.

here in 1338.¹² About twenty years later the administration of Eagle, Temple Bruer, and Beverley (Yorks.), were committed to one knight, John of Anlaby, by the general chapter of the order; but he was afterwards despoiled of this office by the prior of the hospital, whereupon he appealed to the pope. The causes of the difficulty are not stated in the petition made in 1359.¹³

It seems to have been a common thing as time went on to put one commander or preceptor in charge of two or three houses of the order; in 1415 Willoughton and Eagle are thus coupled together.¹⁴ Shortly before the dissolution the title, 'Bailliff of the Eagle,' seems to have been little more than a title of honour, not implying residence at the commandery, which was left in charge of a steward, or farmer.¹⁵

The original endowment included the manor of Eagle, with the churches of Eagle, Swinderby, and Scarle; lands at Mere were either given at the same time or added afterwards.¹⁶ In 1338 the revenue was £122 11s. 10d., the expenses £55 18s. 4d., leaving 100 marks to the treasury from the manor of Eagle, the churches of Eagle and Swinderby, and lands.¹⁷ At the dissolution the preceptory of the 'Olde Eagle,' with the manors of Old Eagle, North Scarle, and Swinderby, and the rectory of Swinderby, was valued at 100s. 2d.¹⁸

PRECEPTORS OR BAILIFFS OF EAGLE

Robert Cort,¹⁹ occurs 1338

John of Anlaby,²⁰ occurs 1359

Henry Crownhall,²¹ occurs 1415

William Langstrother,²² occurs about 1454

John Babington,²³ died 1534

65. THE PRECEPTORY OF ASLACKBY

This preceptory was founded early in the reign of Henry II; for Hubert of Rye presented to the Templars the church of Aslackby with its chapel 'in the year when Thomas archbishop

¹² L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers* (Camden Soc.), 157.

¹³ *Cal. of Pap. Pet.* i, 347.

¹⁴ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 345.

¹⁵ The 'bayleage of the Egyl' is called one of the 'dignities of our nation' in 1539, by Sir Giles Russell, who was then turcopolier; and seems to have been held jointly with the commandery of Temple Bruer, Dalby, Rothley, &c. (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 620, and xiv (2), 625).

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 835.

¹⁷ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 157.

¹⁸ Mins. Accts. Linc. 38 Hen. VIII, 1 Edw. VI, No. 37, m. 30.

¹⁹ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 157.

²⁰ *Cal. of Pap. Pet.* i, 347.

²¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 354.

²² D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1451-74, fol. 21.

²³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 620.

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of Canterbury departed from the king at Northampton;¹ that is to say, in 1164. Margaret de Percy was also a benefactress of the house,² and so was John le Mareschall in 1194.³

The Templars here were accused in 1275 of holding lands in Rippingale to the prejudice of the king, and of withholding sheriff's aid in Dowsby and Rippingale and Gautby.⁴

The house was taken into the king's hands in 1312,⁵ but was never made into a new commandery by the Hospitallers. They held at Aslackby in 1338 a capital messuage, 2 carucates of land and a church, which were farmed to Henry de la Dale, secretary to the Earl of Lancaster.⁶ This property was afterwards made part of the endowment of Temple Bruer.⁷

66. THE PRECEPTORY OF SOUTH WITHAM

The Templars seem to have had a small house here, with the advowson of a moiety of the parish church, for it was taken into the king's hands in 1312 as part of the possessions of the order.⁸ It was then charged with one corrody.⁹ The Hospitallers probably could not afford to support a commandery here; they held in 1338 a messuage, 8 carucates, and a moiety of the parish church, which was farmed to Sir Richard de Ty,¹⁰ and eventually the bailiwick was merged in the preceptory of Temple Bruer.¹¹

67. THE PRECEPTORY OF TEMPLE BRUER

The preceptory of Temple Bruer was founded late in the reign of Henry II¹² by William of Ashby, who was admitted soon afterwards into the fraternity of the house, and increased the original endowment before his death.¹³ Other

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 835. Stillingflete's Book adds 'nota quod verba sic continentur in Carta eiusdem Huberti.'

² Ibid. 827 and 835.

³ Ibid. 800 (from Tanner).

⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 253, 255.

⁵ Close, 6 Edw. II, m. 25 and m. 9. The house was then charged with two corrodies and a pension to the prior of Belvoir.

⁶ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 160.

⁷ In 1415 John Seyvill was master of the house of Temple Bruer and Aslackby, and in 1543 Aslackby is mentioned as part of Temple Bruer commandery (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*), xviii (1), 982, p. 546).

⁸ Close, 6 Edw. II, m. 25. Stillingflete gives it the endowments of Aslackby, which is obviously incorrect.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 160.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 646, and Mins. Accts. Linc. 38 Hen. VIII, 1 Edw. VI, No. 37.

¹² Sloane MS. 4937, fol. 73, contains a reference to a charter of Hen. II granting a market to the brethren here.

¹³ Ibid. 67, 76. William granted the church in 1195.

benefactors were Maud de Cauz, John d'Eyncourt, Robert of Everingham, William de Vescy, Gilbert of Ghent, &c.¹⁴ The house seems to have been of considerable size and importance; the brethren were allowed to crenellate the great gate in 1306,¹⁵ and in 1312 there were nine corrody-holders dependent upon its revenues for support.¹⁶

In 1338 the hospitallers had established a commandery of their order at Temple Bruer; it was under the same preceptor as the house at Eagle, and there was a squire also in residence.¹⁷

During the reign of Henry VI Thomas de la Laund made an effort to recover the church of Ashby from the Hospitallers, by virtue of his descent from those who granted it originally to the Templars, but died before he could prove his case.¹⁸ In 1493, however, Thomas de la Launde began a fresh suit as to Ashby Heath, alleging that the commander, Sir John Boswell, 'by reason of his great might and power,' had enfeoffed his own bastard son, William Boswell, with a part of it, which was the lawful inheritance of Thomas.¹⁹ In 1503, however, it was held by the new commander, Sir Thomas Newport, who claimed that it was part of the original estates of his commandery.²⁰ The suit was still going on in 1531.²¹

At the death of Sir John Babington in 1534²² Sir Giles Russell was made commander, being at that time lieutenant-turcopolier of the order. His letters show that he did not reside at Temple Bruer; but finding that the house was in a ruinous condition he made some effort to get it repaired and put in a better condition.²³ In 1539 he was made turcopolier, being at the time in Malta, on business of the order;²⁴ so that he probably saw little of his commandery before its dissolution in 1541.

The original endowment included lands in Ashby, with the parish church and pasturage for sheep; lands at Rowston, Heckington, Burton, and elsewhere, with the church of

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 835; and *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 242.

¹⁵ Sloane MS. 4937, fol. 74.

¹⁶ These corrodies vary with the amount granted to the brethren by the corrody-holder. Some have 2*d.* a day for food, others 3*d.*; one has food and 5*s.* wages for a groom as well as himself, and an 'old garment of the brethren at Christmas'; a woman (Alice, daughter of Robert of Swinesthorpe) was to receive for life seven white loaves, three esquire's loaves, five flagons of the best beer, five dishes of meat and fish every week (and an extra dish on the principal feasts), three stone of cheese yearly, and an old garment of the brethren at Christmas (Close, 6 Edw. II, m. 25).

¹⁷ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 154-6.

¹⁸ Sloane MS. 4937, fol. 76.

¹⁹ Ibid. 78.

²⁰ Ibid. 80.

²¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 620.

²² Ibid. xiv (2), 62, 404-5.

²³ Ibid. 625.

²⁴ Ibid. 85.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Rowston,¹ and possibly others besides,² were granted by benefactors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1338 the revenue of the house was £177 7s. 7d., including the churches of Ashby and Rowston, the free chapel of Bruere, with lands at Bruere, Rowston, Wellingore, Ashby, Brauncewell, and North Kirkby; the expenses were £84 os. 2d.³ The clear value of the house at the dissolution was £16 19s. 10³/₄d., including the bailiwick of South Witham and the farm of half the rectory and the grange of Holme in Heckington, with perquisites of a court.⁴

PRECEPTORS OR COMMANDERS OF TEMPLE BRUER

John Wolf,⁵ occurs 1221
Robert Cort,⁶ occurs 1338
John Seyvill,⁷ occurs 1415

John Boswell,¹⁴ occurs 1493
Thomas Newport,¹⁵ occurs 1503
John Babington,¹⁶ occurs 1531, died 1534
Giles Russell,¹⁷ last commander, occurs 1539

The fifteenth-century seal of the preceptor of Temple Bruer¹⁸ is a pointed oval representing a castle elaborately designed, with outer wall of masonry embattled, circular keep embattled, and on it an Agnus Dei, regardant.

. GENCIE HOSPITALIS.

Another pointed oval seal of the fifteenth century¹⁹ is similar in design, but the details are differently executed. In the topmost tower is a niche or window in which is a bell.

SIGILLV̄ : INDULGENCIE : TRI :
SANCT : PETRI.

This seal was used by two of the brethren as procurators of the indulgence in 1414.

FRIARIES

68. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF BOSTON

The king having licensed the Austin Friars 1 January, 1316–17, to acquire five acres of land in Boston to build a house,⁸ they obtained in part satisfaction of this grant a messuage containing 1a. 1r. of land from Andrew son of Robert atte Gote, or Gotere, in 1318,⁹ 2a. 1r. from John de la Gotere in 1327,¹⁰ and a messuage containing half an acre from John de Multon, parson of the church of Skirbeck, and John Mosse of Leek in 1342.¹¹ Thomas de Wike and others gave them three acres in Boston in 1361.¹² There were twenty friars here in 1328.¹³

¹ Sloane MS. 4937, fol. 67, 76; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 242; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 835.

² Stillingflete's lists of benefactions to the temple and the hospital are so arranged that it is difficult to know how to divide them among the preceptories. The names of several Lincolnshire churches follow the benefactions to Temple Bruer; but they are not included in its revenues in 1338.

³ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 154–6.

⁴ Mins. Accts. Linc. 38 Hen. VIII, 1 Edw. VI, No. 37, m. 31.

⁵ Sloane MS. 4937, fol. 70.

⁶ L. B. Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 154.

⁷ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, vi, 354.

⁸ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 34. The king asked for papal confirmation of the grant 4 April, 1319. Rot. Rom. 12 Edw. II, m. 8. The house is said to have been founded by one of the Tilney family. P. Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 3; Leland, *Collectanea*, i, 122; cf. Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 83.

⁹ Ibid. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 1; 12 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 16; Inq. a.q.d. 130 (8).

¹⁰ Ibid. 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 26.

¹¹ Ibid. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 1; Inq. a.q.d. 258 (10).

¹² Ibid. 25 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 17; Inq. a.q.d. 34 Edw. III, 25.

¹³ P.R.O. Exch. Accts. bdle. 383, No. 14.

Legacies were left them by Sir Henry Asty, kt., justice of the Common Bench (1383), John de Ravenser, rector of Algarkirk (1385), William de Thimelby (1385), William de Waltham, canon of York, &c. (1416), Ralph Lord Cromwell (1511), John Chove of Fleet, Edward Hevyn of Tattershall (1511), William Bornett of Alford (1525), and others.²⁰

Leland notes that he was unable to visit the library of this friary on account of the pestilence there raging.²¹

In January, 1539, the Black, White, and Austin Friars were in great straits, 'piteously lamenting their poverty, and knowing not how to live till their houses be surrendered. The devotion of the people is clean gone, their plate and implements sold, so they have nothing left but the lead,' which they would have plucked down and sold too if they had not been prevented.²²

The bishop of Dover received the surrender of the four houses in February, 1539—'very poor houses and poor persons,' but 'all meetly leaded.' The lead the visitor estimated at four score fother or more in the four houses. He urged Cromwell to let the friars have their capacities, for 'the bishops and curates be very hard to them without they have their capacities.'²³

¹⁴ Sloane MS. 4937, fol. 78. ¹⁵ Ibid. 80.

¹⁶ Ibid. 85; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 620.

¹⁷ Ibid. xiv (2), 404.

¹⁸ Add. Chart. 20, 679.

¹⁹ Cott. Chart. iv, 31.

²⁰ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 26, 68, 81, 142, &c. *Test. Ebor.* ii, 197; P. C. C. Fetiplace, fol. i, 5; *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 4.

²¹ Royal MS. App. 69, fol. 7.

²² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 101.

²³ Wright, *Suppression of the Monasteries*, 192; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv, (1), 348, 413.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

The site, estimated at ten acres, lying near St. John's churchyard, together with a tenement at St. John's Bridge, was leased to Thomas Browne of Boston, 2 June, 1541, at a rent of 78s. 8d. a year, subject to the obligation of keeping in repair 10 ft. 'in le Sedike *versus* le Wharffe Holmes,' and 80 ft. 'de la frontage apud le haven,' and was bought by the town in 1544-5.¹ The materials of the houses were probably used to keep up the sea walls.² In 1573 the site was leased to Anthony Kyme.³

69. THE BLACK FRIARS OF BOSTON

The Dominicans had settled in Boston before 1288; for in that year⁴ some miscreants, during the fair of St. Botolph, having set fire to the booths of the merchants, a great part of the town was burnt, including the church, refectory, and other houses of the Friars Preachers. The king gave them eight oaks for timber out of Sherwood Forest, 16 September, 1290.⁵ In 1291 the abbot and convent of Kirkstead and these friars exchanged some land in Boston.⁶ In the next year the friars acquired a plot of land 100 ft. by 18 ft. (worth 13s. 4d. a year) from John de Sutton and Petronilla his wife, and another plot containing 44 perches by 3 perches (worth 4s. a year) from Peter Gode of Boston; both plots were held ultimately by the Earl of Richmond.⁷ By 1309 they had rebuilt their church and were licensed by Bishop Dalderby to have their altars dedicated by any Catholic bishop.⁸ Dalderby granted an indulgence in 1314 to those who assisted in repairing the church of the Friars Preachers.⁹ They had royal licence to construct a subterranean aqueduct from Bolingbroke to their house for the use of themselves and others in 1327, and in 1330 Bishop Burghersh granted an indulgence to those who helped in this work.¹⁰

In 1300, the provincial, while presenting to the bishop, for licence to hear confessions, twenty-one friars from the convent of Lincoln, presented only two from Boston.¹¹

¹ Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII, No. 110, fol. 83 (Linc.); Partic. for Gts. file 143; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 696.

² Cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), No. 342; Stowe MS. 141, fol. 37.

³ P. Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 111.

⁴ *Reliq.* xxii; Bart. Cotton, *Hist. Angl.* 170; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 315; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 30; *Lanercost Chron.* 122, &c.; Pat. 17 Edw. I, m. 22 d, 16 d.; 18 Edw. I, m. 37 d. &c.

⁵ Close, 18 Edw. I, m. 3.

⁶ Pat. 20 Edw. I, m. 29.

⁷ Ibid. m. 12, Inq. a.q.d. 18 (20).

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 129b.

⁹ Ibid. fol. 276.

¹⁰ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 14; Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh, fol. 228.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 19b. Cf. fol. 13b.

In 1300 Edward I came to Boston and gave the Friars Preachers 19s. 8d. through Friar William de Basyngham for two days' food.¹² Edward II in 1312 sent them 12s. for one day's food.¹³ Edward III, passing through Boston 12 September, 1328, sent an alms of 9s. 4d. to the twenty-eight brethren for one day's food.¹⁴

When Richard de Bernesley of Halton died, there came to this convent, probably by his bequest, £26 13s. 4d., which the crown owed him for four sacks of wool at 10 marks a sack; the money was paid to the prior out of the exchequer in 1343.¹⁵

A commission of oyer and terminer was issued to William de Thorpe and others 10 December, 1345, on complaint of Robert de Kyrketon, prior, and Simon of Boston, friar of this house, that John Baret, parson of the church of Boston, Robert de Pykworth, chaplain, Walter Baret, William le Cook, and others, assaulted the said Friar Simon at Boston, so that his life was despaired of, and carried away his goods.¹⁶

Some thirty years later, November, 1376, the body of Sir William, lord of Hunyngfeld, or Huntingfield, was being buried in the church of the Black Friars of Boston.¹⁷ The bishop wished to be present, but the friars to the number of 200, according to the account in the bishop's register, closed the chancel of the choir and defended it against him with swords and arrows, and refused to let him or any other bishop come to services in their churches without leave of the friars themselves. Only the discretion of the bishop and the humanity of the nobles present prevented bloodshed.

The next day the bishop came to celebrate mass for the dead in the same church, but the friars assembled round the belfry or tower built over the entrance to the choir, armed with heavy stones to throw down on people entering the choir. The prior and some other friars came to the bishop and refused to allow him to receive the oblations due to him and enjoyed by his predecessors, and said they would rather die than permit this. The nobles seeing the dangers which must ensue, resolved to abstain from all oblations, and made a public proclamation of the fact, and of the insult paid to the bishop and to all his fellow-bishops throughout England. Letters on the subject were sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the provincial of the

¹² *Reliq.* xxii, 88; *Liber Quotid.* &c. 28 Edw. I, 36 (ed. Topham).

¹³ Ibid. Lib. Gard. Reg. 5 Edw. II; Cott. MS. Nero C. viii.

¹⁴ Exch. Accts. bdle. 283, No. 14.

¹⁵ *Reliq.* xxii, 88; Exit. Scacc. Easter, 17 Edw. III, m. 17, &c.

¹⁶ Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 9.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, fol. 142, The entry is not dated, but see Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii. 7-8.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Friars Preachers. This account comes from the bishop's side.¹

Soon afterwards the friars were again in trouble. A commission was issued 10 November, 1379,² to Robert de Willoughby and others to inquire touching the persons who, led by certain rebellious friars of the order, by night scaled with ladders the walls of the house of the Friars Preachers of Boston, broke their doors and windows, assaulted the prior, Roger Dymoke, and his friars in their beds, so that they were obliged to ring their bells to raise the commonalty of the town to come to their aid, and to cry fire for rescue—the evil-doers assaulting the constables and resisting arrest, besides carrying off the prior's goods; the commissioners were empowered to arrest offenders. Roger Dymoke, D.D., of Oxford, was afterwards regent of the Black Friars Schools in London, and an opponent of the Lollards.³

In 1396 Friar Hugh was elected prior here, and the election confirmed in 1397 by the master-general, as Thomas Palmer was no longer provincial, and could not act. The master-general at the same time confirmed to Friar John Birck all graces conceded to him by his superiors, and the chamber granted to him in this house. He also allowed one Friar Robert here to hold his rank according to his seniority, notwithstanding that his lectures on the sentences had been cursory. He transferred an Irish friar, John Pole, from Trim to Boston, and allowed him to assist at the obsequies of Lady Isabel of Friskney.⁴ In 1422 Isabella widow of Sir Thomas de Friskney, kt., was buried in this convent.⁵ Ralph Lord Cromwell, by will dated December, 1451, and proved February, 1455-6, left ten marks to these friars.⁶

Leland inspected their library about 1538, and noted the following books⁷: Turpin's History of Charles the Great; a volume containing *Chronica summorum pontificum et imperatorum*, *De gestis Troianorum*, *Historia Graecorum*, *Historia Britonum*, Albertus de mirabilibus (this was to be set aside for the king, and is now in the British Museum)⁸; Peter of Tarantaise ('Lugdunensis') on virtues and vices, on the epistles of St. Paul, and the fourth book of the sentences; and Gorham on St. Luke.

¹ Leland, *Itin.* vi (p. 53), notes that one of the Huntingfeldes was buried here, 'and was a late taken up hole and a leaden Bulle of Innocentius Bishop of Rome about his nek.'

² Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 19 *dorso*.

³ *Reliq.* xxii, 89, Tanner, *Bibl.* 242.

⁴ Ibid. 90, from Reg. of the Master of the Order preserved at Rome; cf. Pat. 18 Ric. II, m. 34.

⁵ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 150.

⁶ *Test. Ebor.* ii, 197. For other legacies see Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 26, 44, 68, 81, 83, 87, 142; *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 4; P. C. C. Fetiplace, fols. 1, 5, 7.

⁷ Royal MS. App. 69, fol. 7b.

⁸ Ibid. 13 A.V.

The poverty of the Black Friars on the eve of the surrender of the house to the bishop of Dover, February, 1539, has already been mentioned.⁹ The site comprising about five acres was valued at 21s. a year: a tenement with garden within the monastery was let to Thomas Crowe, chaplain, for 13s. 4d. a year, and a house and two gardens were let to William Spynke, John Bate, and John Nele, at rents of 4s., 5s., and 3s. 4d., respectively—the total annual value being 46s. 8d.¹⁰ The property was granted 10 March, 1540-1, to the Duke of Suffolk.¹¹ It was situated in South Street between Shodfriars Lane and Spain Lane. A portion of the friary adjoining the custom house was used as a granary, and pulled down about 1820. The burial ground appears to have been in Shodfriars Lane near the grammar school.¹²

70. THE GREY FRIARS OF BOSTON

'Merchants of the Steelyard,' says Leland,¹³ 'were wont greatly to haunt Boston; and the Grey Friars took them in a manner for founders of their house, and many Esterlings were buried there.' Among them was Wisselus de Smalenberg, merchant of Munster (1340), the slab of whose tomb is now in the parish church.¹⁴ The date of the foundation is uncertain. The house was built before 1268, when one Luke de Batenturt complained that the wine and other goods which he had deposited in the church had been removed.¹⁵ In 1300 the king gave them 20s. 4d. by the hands of Friar Gilbert of Lonsdale;¹⁶ there seem to have been thirty friars in the house at this time. Edward III gave a pittance of 11s. 8d. to the 35 friars here in 1328.¹⁷

In 1322 William and Robert de Masham granted them a messuage and half an acre of land for the enlargement of their dwelling-place;¹⁸ and they received a further addition to this land from John le Pytehede in 1348.¹⁹ In or before 1354 they lost some of their muniments and other goods owing to a sudden inrush of the sea.²⁰

⁹ See under Austin Friars.

¹⁰ Mins. Accts 30-1 Hen. VIII, No. 110, fol. 83 (Linc.); Partic. for Gts. file 1080.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, m. 678-9.

¹² *Reliq.* xxii, 91-2; P. Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 109. Some remains of the friary are incorporated in the new buildings of the Boston Club.

¹³ Leland, *Itin.* vi, 53.

¹⁴ Murray, *Lincs.* 138; Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 112.

¹⁵ *Abbreviatio Placitorum* (Rec. Com.), 176. See also Magd. Coll. Archives (Oxford), 'Swaby A. 150'.

¹⁶ *Liber Quotid. &c.* 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 36. Simon Jorz was lecturer to the convent in 1300 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 15).

¹⁷ P.R.O. Exch. Accts. bdle. 383, No. 14.

¹⁸ Inq. a.q.d. 218 (11); Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 12.

¹⁹ Tanner, *Not. Mon.* 'ex. rec. 22 Edw. III.'

²⁰ Pat. 28 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 12.

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The friary, which was situated in the south-east part of the town, was in the custody of York.¹

In 1391 John Dunning, a vagabond apostate friar, was, with the help of the secular arm, restored to this house from which he had absconded.²

The tombs of one of the Mountevilles and six or seven of the Withams were noted here by Leland.³ Richard Temper was buried here in 1515.⁴ Bequests were made to these friars by Sir Henry Asty, kt., Ralph Lord Cromwell, and others.⁵ By old custom the lords of the honour of Richmond granted to them annually eight quarters of wheat; these were valued in 1534 at 32s.⁶

John Tynmouth *alias* Maynelyn, friar minor of Lynn and titular bishop of Argos, was vicar of Boston 1518–24, but does not seem to have had any connexion with the Grey Friars of Boston.⁷

John Perrot, or Porrett, warden of this house, took the degree of D.D. at Oxford in 1526.⁸

The Grey Friars, though very poor at the time of surrender, February, 1539, do not seem to have lamented their poverty and inability to live, like the other friaries.⁹ The site, valued at 44s. a year, was first reserved for the king, and subsequently, 1544–5, purchased by the town, subject to the obligation of keeping in repair 40 ft. of the sea-dyke, and 20 ft. on 'le frontage.'¹⁰

71. THE WHITE FRIARS OF BOSTON

In 1293 the Carmelites obtained a licence from Bishop Sutton to have a chantry in the oratory at Boston, and in the same year Master Giffred de Vezano, papal nuncio and rector of the parish church of Boston, consented that the friars might have a church, houses, and churchyard in his parish, might celebrate divine service, and bury their brethren in the churchyard,

provision being made as to the rector's rights to offerings.¹¹

Edward I gave them 12s. for two days' food in 1300; this would be the allowance for eighteen friars.¹² There were twenty-two friars of the house in 1328.¹³

In 1305 the king pardoned them for having acquired in mortmain a messuage, adjoining their area, from Robert de Wellbek of Boston.¹⁴ This pardon was repeated in 1307 by Edward II, who at the same time gave the friars permission to erect a church and other buildings.¹⁵ This perhaps refers to the new site, on the west side of the river, which they acquired at this time. For in October, 1307, Clement V ordered Bishop Dalderby to license these friars to transfer themselves to another place in the parish of St. Botolph, granted to them by William de Ros; the bishop's licence was issued in 1308.¹⁶ In this year the friars acquired a plot of ground from John Parleben;¹⁷ in 1315 another measuring 81 ft. by 25 ft. from John Hervy of London and Boston, and Avice his wife;¹⁸ and another in 1316 containing 18 perches by 2½ perches from Simon Gernon of Boston.¹⁹ In February, 1349–50, Simon Lambert of Boston gave them three messuages to enlarge their house and graveyard; the messuages, held of Lord Roos, were of small value, 'because they are fallen' and in a deserted lane.²⁰ Sir John de Orreby, 1350, gave the friars four acres, and was afterwards reputed founder of the house.²¹

For 6s. 8d. paid by these friars in the hanaper they obtained licence in 1400 for the alienation to them in mortmain by Sir Ralph de Cromwell, kt., of five acres of land in Skirbeck adjoining their house, held of Ralph earl of Westmoreland, as of the honour of Richmond.²² Ralph de Cromwell left them 10 marks by his will made in 1451.²³

John Hornby, who wrote among other works a defence of his order against the attacks of John Stokes, was prior of the White Friars of Boston in 1374.²⁴ George or Gregory Ripley, the author of lives of St. Botolph and St. John of Bridlington, is said to have been an inmate of

¹ Eubel, *Provinciale Vetustissimum*.

² Pat. 15 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 14 d.

³ Leland, *Itin.* vi, 53: Leland was unable to inspect the library owing to the absence of the 'prior'; Royal MS. App. 69, fol. 7b.

⁴ P.C.C. Holder, fol. 2.

⁵ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 26, 44, 68, 81, &c.; *Test. Ebor.* ii, 197; P. C. C. Fetipplace, fol. i, 5; *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 4.

⁶ P. Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 113.

⁷ Cooper, *Athenae Cantab.* i, 31; Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, 271.

⁸ *Grey Friars in Oxford*, 277.

⁹ Wright, *Suppression*, 192; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 101, 342, 348.

¹⁰ Partic. for Gts. file 143; Mins. Accts. 30–1 Hen. VIII, No. 110, fol. 83 (Linc.). For the subsequent history of the site see Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 113.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, fol. 80, 83b.

¹² *Liber Quotid.* &c. 28 Edw. I, 36 (ed. Topham).

¹³ P.R.O. Exch. Accts. bdle. 383, No. 14.

¹⁴ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 22.

¹⁵ Ibid. 1 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 11, sched.

¹⁶ *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 30; Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 109b.

¹⁷ Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 15; Inq. a.q.d. 66 (14).

¹⁸ Ibid. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 14.

¹⁹ Ibid. m. 25.

²⁰ Ibid. 24 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 36; Inq. a.q.d. 23 Edw. III, No. 21.

²¹ Ibid. 24 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23; Speed, *Hist.* fol. 1061; Harl. MS. 539, fol. 143.

²² Ibid. 2 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 30, 29.

²³ *Test. Ebor.* ii, 197.

²⁴ Tanner, *Bibl.* 414; MS. Bodl. E. Mus. 86, fol. 176; Harl. MS. 3838, fol. 76b.

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this house about 1400.¹ Friar John Viude of Boston was provincial of the English Carmelites in 1482, and was buried in his native convent.² Leland noted about 1538 there were many books here, but they either contained matter already printed, or they did not relate to divinity or the history of antiquity.³ He does not mention any by name.

The town in 1544-5 purchased the site of 'le White fryers,' containing five acres, together with a tenement in the tenure of Thomas Waltehewe, fishmonger, of Boston, and a pasture in Skirbeck in the tenure of John Turpham, the whole property being at that time demised to William Heydon at a rent of £4 a year, and subject to the obligation of keeping in repair 130 ft. of the dyke towards 'le Wharffe.'⁴

72. THE GREY FRIARS OF GRANTHAM

The Franciscans were settled here before 1290, for on 27 November of that year Pope Nicholas IV⁵ granted an indulgence of one year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents visiting the church of the Friars Minors at Grantham on the four feasts of the Virgin, and those of St. Francis, St. Anthony, and St. Clare. The convent was in the custody of Oxford.⁶ Edward I gave these friars 12s. 8d. for two days' pittance and 21s. for three days' pittance by the hand of Friar J. de Jarewell or Gerewell, at Grantham in 1300;⁷ there were probably about twenty friars at the time. Bishop Dalderby admitted four friars of this house to hear confessions in 1300,⁸ and in 1311 dedicated four altars in this church and one in the infirmary.⁹ John de Warenne, earl of Surrey (1304) granted the friars 32½ quarters of corn each year from his mills at Grantham; the grant was renewed by his grandson in 1313 and confirmed by the king.¹⁰ Ralph of Barneby gave them a spring of water at Gonerby, and in 1314 Richard Kellaw, bishop of Durham, authorized them to

bring the water to their house by leaden pipes, and to dig the ground in the common pasture to lay and repair the pipes on condition that they put back the earth.¹¹

In 1355 John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, had permission to grant the Friars Minors a messuage lying to the east of their house.¹² He bequeathed £20 to them by his will, 1347.¹³

In 1339 a murderer took sanctuary in the church of St. Francis at Grantham,¹⁴ and early in the next century a similar event led to a dispute between the friars and the town. On the Sunday after Ascension Day, 1419, Thomas Couper of Botleston, brasier, and William Drusthorpe, locksmith, killed Thomas May of Botleston, and fled for sanctuary to the Grey Friars' church. On Whitsunday the bailiff carried them off by force to Lincoln, and on the appeal of the friars to the king in council, a jury was sworn before the justices of gaol delivery and declared that the church of the friary was a sanctuary. The prisoners were handed on to Friar Thomas Kyrton and brought back to the Grey Friars.¹⁵ A provincial chapter of the Premonstratensian Order was held in this church in 1492.¹⁶ Among the benefactors of the house were Ralph Basset lord of Sapcote (1377), Richard de Evingeham rector of Ewerby, Robert de Westburgh of Grantham (1397), Nicholas Tye (1410), Thomas Ingham of Corby (1415), Thomas Sleaford (1417), Robert Wymtryngham canon of Lincoln (1415), and Queen Catherine of Aragon.¹⁷

In 1513 Henry VIII granted to these friars full pardon for all kinds of transgressions or crimes, including treason, murder, rape, which they might have committed before 8 December 1510.¹⁸

In July, 1535, Richard Hopkins the warden and other brethren were accused by one of the friars, John Colsell, of using seditious language. The Earl of Rutland by Cromwell's instruction investigated the matter. John Colsell was himself aged eighteen, and his principal witness was a novice, William Nobull, aged thirteen years, who on being called to give evidence charged Colsell, who was his schoolmaster, with having tutored him to bear false witness. The warden and his friends seem to have cleared themselves.¹⁹ At the same time John Colsell was accused of

¹ He does not appear to be identical with George Ripley, alchemist, who was canon of Bridlington, and died c. 1490, Tanner, *Bibl.* 634; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlviii; Ripley's Life of John of Bridlington is inserted in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglie*.

² Stevens, *Mon.* 159 (from Bale).

³ Royal MS. App. 69, fol. 7b.

⁴ Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII, No. 110, fol. 83 (Linc.); Partic. for Gts. file 143 (36 Hen. VIII); *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, No. 1032. For the later history of the site see Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 110.

⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 521.

⁶ Eubel, *Provinciale Vetustissimum*.

⁷ P.R.O. Exch. Acct. 357 (4); Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 23b.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 11b, 18.

⁹ Ibid. fol. 218b.

¹⁰ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 8; Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 11.

¹¹ *Reg. Pal. Dunelm.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 1255, iv, 385.

¹² Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 2; Inq. a.q.d. 226 (2).

¹³ *Test. Ebor.* i, 43; another bequest, *ibid.* 28.

¹⁴ Pat. 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 24.

¹⁵ Add. MS. 4938, fol. 13. (Peck MSS. vol. v).

¹⁶ *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstrat.* (Camden Soc.), i, 167.

¹⁷ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, No. 6121.

¹⁸ Add. MS. 4938, fol. 20.

¹⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 1149; ix, 179, 740; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, pt. iv, 25.

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'using the deceitful art of magic and astronomy.' Gervase Tyndall, schoolmaster at Grantham, was 'employed in the business of certain friars who were about to practice necromancy,' and became so unpopular in the town that the boys were driven away from his school.¹

The bishop of Dover received the surrender of the house about the end of February, 1538-9, and reported the convent so poor that the king would receive nothing but the lead, bells, and a chalice.²

The friary with its lands was granted in 1541 at a rent of 7s. 9d. to Robert Butcher, gentleman, and David Vincent, one of the royal pages; in the grant were included the church, belfry, cemetery, and aqueduct, a garden of one acre, a small close called Paradise, a close of 5 acres and a number of other gardens, kilnhouse, 'malto-flores,' stables, and other tenements. Some of these were already let to tenants. These grantees sold the site in 1542 to Austin Porter of Belton.³

73. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF GRIMSBY

William Fraunk obtained licence, 22 November, 1293, to alienate to the prior and Austin Friars of Lincoln a messuage in Grimsby, and became responsible for the payment of 6d. a year which was due from this messuage at the Exchequer by the hand of the bailiffs of Grimsby.⁴ By 1300 the friars had built an oratory without licence of the bishop and in spite of the opposition of the Austin Canons of Grimsby.⁵ In 1305 they were allowed by the king to enclose two plots of ground in the town, which they had acquired from William de Dudale and Edmund de Fal, though the king would thereby lose 14d. a year which the bailiffs of the town were wont to render for the farm of the land.⁶ The friars in 1315 received a messuage adjacent to their house from John atte See of Ravenserod—the king consenting to the grant at the request of the queen.⁷ William le Tollere conferred on them another adjacent plot in 1319.⁸ In 1325 Bishop Burghersh granted an indulgence to those visiting their church.⁹

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 740.

² *Ibid.* xiv, (1), 348, 413 (cf. No. 3); Wright, *Suppression*, 192.

³ Add. MS. 4938, fol. 16; cf. Stowe MS. 141, fol. 37. Mins. Accts. 30-31 Hen. VIII, No. 110, fol. 84 (Linc.); Partic. for Gts. file 211; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 71 (34), 1154 (18).

⁴ Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 29; Inq. a.q.d. 19 (2). He was mayor of Grimsby 1287, 1289; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 288. On the site, see Oliver, *Monumental Antiq. of Great Grimsby*, 110.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 26.

⁶ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 24; Inq. a.q.d. v, 54 (22).

⁷ *Ibid.* 8 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 8; Inq. a.q.d. 137 (15).

⁸ *Ibid.* 12 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 22; Inq. a.q.d. 137 (15).

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh, fol. 140b.

They further acquired plots of land from Simon of Grimsby in 1333¹⁰ and from William de Brocklesby, king's clerk, in 1337.¹¹ For these various tenements they paid to the mayor and commonalty towards the farm of the town 8s. a year till 1342, when Peter atte See, burgess, granted to the town a like rent from his lands that the friars might hold their lands rent free.¹²

In 1339 Walter de Belesby, the prior, complained that Thomas de Skirbeck of Grimsby, and many others, including a butcher and a tailor, had assaulted Simon of Grimsby, a friar of the house; ¹³ a commission of oyer and terminer was issued to Richard de Willoughby and others, and shortly afterwards a writ of protection for one year was granted to the friars and William Bray, their attorney, who were threatened with disturbance in the prosecution of their business.¹⁴

Bequests were made to these friars by Richard Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln¹⁵ (1385), John of Waltham, bishop of Salisbury¹⁶ (1395), John Enderby of Grimsby¹⁷ (1472), Richard Burgh, who left 12d. to every friar of the house¹⁸ (1512-3), John Lyttyll of Grimsby¹⁹ (1530). John Cotes, esq.²⁰ was buried in the church and left two good oxen to the brethren (1421).

John Daniel was prior in 1419.²¹

In the reign of Henry VII (?) some of the inhabitants attacked the Austin Friars 'on riotous wise' and indited certain of the brethren without reasonable cause to their 'unportable' charge and cost, and were ordered by the king to desist.²²

Leland saw many old MSS. in the library but found nothing worth recording.²³

During the short Lincolnshire rebellion in October, 1536, the prior of this house, who had been recently appointed, came riding with the warden of the Grey Friars to the commons and gave them money, and lent the warden some money to give them. He seems to have acted to some extent under compulsion, a hint having been given to the friars that 'it were alms to set your house of fire.'²⁴

¹⁰ Pat. 7 Edw. III, m. 22; Inq. a.q.d. 226 (9).

¹¹ *Ibid.* 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 34.

¹² *Ibid.* 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 27; Inq. a.q.d. 258 (15), 263 (3). A petition from these friars probably of the time of Edw. III, for leave to purchase 'three acres of void place' is in P.R.O. Anct. Petitions, No. 2408.

¹³ *Ibid.* 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 32d.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 12-14 Edw. III, m. 12 (26 Sept. 1339).

¹⁵ Reg. Courtenay (Lambeth), fol. 217b.

¹⁶ P.C.C. Rous, fol. 32.

¹⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 271.

¹⁸ P.C.C. Fetipplace, fol. 18.

¹⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 274.

²⁰ Lansd. MS. 207a, fol. 235b.

²¹ Chan. Warr. File 1767, No. 5.

²² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 243. The date is doubtful.

²³ Royal MS. App. 69.

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 593.

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John Freeman, an agent of Cromwell, visited the friary in October, 1538, and found that most of the friars had run away. He made the prior keeper of the house for the king, with a promise of five marks at his departing.¹ The surrender was made to the bishop of Dover at the end of February, 1538-9; he found the house poor, but estimated the lead at about 20 to 22 foder. The mayor and aldermen paid most of his costs and desired to have the friary as a common house for ordnance and other necessities for defence. It stood well for the purpose, near the water and open to the sea. The bishop urged Cromwell to favour their suit, and committed the house, lead, and bells to the mayor.² The site, containing about five acres, was, however, granted to the dean and chapter of Westminster, August, 1542, and purchased by Austin Porter of Belton (Linc.) and John Bellow 27 July, 1546. It was then valued at 20s. a year.³

74. THE GREY FRIARS OF GRIMSBY

The Friars Minors probably settled here before 1240, for Eccleston notes that their place was 'sufficiently enlarged' while William of Nottingham was provincial (1240-54).⁴ Henry III granted them twenty oaks in Sherwood Forest in 1255.⁵ They paid a rent for their land to the Knights Templars till 1305, when they were relieved from this obligation by the generosity of Robert le Eyr of Grimsby.⁶ In 1313 they received pardon for acquiring without licence a plot of land measuring 12 p. by 9 p. 8 ft., from Elias de Pestur or le Pescur;⁷ and in the same year Edward II authorized them to make a subterranean conduit from Holm to their house in Grimsby, through the king's land in Grimsby and that of John Yornborough and Ralph de Skirbeck in Holm.⁸ A plot of land in Grimsby 14 p. 7 ft. by 6 p. 14 ft. adjacent to their area was granted to them in 1317 by William, 'parson of a fourth part of the church of Brocklesby.'⁹ The area of the friary contained

twenty-three tofts, for which the friars paid 11s. 6d. a year to the crown.¹⁰

Thomas de Mussenden, esq., desired to be buried here before the high altar (1402) and left 100s. to place a stone over his body, his best mazer to the friars, and his red garment of cloth of gold to the high altar.¹¹ Small legacies to these friars are contained in the wills of Beatrix Haulay (1389), William of Humberstone, rector of Belgrace (1394), John of Waltham, bishop of Salisbury (1395), Constance lady of Skelton (1402), William of Waltham, canon of York (1416), William Alcock (1416), John Enderby (1497), and John Lytyll (1530), all of Grimsby. Richard Burgh (1513) left 12d. to every grey friar of Grimsby and 10s. to Friar William Dowsun.¹² The convent was in the custody of York.¹³

Leland inspected the library before the dissolution, but found nothing worth recording.¹⁴

The warden rode out to the rebels 4 October, 1536, and gave them some money which he borrowed from the prior of the Austin Friars.¹⁵

John Freeman dissolved the Grey Friars here 8 October, 1538, and sent the plate, weighing 22 oz., to London; the house 'was not very chargeable to the king, and yet there were nine friars in the same.' The surrender, however, was signed only by six friars, including Adam Howeton, the warden. To the king's use there remained the bells and lead, estimated at £80.¹⁶ The site, estimated at three acres, was at once let to Thomas Hatcliff, and granted in October, 1543, to John Bellow and Robert Brokesby; it was at that time in the tenure of the relict of Thomas Hatcliff.¹⁷

75. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF LINCOLN

Leland noted the ruins of the Austin Friary on the south side of 'the suburb to Newport Gate.'¹⁸ The friars settled here under royal protection about 1269-70,¹⁹ and obtained from Bishop Sutton licence to have their church and area consecrated in 1291.²⁰ Gilbert de Stratton

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, No. 567.

² *Ibid.* xiv, i, Nos. 348, 413. Wright, *Suppression*, 192.

³ *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII, No. 110, fol. 84 (Linc.); *Partic. for Gts.* 893; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 394.

⁴ *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 55. 'This monastery is supposed to have been situated in or near a field by the present haven, known by the name of the Kiln Garth.' Oliver, *Monumental Antiq. of Great Grimsby*, 108.

⁵ Close, 39 Hen. III, m. 3.

⁶ *Inq. a.q.d.* 52 (22); *Pat.* 33 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 2.

⁷ *Inq. a.q.d.* 93 (13); *Pat.* 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 2.

⁸ *Pat.* *ibid.*

⁹ *Pat.* 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 22; *Inq. a.q.d.* 130 (12).

¹⁰ Oliver, *ut sup.* 110.

¹¹ *Lansd. MS.* 207, A, fol. 232.

¹² Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills; Test. Ebor.; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 271, 274. *P.C.C. Rous*, fol. 32; *P.C.C. Fetiplace*, fol. 18.

¹³ Eubel, *Provinciale Vetustissimum*.

¹⁴ *MSS. Royal*, App. 69, fol. 6.

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 593.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 567, 572; *Monastic Treasures* (Abbotsford Club), 10.

¹⁷ *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII, 110, 184 (Linc.); *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (2), 185; *Stowe MS.* 141, fol. 37; cf. Tanner, *Not. Mon.*

¹⁸ *Itin.* i, 32.

¹⁹ *Pat.* 54 Hen. III, m. 25; cf. Close, 54 Hen. III, m. 9; 8 Edw. I, m. 2 (grants of timber).

²⁰ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton*, fol. 36b.

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granted them a messuage in the suburb of Lincoln in 1292.¹ Next year a messuage in Grimsby was given to them where a new friary was founded.² There were probably thirty friars here in 1300 when Edward I gave them 20s. for two days' food.³ In 1328 the friars numbered twenty-eight,⁴ and in 1335, thirty-six.⁵

A provincial chapter of the order was held here in 1307,⁶ and another in 1332, to the expenses of which Archbishop Melton gave two marks.⁷

William de Bliton, John de Merkyate, and Thomas Felisson gave these friars three tofts in 1367.⁸

Bequests were made to them by Adam de Lymbergh, rector of Algarkirk (1338), Thomas Beck, bishop of Lincoln (1346), Simon, rector of Stanton (1346), Sir Henry Asty, kt. (1383), William de Belay, citizen of Lincoln (1383), Sir John de Multon, kt. (1388), Robert Appleby of Lincoln (1407), John de Kele, canon of Lincoln (1416), William of Waltham, canon of York and Lincoln (1416), William of Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln (1449), Ralph Lord Cromwell (1451), John Colynson, archdeacon of Northampton (1482).⁹ Richard Burgh left 8d. to every friar of the four orders in Lincoln (1513).¹⁰ The will of Juliana Lufchild, 1418, was written by Thomas Everard, sub-prior of this house.¹¹

Leland reports on the library, 'There are some books here but either in common use or printed, or such as do not bear on our subjects.'¹²

Richard bishop of Dover received the surrender of the four friaries in February, 1538-9; all were poor houses, nothing being left but stones and poor glass, but 'meetly leaded.'¹³ The site, containing about four acres, was let to Robert Dighton, esq., at a rent of 12s. a year, and seems

to have been purchased in 1545 by John Bellow and Edward Bayliss.¹⁴

76. THE BLACK FRIARS OF LINCOLN

The Dominicans settled in Silvergate,¹⁵ outside Pottergate,¹⁶ before 1238. Henry III gave them timber, 13 June, 1238,¹⁷ and 100s. towards the expenses of their provincial chapter to be held here 14 September, 1238.¹⁸ Another provincial chapter met here 14 September, 1244, to which the king contributed £10.¹⁹ The Burton annalist, while telling the story of St. Hugh of Lincoln, denounces the Friars Preachers for trying to save unbelievers from death.²⁰ A royal grant of ten oaks for timber in 1255 shows that building was still going on.²¹ In 1260 the friars obtained leave of the abbot and monks to enclose a spring in the territory of a cell belonging to the abbey of St. Mary, York, without the suburbs of Lincoln, and thence to carry water as far as the highway running from Greetwell to Lincoln; the king allowed them to carry their conduit along the highway to their house, and to repair it when necessary.²² In 1263 the king gave them a hogshead of wine to celebrate masses.²³

In 1275 there is mention of a plot of ground two acres in extent, called 'la Batailplace,' where the men of the city were accustomed to have their games, the friars to preach, and all to have their easements.²⁴

The friars from time to time enlarged their bounds, till at length they had acquired about ten acres.²⁵ In 1284 they obtained a messuage and garden in Lincoln from John Cotty, and three small messuages from other benefactors.²⁶ Next year they were allowed to enclose with a stone wall a small vacant plot to the north of their dwelling;²⁷ and in 1292 to enclose a lane passing through their area from south to north in the parish of Holy Trinity under the Hill.²⁸ In 1290 they received 100s. from the executors of the

¹ Pat. 20 Edw. I, m. 8.

² Ibid. 22 Edw. I, m. 29. See under Grimsby.

³ *Liber Quotid.* 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 37; cf. 39-40. The king gave them 61s. 4d. for four days' food in Sept. 1301. Add. MS. 7966, A, fol. 27.

⁴ P.R.O. Exch. Accts. bdle. 383, No. 14.

⁵ Ibid. bdle. 387, No. 9.

⁶ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, 1016 (Record Com.).

⁷ Dixon, *Fasti Ebor.* i, 432. In 1336 William son of William le Clerk of Kyme acknowledged a debt of £40 to these friars. Close, 10 Edw. III, m. 43d.

⁸ Inq. a.q.d. 41 Edw. III, No. 5; Pat. 43 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 10.

⁹ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 6, 26, 107, 128, 142; *Test. Ebor.* i, 24, 28; ii, 197; P.C.C. Rous, fol. 9-10; Logge, fol. 33; Stafford Reg. fol. 178b, (Lambeth).

¹⁰ P.C.C. Fetiplace, fol. 18.

¹¹ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 151.

¹² Royal MS. App. 69, fol. 3b.

¹³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 348, 413; Wright, *Suppression*, 191.

¹⁴ Aug. Off. Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII, Linc. 110, fol. 83; Partic. for Gts. file 121, m. 24, 25. The principal entry relating to this friary is crossed out in the original.

¹⁵ Harl. Chart. 47 D, 47.

¹⁶ See Palmer's article in the *Reliquary*, xxv, 10, 14.

¹⁷ Close, 22 Hen. III, m. 12.

¹⁸ Liberate R. 22 Hen. III, m. 14.

¹⁹ Ibid. 28 Hen. III, m. 7.

²⁰ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 346-7; see *Lanercost Chron.* 24.

²¹ Close, 39 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 3.

²² Ibid. 44 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 15; Pat. 44 Hen. III, m. 11.

²³ Ibid. 47 Hen. III, m. 8. sched.

²⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 312, 320, 398.

²⁵ P.R.O. Aug. Book, 211, fol. 77; Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII, 110.

²⁶ Pat. 12 Edw. I, m. 8.

²⁷ Ibid. 13 Edw. I, m. 12; Inq. a.q.d. 8 (3).

²⁸ Ibid. 20 Edw. I, m. 3.

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late queen;¹ in 1293, 100s. from the king for the provincial chapter to be held there on 15 August,² and in 1300 £10 for another chapter.³ In May of the same year the king gave them 31s. 4d. for two days' food;⁴ the number of the friars was probably forty-seven. In January, 1300-1, the king gave them an alms of 71s.,⁵ and in January, 1302-3, 45s. for three days' food.⁶

The friars were now rebuilding their church. Edward I gave them twelve oaks to make shingles in 1284, and four oaks for their church in 1290.⁷ The church and churchyard, together with the altars in the chapel of the Virgin Mary, were consecrated in 1311.⁸ Friar Walter Jorse, archbishop of Armagh, made the Black Friars of Lincoln his residuary legatees in 1320, and was buried in this church opposite the tomb of T. le Draper.⁹ His executors, Friars Thomas de Eyncourt and Walter de Belton were licensed by Alexander de Waynflete, the prior, to receive probate.

Some parish priests of Lincoln about 1298 resisted the claims of the friars to hear confessions,¹⁰ and in 1300 Bishop Dalderby objected to licensing as penitentiaries so many as twenty-one friars of this house, whom the provincial friar presented:¹¹ but the number licensed seems to have remained considerable.¹² The prior of Lincoln was among the eight friars deposed in the general chapter held at London in 1314.¹³ In 1325 a provincial chapter met here, to which Edward II (27 June) contributed £15 for three days' food.¹⁴ Edward III gave 12s. 8d. to the thirty-eight friars of this house in September, 1328,¹⁵ and 16s. to the forty-eight friars in May, 1335.¹⁶ In 1330 the prior was one of the papal commissioners appointed to decide a dispute about the bishop of Durham's jurisdiction in Osmotherly.¹⁷ Friar John Grym of Lincoln, who had thrown off his habit, was taken by Edmund de Lisle, another friar of this house at Ipswich, in 1338, and brought back to his convent.¹⁸ Friar John of Lincoln, confessor to John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, was recommended by the king for election to the

bishopric of St. Asaph in 1345, but was not elected:¹⁹ in the service of the earl he provoked the malice of certain persons, and being in bodily fear of them, had from the king special protection, 21 June, 1346, and permission to retire to King's Langley when he left the earl's service.²⁰ In 1356 John Lyperying, O.P., a malefactor and disturber of the peace, was handed over to the prior of Lincoln by the king's sergeant-at-arms.²¹

The friars obtained three messuages in the suburb of Lincoln in 1342 from Robert de Kele, Alan Faukes, and William Garvyn.²² Several bequests to them about this time are recorded, namely from Adam de Lymbergh, rector of Algarkirk (1338); Simon, rector of Staunton, (1346); Thomas Beck, bishop of Lincoln (1346); Isabel, widow of William son of William de Elmley, kt., lord of Elmley and Sprotborough, (25 July, 1348); William de Belay, citizen of Lincoln (1383); Henry Asty, kt., judge of the Common Bench (1383).²³ Richard Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln, in 1385 left 2s. to each friar chaplain, and 1s. to each friar not being a chaplain.²⁴

A provincial chapter assembled here in 1388 passed some statutes regulating the promotion of friars to degrees in the universities, and appointed a number of friars to lecture on the sentences at Oxford and Cambridge.²⁵ In 1390 the master-general declared Friar John Muren guiltless of a theft committed in the convent at Derby, made him master of the students at Lincoln, and assigned to him the chamber which Friar Ralph of Louth built in the Lincoln friary.²⁶ At the same time he appointed Friar Richard of Helmsley, who received the master's degree by papal authority, lector in this house for three years, with the right to choose and change his *socius*: in 1393 he renewed this appointment, and warned the prior not to impede Friar Richard in his office.²⁷ The convent was in the visitation of York.²⁸

The history of the house during the fifteenth century is almost a blank, save for a few legacies.²⁹ The city was accustomed to pay the friars 2s. a year for a wax light before the high altar.³⁰ Leland inspected the library, and noted two

¹ P.R.O. Exch. Accts. 352 (27).

² Ibid. Wardrobe, 21 Edw. I. (1 m.).

³ *Liber Quotid.* &c. 28 Edw. I. (ed. Topham), 44.

⁴ Ibid. 37. ⁵ Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 23 b.

⁶ *Reliq.* xxv, 12, from Wardrobe Acct. 31 Edw. I.

⁷ Close, 12 Edw. I, m. 8; 18 Edw. I, m. 11.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 191 b.

⁹ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 6.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, fol. 217.

¹¹ Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 19 b.

¹² cf. ibid. fol. 365.

¹³ *Mon. Ord. Praedicatorum Hist.* (ed. Reichert), iv, 73.

¹⁴ Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 29 d. *Liber Quotid.* Contrarot. Gard. 18 Edw. II, m. 7 (P.R.O.).

¹⁵ P.R.O. Exch. Accts. 383 (14).

¹⁶ Ibid. 387 (9).

¹⁷ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii, 321.

¹⁸ Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.

¹⁹ Close, 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 12 d.

²⁰ Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 38; pt. i, m. 4.

²¹ Ibid. 30 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22 d.

²² Ibid. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 5.

²³ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 6, 26, 31; *Test. Ebor.* i, 24, 28, 50.

²⁴ Reg. Courtenay (Lambeth), fol. 217 b.

²⁵ Add. MS. 32446, fol. 5.

²⁶ Ibid. fol. 1 b.

²⁷ Ibid. fol. 2 b.

²⁸ Worc. Cath. Libr. MS. Q. 93.

²⁹ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 107, 128, 142. Also William of Alnwick, bp. of Linc. (Reg. Stafford [Lambeth], fol. 178 b.), Ralph, Lord Cromwell (*Test. Ebor.* ii, 197), J. Colynson, archdeacon of Northampton (P.C.C. Logge, fol. 33), etc.

³⁰ *Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 27.

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books, namely, Alexander on the Proverbs of Solomon, and the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon.¹ The latter volume is now in the British Museum.²

The house surrendered to the Bishop of Dover, February, 1538-9: it was poor but well-leaded.³ The site, containing some ten acres, was let on lease to Thomas Burton of Lincoln for 33s. 4d. a year, 12 August, 1539.⁴ William Rotherham of Lincoln, merchant, seems to have desired to purchase it, as the property was rated for him 18 September, 1545; but it was sold to John Broxholme and John Bellow, 30 September of that year.⁵

77. THE GREY FRIARS OF LINCOLN

According to Leland⁶ the founder of the Grey Friars was Reginaldus Molendinarius, merchant, of Lincoln. The first founder, however, appears to have been William of Beningworth, subdean of Lincoln, who about 1230 granted to the citizens of Lincoln a place near the Guildhall to house the Friars Minors.⁷ The city then conferred on them part of the area on which the Guildhall stood, and this grant was confirmed 7 February, 1230-1, by the king.⁸ Henry III, 17 September, 1237,⁹ asked the men of Lincoln to give 'the place where their pleas are held,' and which used to be the Guildhall, to the friars minors, promising the citizens another place in the town. The old Guildhall was accordingly assigned to the friars, 5 October, 1237, by the mayor and bailiffs.¹⁰

It does not appear what the attitude of these friars was to the attack on the Jews in 1255; it is said¹¹ that Friar Adam Marsh alone opposed the popular clamour, and forbade that the Jews should be put to death. His protest was probably made in London. He was buried in Lincoln Cathedral in 1258.¹²

In 1258 the king, after an inquiry by the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens, gave the friars permission to block up a postern in the city wall, and enclose a lane which led to the postern on the north side of their area.¹³ In the great inquest in 1275 the jurors stated that the friars had blocked a postern, and enclosed a lane 14 ft. wide and 20 perches long, 'from the gable of

Robert Cotty on the north to the postern on the south,' running apparently under the city wall, and they had planted their houses and church on the wall, thereby injuring the defences of the city. These encroachments had been made between ten and thirty years ago, according to the different accounts.¹⁴

Building was going on in 1268;¹⁵ and in February, 1283-4, Edward I gave the friars timber for their church.¹⁶ Alice de Ros was buried in this church in or before 1286.¹⁷ The Grey Friars' church, of which the choir still remains,¹⁸ seems to have been built about the middle of the thirteenth century. The undercroft or vault, which divides the choir into two stories, was a late addition, made perhaps before 1300; by this means the floor of the choir would be raised high above the floor of the nave (as is the case in the Franciscan church at Lübeck). The arrangement would afford more room, which was urgently needed. In 1288, 1293, and 1295 provincial chapters were held in this friary.¹⁹ Towards the expenses of that held on 15 August, 1293, Edward I provided 100s. A grant by the same king of 35s. 4d. for two days' food for the convent in 1300,²⁰ probably means that the friars in the house numbered fifty-three, though in 1328 the number had fallen to forty,²¹ and in 1335 to thirty-seven.²²

The area of the friary was small, being bounded by Broadgate on the east, the present Silver Street on the north, and perhaps the present Free School Lane on the west, while the marshy bank of the river would prevent any extension on the south. Encroachments on the city wall led to disputes with the city; for in 1321 the friars complained that the mayor and bailiffs, for the better protection of the city, had broken the enclosures of the friars which previously joined the wall and certain private chambers contiguous to it.²³ At the same time they obtained a royal command to the mayor, bailiffs, and men of Lincoln to deliver up to them all charters and muniments touching the friary which were in the custody of the city.²⁴ Thomas Cobham, bishop of Worcester, conservator of the privileges of the friars minors in England, interfered on behalf of the Lincoln

¹⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 311a, b, 318b, 319a 325, 398.

¹⁵ Close, 52 Hen. III, m. 3.

¹⁶ Ibid. 12 Edw. I, m. 9; cf. ibid. 8 Edw. I, m. 2.

¹⁷ Dixon, *Fasti Ebor.* i, 335.

¹⁸ *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 193-202. See also report on the building by W. Watkins & Son, architects, in the possession of the corporation.

¹⁹ P.R.O. Wardrobe Acct. 21 Edw. I.; Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ee. v, 31, fol. 29a, 66b.

²⁰ *Liber Quotid.* 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 37; cf. 40. A royal grant of £4 4s. was made in Sept. 1301, for four days' food. Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 27.

²¹ P.R.O. Exch. Accts. bdl. 383, No. 14.

²² Ibid. 387 (9).

²³ Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 32 d.

²⁴ Ibid.

¹ Royal MS. App. 69, fol. 3.

² Ibid. 13 B, vi. The friary received a number of books from Giles de Redmere, canon of Lincoln, 1347. Dixon, *Fasti Ebor.* i, 434-5.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv, 348.

⁴ P.R.O. Aug. Off. bk. 211, fol. 77; Mins. Accts. 30-31 Hen. VIII, 110, fol. 83 (Linc.).

⁵ Partic. for Gts. 194; *Reliq.* xxv, 12.

⁶ *Iitm.* i, 33.

⁷ Pat. 15 Hen. III, m. 4.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Close, 21 Hen. III, m. 3.

¹⁰ Ibid. m. 2.

¹¹ *Lanercost Chron.* 24.

¹² Ibid. 58; *Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 138.

¹³ Pat. 42 Hen. III, m. 2.

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minorites,¹ and the king took them under his protection 26 August, 1321.² A commission of oyer and terminer was issued to Roger de Beler and others in August, 1324, on complaint of the warden that, while he was under the king's protection, John de Bevercotes and Margery his wife, Alexander Boteler of Lincoln and Eglentina his wife, and others, broke his close and carried away his goods.³

The friars had the usual quarrels with the parish priests. In 1298 Bishop Sutton ordered the rural dean of Lincoln to consider with discreet men the action of some priests in Lincoln who accused the friars preachers and minors of 'forging apostolic letters,' and spoke evil of their parishioners for seeking licence to confess to the friars.⁴ The bishops were generally favourable to the friars; thus Bishop Dalderby in 1318 admitted sixty-two Friars Minors to hear confessions in the diocese of Lincoln.⁵ Admissions of smaller numbers frequently occur in the episcopal registers. About this time Friar Adam of Lincoln, formerly master of the friars at Oxford, was buried in the church here and 'wrought wonders.'⁶

In 1350 John de Pykeryng of Scopwick granted these friars a messuage.⁷ In 1379 Robert de Swanlound of Lincoln, indicted for murder, fled for sanctuary to the Grey Friars' church, but some of his friends came with an armed force by night and rescued him.⁸

According to Leland, Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln (who died 1311), and Nunny, or William Namy, his almoner, were great benefactors to this house.⁹ Among other benefactors were John nephew of Thorold, citizen of Lincoln (1280),¹⁰ Adam de Lymberg, rector of Algarkirk (1329),¹¹ Thomas Beck, bishop of Lincoln (1346),¹² Sir Henry Asty, kt., justice of the common bench (1383),¹³ Richard Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln (1385),¹⁴ Margaret Vaysey of Stowe Park (1391),¹⁵ Richard de Evingeham, rector of Ewerby (1396),¹⁶ John de Kele, canon of Lincoln (1416), Robert Ratheby, merchant of

Lincoln (1418),¹⁷ William Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln (1449),¹⁸ Ralph Lord Cromwell (1451),¹⁹ John Colynson, archdeacon of Northampton (c. 1482),²⁰ Richard Burgh (c. 1513),²¹ Joan Kay of Stixwold, widow of William Kay, gent. (1525).²²

The abbots of the Premonstratensian Order held their provincial chapters in the Grey Friars' church in 1459, 1476, and 1489.²³

In September, 1534, the warden of the Grey Friars had licence from the city to take freely as much stone as he wanted for the reparation of his house and church from the ruinous churches of St. Augustine and Holy Trinity 'at the Greece foot.'²⁴ On 27 January, 1534-5, the city authorities ordered that the church of the Holy Trinity at the Greece foot and the church of the Holy Trinity at the Grey Friars should be taken down and everything sold to the use of the common chamber, the chancels only excepted;²⁵ the stones of Trinity Church at the Grey Friars were to be used 'for dyking and setting the commons' between the city and Burton.²⁶ Licence was given to the warden of the Grey Friars 8 April, 1535, to lay his conduit in the common ground of the city, where he shall think most convenient, and he was to have the licence under the common seal given to him of charity.²⁷ In July, 1535, the timber roof of St. 'Bathe' Church—perhaps St. Peter ad Fontem—was given 'freely for charity' to the warden for the upholding and maintaining his house.²⁸

The house surrendered to the bishop of Dover in February, 1538-9. The Grey Friary was poor, but had a goodly conduit which the mayor wanted for the city, and the visitor promised to write to Cromwell in support of this claim.²⁹ The site, containing about four acres, was let on a yearly tenancy for 12s. a year to William Monson of Ingleby, who obtained a twenty-one years' lease in January, 1540. It was one of the parcels included in the particulars for the grant to John Bellow and Edward Bayliss in 1544-5, but does not seem to have been purchased by them.³⁰ It was the property in 1568 of Robert

¹ Worc. Epis. Reg. Cobham, fol. 66b.

² Pat. 15 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 16.

³ Ibid. 18 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 30 d.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, fol. 217; cf. Worc. Epis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 29.

⁵ Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 368.

⁶ *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.) i, 537; *Grey Friars in Oxford*, 160 (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).

⁷ Pat. 24 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14.

⁸ Ibid. 2 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 20 d.

⁹ *Itin.* i, 33; cf. Dixon, *Fasti Ebor.* i, 358.

¹⁰ *Linc. N. and Q.* iv, 99.

¹¹ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 6.

¹² *Test. Ebor.* i, 24.

¹³ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 26.

¹⁴ Reg. Courtenay (Lambeth), fol. 217b.

¹⁵ She directs that 'my pair of bedes de gete and furrura de squirell' be sold and the proceeds be given to the friars minors (Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 83).

¹⁶ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 44.

¹⁷ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 128, 134.

¹⁸ Abp. Strafford Reg. fol. 178b.

¹⁹ *Test. Ebor.* ii, 197.

²⁰ P. C. C. Logge, fol. 33.

²¹ Ibid. Fetiplace, fol. 18.

²² *Linc. N. and Q.* viii, 73.

²³ *Col. Angl. Premon.* (Camden Soc.), (ed. Gasquet), i, 136, 139, 160.

²⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 33.

²⁵ Ibid. ²⁶ Ibid. 34.

²⁷ Ibid. 33. On the conduit see Leland, *Itin.* i, 33; *Linc. N. and Q.* vii, 195.

²⁸ Ibid. 34.

²⁹ Wright, *Suppression*, 191; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 348.

³⁰ Mins. Accts. 30-31 Hen. VIII, 110, fol. 83 (Linc.); Partic. for Gts. file 121, m. 24, 25 (entry relating to this friary is crossed out). *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 561.

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Monson, recorder of Lincoln and later justice of the Common Pleas, who in that year established a free school here at his own charges,¹ and in 1574, in consideration of the grant to him of the parsonage of Hanslope, Buckinghamshire, for divers years, conveyed to the mayor and commonalty of Lincoln the site of the Grey Friars, with the Free Grammar School and the conduit which had recently been a subject of dispute. Monson reserved to himself the use of the property during life or for twenty years.² He died in 1583. The friars' lands were let in 1598 for twenty-one years, and in the same year the common chamber gave orders that the fairest free stones in the friars should be piled and laid up in the vaults under the schools. In 1612 it was decided that the vault should be used as a house of correction, and 'that malt querns and such other provision as shall be fit to set poor on work should be provided.' Some years later a factory for woollen goods was set up in the precincts of the friary.³

Leland noted among the MSS. of this friary a history of the Albigenian heretics; Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, on Isaiah; Breviarium (Romanae historiae) Eutropii; De origine et gestis Francorum; Phrygius de Bello Troiano—the last three in one volume.⁴

The pointed oval seal of the house in the thirteenth century represents on the left St. Francis (?) holding a staff, on the right a winged seraph standing on an uncertain object.⁵

78. THE WHITE FRIARS OF LINCOLN

Leland mentions as first founder of the White Friars in Lincoln 'Gualterus called Dorotheus, dean of Lincoln,'⁶ but no dean of Lincoln of this name is known. According to Richard Hely, prior of Maldon, the house was founded by Odo of Kilkenny in 1269.⁷ In this year Henry III granted the Carmelite Friars of Lincoln six beech trees for a kiln.⁸ Edward I authorized them, 26 November, 1280, to receive lands adjacent to their own for the increase of their area; and this was confirmed by Edward III in January, 1348-9.⁹ In 1287

'on the Day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September) the Carmelite Friars changed their habit at Lincoln,' adopting white capes, probably in a provincial chapter.¹⁰ Edward I gave them 18s. 8d. for two days' food in 1300, when the number of friars was probably twenty-eight.¹¹ There were thirty friars in 1328,¹² and thirty-four in 1335.¹³

The tenth provincial prior, Richard Blyton, was buried here about 1325.¹⁴ A provincial chapter was held here in 1343, at which the general, Peter Raymond, was present.¹⁵

'There lay,' says Leland, 'in a chapel at the White Friars a rich merchant called Ranulphus de Kyme, whose image was thence taken and set at the south end of the new castle of the conduit of water in Wikerford.'¹⁶ William de Belay, citizen of Lincoln, left 33s. 4d. for a window in the Carmelite church at Lincoln, 1383.¹⁷ John Boston of Lincoln was buried in the church 1431.¹⁸

Richard Misyn, S.T.B., was prior of this house in 1435; he translated into English some works of Richard Rolle or Hampole at the request of Margaret Hellington, a recluse.¹⁹ The library of these friars seems to have been of considerable value. Leland²⁰ noted in it *Chronica Martini de gestis pontificum et imperatorum*; *Vita sancti Edwardi Anglorum regis et confessoris edita per Ethelredum abbatem Rivallis*; *Dialogus Osberni Gloucesterensis Monachi de quaestionibus in libris Genesis, Exodi, Levitici, Numeri et Deuteronomii*, and *Tractatus ejusdem super librum Judicum*; ²¹ *Historia Romana per Paulum Diaconum*; *Historia Anglorum per Henricum Huntingdon*; ²² *Vincentius [Bellovacensis] de morali principis instructione et de puerorum nobilium eruditione*. Several of these volumes were appropriated by Henry VIII. A volume

¹⁰ *Lanercost Chron.* 122; cf. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 312; Harl. MS. 1819, fol. 59; cf. Harl. MS. 3838, fol. 57. Will. Hanaberg, provincial 1278-99, held a chapter at Lincoln.

¹¹ *Liber Quotid.* 28 Edw. I, 37; cf. 39.

¹² P.R.O. Exch. Accts. bdl. 383, No. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.* 387, No. 9.

¹⁴ Stevens, *Monast.* ii, 159; Bale, MS. Harl. 3838, fol. 63b, says he died 1361.

¹⁵ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 29.

¹⁶ Leland, *Itin.* i, 33. One of this name fl. 1322. *Cal. Pat.* 1321-4, p. 117. Bequests to this house in *Test. Ebor.* i, 24, ii, 197.

¹⁷ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 31-2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 157.

¹⁹ Preserved in Corpus Christi Coll. Oxf. MS. 236 (sec. xv), published by the Early Eng. Text Society, 1896. Richard Misyn afterwards became bishop probably of Dromore. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxviii, 57.

²⁰ B.M. Royal MS. App. 69, fol. 2b.

²¹ This is no doubt Royal MS. 6 D. ix. It is numbered '1240,' but does not contain a note of ownership.

²² Possibly MS. Bibl. Advoc. Edin. 33, 5, 4.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 62.

² *Linc. N. and Q.* vii, 196.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 73, 75, 90, 97, 99, &c.

⁴ Royal MS. App. 69, fol. 3; cf. Royal MS. 13 C iv, and Leland's account of the library of the White Friars (below).

⁵ B. M. Seals, lxvii, i.

⁶ *Itin.* i, 33. ⁷ Harl. MS. 539, fol. 12.

⁸ Close, 53 Hen. III, m. 8; cf. Close, 4 Edw. I, m. 10, grant of timber (1276).

⁹ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 10. It is singular that the grant does not appear in the patent rolls of Edw. I, but there is a grant of the same date and in similar terms to the Carmelites of Oxford. *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, 415.

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among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum (13 C. iv) belonged to this house; it contains the Roman histories of Eutropius and Paulus Diaconus, besides other works, and is doubtless the MS. mentioned by Leland.¹

The friary was surrendered to Richard, bishop of Dover, in February, 1538-9;² like the rest of the Lincoln friaries it was poor, but well leaded. The bells and lead were taken for the king's use. Part of the land and a chamber near 'le Garners' had been let in 1520 to Thomas Gells for sixty-one years at a rent of 2s. The rest, estimated at four acres, was let to Henry Sapcotts for 13s. 4d. a year. In 1544 the whole area, including the chamber of Thomas 'Welles,' was sold to John Broxholme of London.³

79. THE FRIARS OF THE SACK OF LINCOLN

The Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ or Friars of the Sack settled here before 23 June, 1266, when Henry III granted them a vacant place next their houses.⁴ This is probably identical with 'the vacant place of the common pasture of the city which the friars had of the commonalty of Lincoln.'⁵ Their area, measuring 540 ft. by 420 ft., and situated in the suburb in Thornbridgegate Street,⁶ included eight other tenements conferred on them by different benefactors, namely, John de Parham, Arnold de Wyrsope, Mabel and Christiana de Gamel, William Brande, John atte Loft or John son of Gilbert de Solario, Robert de Cotty, Alan Brown, and John son of William de Paris. From each of the nine tenements 1d. a year was paid towards the ferm of the city, and most of them were held of the king.⁷ In 1268 the king gave them thirteen oaks towards the fabric of their church.⁸ The order was suppressed, i.e. forbidden to admit new members, by the Council of Lyons in 1274. In 1279 the prior brought an assize of novel disseisin against William Brond or Brande, one of the benefactors of the house.⁹ There seem to have been four friars of the Sack remaining here in 1300, when Edward I gave them 2s. 8d. for two days' food.¹⁰ They had ceased to occupy the house in

1307, when the Premonstratensian abbey of Barlings sought to acquire the site.¹¹ The jurors to whom the question was referred declared that it would be to the serious injury of the city if the abbot and canons obtained the site, for they intended to pull down the church and set up warehouses in which to store their tanned hides, wool, corn, and other products until they could sell them at a profit like common merchants. The jurors valued the house and site at 116s. 4d. The canons of Barlings did not secure the site, though a meeting of the abbots of the Premonstratensian Order in England was held in this church in 1310.¹² In 1313 an inquiry was held as to the advisability of granting the site to Philip de Kyme. The jurors, some of whom had sat on the previous inquest, returned a favourable answer, and declared the place to be worth 10s.¹³

The chapel was still in existence in 1327, when Master William de Bayeux and John Gernoun granted lands and rents to the dean and chapter of Lincoln to support two or three chaplains to celebrate divine service in it.¹⁴ In 1359 Joan, wife first of William de Kyme (son of Philip), and then of Nicholas de Cantilupe, had leave to found a chantry of five priests in honour of St. Peter, to pray for the soul of her second husband, on the ground where this friary had formerly stood.¹⁵ The memory of these friars lingered long in Lincoln, for in a deed of 1455 mention is made of 'a stone wall lately belonging to the friars lately called Sekfriars, called le Stamp.'¹⁶

80. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF STAMFORD

According to Leland¹⁷ one Fleming, a very rich man of Stamford, founded the Austin Friary here. The first founder appears to have been Robert de Wodehouse, archdeacon of Richmond, who in 1341 and 1342 obtained leave of the king and the pope to found and build a house for twelve Austin Friars in the west suburb of the town near St. Peter's Gate, on land formerly occupied by the friars of the Sack.¹⁸ In 1343 the bishop of Lincoln gave his consent.¹⁹ Robert de Wodehouse was buried in the choir of the church under a marble slab, probably in January, 1344-5, and left to the friars all his goods

¹¹ Inq. a.q.d. 68 (9).

¹² *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia* (Camden Soc.), vol. i, 7, 13, 14.

¹³ Inq. a.q.d. 94 (9).

¹⁴ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21; cf. Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26.

¹⁵ Pat. 32 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30; cf. Dugdale, *Baronage*.

¹⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 16.

¹⁷ *Itin.* vi, 25.

¹⁸ *Cal. Pap. Letters*, iii, 69; Inq. a.q.d. 259 (8).

¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Beek. fol. 35 d.

¹ Numbered '1139.' See also Leland's account of the Grey Friars' Library.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 348; Wright, *Suppression*, 191.

³ Mins. Accts. 30-31 Hen. VIII, 110, fol. 83 (Linc.); Partic. for Gts. file 193; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix, (2), 166 (40).

⁴ Pat. 50 Hen. III, m. 12. ⁵ Inq. a.q.d. 68 (9).

⁶ Ibid. 94 (9). ⁷ Ibid. 68 (9), 94 (9).

⁸ Close, 52 Hen. III, m. 3.

⁹ Pat. 7 Edw. I, m. 22 d.

¹⁰ *Liber Quotid.* &c. 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 31, cf. 40. In the next year they also had 2s. and 9s. 2d. of the royal alms. Add. MS. 7966, A, fol. 24b, 27.

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within their enclosure, besides leaving £20 of silver for funeral expenses.¹ The prior and convent of the order of Sempringham in 1372 granted these friars ten acres adjacent to their dwelling. The land, which was held of Edmund of Langley, lay between the wall of the friars and 'le grene Dyke,' and was worth 6s. 8d. a year.² Among the brethren of this house were Thomas Winterton, D.D., of Oxford, provincial prior, 1382: William Egmond or William of Stamford, suffragan to the bishop of Lincoln, c. 1390.³

The house was surrendered 6 October, 1538, to Dr. John London by Richard Warnar, prior, and five brethren.⁴ Dr. London sold all the glass, else it would have been stolen, for the house stood outside the town.⁵ The church was well leaded.⁶ In 1548 Austin Friars was granted to Edward Lord Clinton: it consisted of the site of the friary with the house, about two acres; a close of five acres in the tenure of William Wilton; one acre adjoining the close in the tenure of Thomas Gedney; total annual value 37s. 8d. In 1598 it was in the possession of William Cecil Baron Burghley.⁷

81. THE BLACK FRIARS OF STAMFORD

No records of any grants of land to the Black Friars at Stamford seem to have been preserved. The first mention of them occurs in the will of William de Paveli, who, 1 November, 1241, left them 2s.⁸ They must have been here already for some years, for in February, 1243-4 Henry III gave them ten oaks for their refectory, and in July of that year fifteen marks for making a conduit;⁹ the spring for the supply

being in Northamptonshire the pipes must have crossed the River Welland. Henry III frequently made them grants of fuel or timber.¹⁰ In August, 1247, he ordered the sheriff of Lincoln to supply them with three days' food for their provincial chapter at Stamford, and gave them two casks of wine.¹¹ For a provincial chapter held here October, 1261, the bailiff of Stamford was ordered to supply food for one day.¹² The chapter was also held here in 1276, when Edward I gave ten marks for necessities on the first day.¹³ He also gave them, 1293, three oaks for making their stalls.¹⁴ From the executors of Queen Eleanor they received 100s. in 1291 and 34s. 2d. in addition, probably in connexion with her funeral rites.¹⁵ When Edward I passed through Stamford in 1299 and 1300 he gave them alms: on one occasion 28s. for two days' food, on another 70s. for five days' food, and again 13s. 4d. for one day's food.¹⁶ The friars numbered about forty or forty-two at this time. When the court was at Stamford the Crosses of St. Neot and the Holy Thorn were kept in the Black Friars' church, and attracted worshippers and oblations.¹⁷

Among those buried in the church were Thomas son of William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, soon after 1260,¹⁸ and Emma wife of Geoffrey de St. Medard, 1278.¹⁹ The church was rebuilt before 1310, when licence to dedicate the new church was given by Bishop Dalderby,²⁰ who also admitted friars of this house to hear confessions.²¹ Edward II lodged in this friary in August, 1309,²² and gave 12s. 8d. to thirty-eight brethren here 1 December, 1314;²³ and Queen Isabella, in 1315, made an offering of a cloth of gold at the high altar.²⁴ The provincial chapter again met here 8 September, 1320; the king gave £15 towards the expenses for three days.²⁵

¹ *Test. Ebor.* i, 13; Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 22; *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 24; cf. *Test. Ebor.* i, 48.

² Inq. a.q.d. 379 (12); Pat. 46 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 2; cf. Pat. 25 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 8; cf. Peck, *Annals of Stamford*, xi, 25: 'Several antique pieces of sculpture in stone representing divers birds, beasts, fruits, flowers, &c., and now inserted in a new court wall belonging to the late Mr. Feast's house, were not originally part of Sempringham Hall, but more truly dug up in the Austin Friars (when the seal of Thomas bishop of Elphin was discovered there) and for ornament removed hither by the aforesaid Mr. Feast.'

³ Tanner, *Bibl.* 781, 256; *Fascic. Zizan.* (Rolls Ser.); *Dict. Nat. Biog.* lxii, 226.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 546.

⁵ *Ibid.* 719.

⁶ *Ibid.* xiv (1), 3.

⁷ *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 23; P.R.O. Aug. Off. Deeds of Purchase and Exchange, H. 3; Mins. Accts. 30-31 Hen. VIII, 110, fol. 84 Linc.

⁸ Madox, *Form. Anglic.* 424. The will is dated 'on the feast of All Saints after the death of St. Edmund archbishop of Canterbury.' Edmund Rich died 16 November, 1240, and was canonized 11 January, 1247.

⁹ Liberate R. 28 Hen. III, m. 14, 7. *Reliq.* xxi, 135.

¹⁰ Liberate, 29 Hen. III, m. 7; 31 Hen. III, m. 8; 33 Hen. III, m. 3; Close, 35 Hen. III, m. 3; 45 Hen. III, m. 6; 46 Hen. III, m. 6.

¹¹ Liberate R. 31 Hen. III, m. 3.

¹² Close, 45 Hen. III, m. 2; cf. P.R.O. Anct. Corresp. iii, 146.

¹³ Liberate, 4 Edw. I, m. 2; cf. Close, Edw. I, m. 5 (fuel).

¹⁴ Close, 21 Edw. I, m. 9.

¹⁵ P.R.O. Exch. Accts. 352 (27).

¹⁶ Exch. Q.R. Wardrobe 8-11 (37 Edw. I); *Liber Quotid.* &c. 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 32, 34, 44; Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 23 b.

¹⁷ *Liber Quotid.* &c. 35.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 65. There is no evidence to support Peck's surmise (*Annals*, viii, 4, 37) that this earl was founder of the house.

¹⁹ Tanner, *Not. Monast.*

²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 179.

²¹ *Ibid.* fol. 11 d, 13 d, 19 d. In 1301 sixteen of these friars were presented to hear confessions.

²² Close, 3 Edw. II, m. 24 d. Sched.

²³ P.R.O. Wardrobe Accts. 8 Edw. II.

²⁴ *Reliq.* xxi, 137.

²⁵ Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com. ii, 433); *Reliq.* xxi; Exit. Scac. Easter, 13 Edw. II, m. 5.

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In 1324 Edward II was again at Stamford, and gave a pittance to thirty-eight friars preachers, who presented him with sixty pears.¹ Edward III spent Easter, 1332, in this friary, and on 14 May paid fifty marks to the friars for damages done by the royal household.² In 1335 Edward III was again entertained here, and on several occasions gave the friars pittances; there were thirty-eight friars in March, 1335-6, thirty-four in June, 1337.³ In 1340 the king gave £15 towards the expenses of the provincial chapter here,⁴ and the like sum in 1370; on the latter occasion the grant was not paid till March, 1373-4.⁵

Bishop Gynwell, 21 January, 1352-3, licensed Friar Roger de St. Liz, D.D., of this house, to hear confessions within the convent and grant absolution in episcopal cases.⁶

In 1373 the prior was troubled with suits brought against him for contracts into which his friars had entered without his knowledge, and for loans which had never gone to the use of his house. He obtained a royal writ, 30 October, to the bailiffs of the town commanding them to desist from such suits except when the contracts or money had been for his use or the use of his house.⁷

Friar Henry of Aldwinkle, of the convent of Stamford, was imprisoned for a carnal sin, escaped, and appealed to Rome without the permission of his superiors. The master-general imposed a penance on him, and assigned him as student of theology to the convent of Cologne. In February, 1395-6, the master ratified Friar Henry's right of succession to the chamber in the Stamford priory which Friar Richard then held. Two years later he restored him to all the graces of the order, and forbade the English friars ever to allude to his offence.⁸ In 1399 this friar was appointed by the master chaplain and confessor 'in the monastery of St. Mary in the isle of Rowlandswerde of the nuns.'⁹ The convent of Stamford was in the visitation of Cambridge.¹⁰

In 1416 Henry Wolsey and Nicholas Grene, 'websters,' of Stamford, were charged with assaulting and beating Friars John Leverington and William Spenser of this order.¹¹

The Despensers had a chapel in this church. Sir Hugh le Despenser, kt., directed in his will, 1400, that this chapel, 'where my uncle lies, be made longer and a marble stone placed there for

my father and mother and another for my wife and myself.'¹²

Among benefactors of the house were Sir Thomas Chaworth, kt., 1347; Sir Anketill Mallore, kt., 1390, who was buried before the altar of the Virgin on the north side; Sir W. de Thorpe, 1391; Robert Fereby, 1392; Robert Flower of Oakham, 1424; Elizabeth, widow of Richard Grey of Codnore, 1444; Agnes, widow of John Brown, esq., of Stamford, 1470; Sir Thomas Fisher, vicar of Gilden Morden, 1518; Sir William Fitzwilliam the elder of Milton, Northamptonshire, kt., 1534.¹³

A sermon in Stamford Church, 22 August, 1535, in favour of justification by faith produced fierce replies from some Dominicans.¹⁴

The house was surrendered to Dr. London 7 October, 1538, by William Stafforde, S.T.B. prior, and eight brethren.¹⁵ Dr. London sold the glass in the church and the brewing vessels, and sent the plate to London. The church was well leaded.¹⁶ The site, containing 10 acres, with the conduit, was valued at 40s. a year; a close or meadow with garden and pools was let to Geoffrey Villers for 20s.; 2 acres of waste land were held by David Vincent at 16d.; total annual value, 61s. 4d. David Vincent, 25 March, 1539, became tenant of the whole, but never actually paid rent, and being a page of the bed-chamber, had all given to him and Robert Butcher, with other monastic lands, in recompense for his faithful services, 25 January, 1541-2.¹⁷

The house stood in the south-east suburb near the water-gate, and the grounds extended to the river. Some remains are shown in Speed's plan of Stamford. The proprietor in 1727 was Savil Cust, esq. Nothing was left of the house at that time.¹⁸

The seal, pointed oval, shows the Virgin half-length with Child on the left, and a saint, perhaps St. Dominic, half-length on the right; over them a head; underneath a friar kneeling.¹⁹

82. THE GREY FRIARS OF STAMFORD

The Friars Minors must have been settled in Stamford before 1230, for Henry III made them a grant of fuel 13 January, 1229-30.²⁰ In 1235

¹² Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 98.

¹³ Ibid. 57, 79, &c.; *Test. Ebor.* i, 47; P. C. C. Rous, fol. 46; *Reliq.* xxi, 138, 139; Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 711.

¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 611.

¹⁵ Ibid. xiii (2), 552; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 42.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 719; xiv (1), 3.

¹⁷ P. R. O. Mins. Accts. 30-31 Hen. VIII, 110, fol. 84; 32-33 Hen. VIII, 78; Partic. for Gts. 211; Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, 8, m. 11; Stowe MS. 141, fol. 37.

¹⁸ Peck, *Annals*, viii, 38.

¹⁹ B.M. Seals, lxvii, 39; cf. *Reliq.* xxi, 139.

²⁰ Close, 14 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 18; cf. *ibid.* 16 Hen. III, m. 14; 18 Hen. III, m. 29.

¹ *Reliq.* xxi, 137.

² Ibid. Exit. Scac. Easter, 6 Edw. III, m. 4.

³ *Reliq.* xxi, 137.

⁴ Ibid. Exit. Scac. Mich. 48 Edw. III, m. 28.

⁵ Ibid. 48 Edw. III, m. 28.

⁶ Peck, *Annals*, xi, 50.

⁷ Close, 47 Edw. III, m. 12; *Reliq.* xxi, 138.

⁸ Reg. of Raymond de Vineis, Add. MS. 32446, fol. ii, 3, 8b.; *Reliq.* xxi, 138.

⁹ Ibid. fol. 9. Probably Nonnenwerth near Rolandseck on the Rhine, south of Bonn.

¹⁰ Worc. Cath. Lib. MS. Q. 93.

¹¹ Inq. a.q.d. 4 Hen. V, 21.

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the king supplied them with timber to make stalls.¹ A provincial chapter was held here in September, 1239; Henry III ordered the sheriff of Lincoln to give the friars 100s. for one day's expenses.² At a chapter held here a few years later, probably in 1247 or 1249, the Franciscans formally welcomed the Austin Friars to England.³ In 1244 the king gave them 100s. for their church from the revenues of the bishopric of Chester (Lichfield).⁴ They also received several grants of fuel of the royal alms.⁵ The sixth provincial minister was John of Stamford.⁶

In or about 1293 a provincial chapter was held here,⁷ and another in 1300; in support of the latter Edward I gave £10.⁸

When passing through Stamford several times in 1299 and 1300 the king gave alms to these friars, from which it appears that the number of inmates of the friary varied between 39 and 46.⁹

The convent was in the custody of Oxford, and the special *studium* for the friaries of the custody was at Stamford in 1337. It is possible that this was a temporary arrangement, connected with the attempt to establish a university here.¹⁰

In 1365 the friars sought to acquire 7 acres of land contiguous to their dwelling-place from Sir Thomas le Despenser, kt., and Master Henry le Despenser, but the townsfolk claimed right of common on this land, and opposed the grant.¹¹

The house stood in the east suburb near St. Paul's gate; the boundary walls were still standing in Peck's time, 'whereby it appears that the church, monastery, and gardens took in a great compass of ground.'¹² 'Out of the ruins,' the Stamford antiquary continues, 'have been frequently dug many fine pieces of carving in the memory of several persons yet alive. And in the outgoing wall down from St. Paul's to St. George's gate is yet to be seen part of a figure of a woman with dishevelled hair,'¹³ which was dug up here.

Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, who died

28 December, 1360, was buried in a chapel adjoining the Grey Friars church of Stamford;¹⁴ and in January, 1385-6, his wife Joan, the fair maid of Kent, who after his death married the Black Prince and became the mother of Richard II, was buried here¹⁵ near her first husband 'in a sumptuous chapel recently built next the choir.'¹⁶ The king kept the chapel in repair.¹⁷

Blanche, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster, and widow of Thomas, Lord Wake of Lydell, desired, 1380, to be buried in this church 'between my cousin of Tatteshale et le degreez.'¹⁸ Her confessor, Friar William Folville, D.D., of Cambridge, was buried here in 1384.¹⁹ Robert Fereby was buried in the church in 1392, and left 40s. to the convent.²⁰ Sir Robert Holland, kt. (1372), Sir William Thorpe, kt. (1391), John de la Warre, kt. (1397), were among the benefactors of the house.²¹

Among the Franciscans implicated in treasonable practices against Henry IV was Friar John Leycestre of the convent of Stamford, 1402.²² William Russell, a Grey Friar, maintained in a sermon at Stamford in 1424 that a religious might lie with a woman without sin.²³

In May, 1520, Henry VIII granted £10 to the Friars Minors for their provincial chapter to be held at Stamford.²⁴

Some of the Observant Friars, Francis Lybert, Abraham, Hugh Norrysse, were sent to the friary at Stamford and treated as prisoners after the suppression of the Observant houses.²⁵

The friary was surrendered to Dr. London 8 October, 1538, by John Schewyn, the warden, and nine other friars.²⁶ The visitor dispatched the friars all well contented, and made what he could of the movables. He left the friars their brewing vessels, and could get only 8s. for all the kitchen stuff; he sold the church ornaments and glass. The church was well leaded. At the Grey Friars, however, was left as yet unsold 'a goodly image of copper and gilt, and the bed laid upon marble, made for Dame Blanche duchess of Lancaster. It is very weighty; I reserved it to know if the King's grace would occupy it.'²⁷

A few days after the surrender Dr. London, by Cromwell's order, gave the custody of the house

¹ Close, 19 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 4.

² Liberate, 23 Hen. III, m. 7.

³ *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 71.

⁴ Liberate, 28 Hen. III, m. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.* m. 7; Close, 36 Hen. III, m. 26; 52 Hen. III, m. 3.

⁶ *Mon. Franc.* i, 537.

⁷ Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ee. v, 31, fol. 48b. Probably, however, the year is wrong, and should be 1295; cf. P.R.O. Wardrobe Acct. 21 Edw. I.

⁸ *Liber Quotid.* &c. 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 44-5. (3 Sept.).

⁹ P.R.O. Exch. Acct. 357 (4); *Liber Quotid.* &c. 28 Edw. I, 32, 35; Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 23b.

¹⁰ Bodl. MS. Can. Misc. 75, fol. 78; *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* viii. John of Berwick, S.T.P. of Oxford, was at Stamford in 1300, probably as *lector* (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 16 d.).

¹¹ Inq. a.q.d. 357 (19).

¹² Peck, *Annals*, viii, 55.

¹³ Engraved in Peck, *Annals*, xii, 12. Peck suggests it may have been part of the monument erected by Richard II to his mother.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii, 78, 94.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 94a; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxix, 393; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* ii, 130.

¹⁶ Bodl. MS. Dodsworth 140, fol. 4b.

¹⁷ Rymer, *Foedera*, vii, 527 (orig. ed.).

¹⁸ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 83.

¹⁹ Bale, *Index Script.* (ed. Poole).

²⁰ P.C.C. Rous, fol. 46.

²¹ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 52, 79, 105.

²² Pat. 3 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 18 d.

²³ *Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 257; Peck, *Annals*, xiv, 2.

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 1541.

²⁵ *Ibid.* vii, 1607; viii, 1307.

²⁶ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 564; Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 611; Weever, *Fun. Mon.* 110, 111.

²⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 613, 719; xiv (1), 3.

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to Mr. Vincent, but within three hours the Duke of Suffolk wrote that he trusted to have that house. Dr. London thought that the town would be helped by the duke lying there.¹ The friary was granted to the duke in 1541. The site and grounds comprised 11 acres, besides the orchard; and the whole, including kiln-house, malting-chamber, two leaden cisterns with conduit, was valued at 41s. a year. The principal buildings had already been levelled with the ground.²

The seal represents the Assumption of the Virgin, in a vesica-shaped frame, upheld by angels over an embattled tower.³ R. de Falle was warden here about 1253,⁴ Baldwin Gubaud warden 1276,⁵ and John de Codington 1300.⁶

83. THE WHITE FRIARS OF STAMFORD

The White Friars settled here in the east suburb shortly before 1268, when Henry III granted them six oaks for the fabric of their church.⁷ The house claimed to be a royal foundation; one of the gates bore the royal arms, and the English kings and princes are said to have lodged in the friary in their journeyings to and from the north.⁸ The establishment of the friary was perhaps due to Henry de Hanna, the second provincial prior, 1254-71.⁹ He is said to have been prior of Stamford, and was buried in the choir of the White Friars here in 1299.¹⁰ His successor, William Ludlington, S.T.P. of Oxford, and friar of Stamford, was elected provincial prior in 1300 at the provincial chapter held here (to the expenses of which Edward I gave £10), and was likewise buried at Stamford.¹¹

In 1319 again a chapter was held here at which Richard Blyton was elected provincial.¹² It would seem that the convent was of special importance in the province at this period. The royal alms

granted to these friars between 1298 and 1314 show that there were from twenty to twenty-six brethren in the house.¹³

The White Friars obtained three messuages in Stamford in 1285 from Master Henry Sampson, Peter son of Robert le Clerk of Berham, and Reginald le Chapeleyn; and small pieces of land from Roger de Rowell and William de Cornestall.¹⁴ In November, 1317, they had licence from the king to acquire in mortmain eleven plots of land to the north of their dwelling-place and measuring 400 ft. by 230 ft. Eight of these plots had already been granted, and were now confirmed by royal authority,¹⁵ namely, a croft or piece of ground given by Walter Flemynge son of Andrew of Stamford; a plot of land given by William son of Andrew of Cornestall; 18d. of rent in Stamford from Robert de Stokes, merchant; a plot of land in Stamford from Roger de Rowell; houses in the parish of Holy Trinity without the east gate between the houses of William de la Chekere and Walter Be, weaver, granted by Peter son of Robert le Clerk of Berham; houses in the east suburb bought from William de la Chekere by Adam de Sancto Laudo and given by him to the friars; a tenement in the parish of Holy Trinity lying between the tenements of William son of Andrew of Cornestall and Simon the apothecary, granted by Master Henry Sampson, rector of the church of Eston by Stamford; and lastly a remise by 'Table de Repynghale' to all claim in a plot of land lying without the east gate of Cornestall, between the area of the friars and a lane stretching from the street of Cornestall to the east gate of Stamford. These grants were confirmed by Edward III in 1333,¹⁶ and in 1336 the friars had licence to acquire the three remaining plots, measuring 60 ft. in length and 230 ft. in breadth, from Clement de Haconby, Richard le Melemongere, and Master Robert de Berudon.¹⁷ In 1350 they obtained a toft and three gardens from William de Shilvington.¹⁸

There seems to be very little evidence now extant to support the tradition that the educational eminence of Stamford in the early part of the fourteenth century was mainly owing to the Carmelites.¹⁹ John Burley, D.D., of Oxford, was an inmate of this house, where he is said to have died 1332.²⁰ Walter Heston, D.D., of Cambridge, is said to have succeeded Ludlington as prior at Stamford and to have lectured in the

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 613.

² *Mins. Accts.* 30-31 *Hen. VIII*, 110, fol. 84 (*Linc.*); *Partic. for Gts. File* 1080 (no date); *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 678 (9); cf. *Stowe MS.* 141, fol. 37.

³ *B.M. Seals*, lxvii, 40.

⁴ *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 355.

⁵ *Close*, 4 *Edw. I*, m. 14 d.

⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* Dalderby, fol. 16 d.

⁷ *Ibid.* 52 *Hen. III*, m. 3; cf. *Ibid.* 55 *Hen. III*, m. 4, and 18 *Edw. I*, m. 3. *Ric. Hely*, Carmelite prior of Maldon, mentions as the founders *Edw. I*, Henry Sampson, and Walter Fleming, 1276 (*Harl. MS.* 529, fol. 143).

⁸ *Peck, Annals*, viii, 44; xi, 29.

⁹ *Bale, Harl. MS.* 3838, fol. 22b, 55b.

¹⁰ *Peck, Annals*, ix, 12; *Harl. MS.* 3838, fol. 22b, 55b.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 43; *Add. MS.* 7966 A, fol. 26b; *Harl. MS.* 3838, fol. 58.

¹² *Bale, Harl. MS.* 3838, fol. 28b, 62; *Peck, Annals*, x, 14.

¹³ *P. R. O. Exch. Wardrobe Acct.* 27 *Edw. I*; *Liber Quotid.* &c. 28 *Edw. I* (ed. Topham), 44; *P. R. O. Wardrobe Accts.* 8 *Edw. II*; *Add. MS.* 7966 A, fol. 23b.

¹⁴ *Pat.* 13 *Edw. I*, m. 16.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 11 *Edw. II*, pt. i, m. 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 7 *Edw. III*, pt. ii, m. 27.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 10 *Edw. III*, pt. ii, m. 22; *Inq. a.q.d.* 238(10).

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 24 *Edw. III*, pt. i, m. 4.

¹⁹ Cf. *Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collectanea*, i, 3 et seq.

²⁰ *Harl. MS.* 3838, fol. 58.

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Carmelite schools here.¹ A house standing east of the parsonage house in St. George's parish, pulled down by the Earl of Exeter about 1720, was known in the sixteenth century as the White Friars School;² it was within the walls of the town and at some distance from the friary.

The friary is said to have been a magnificent structure, famous for its beautiful church and steeple; and the grounds appear to have been nearly a mile in circumference.³

In 1348 many brave knights, according to Bale, entered the order, among them Geoffrey Suthorpe at Stamford.⁴ John de Repingale, S.T.P., confessor to John Gynwell, bishop of Lincoln, and author of many sermons, was a friar here 1359.⁵ Ralph of Spalding, D.D. of Cambridge, and a supporter of Wyclif, lived here about 1390 and was buried at Stamford.⁶ The council of Stamford in 1392 met at the White Friars.⁷ The Carmelites held a provincial chapter here in 1444, when Nicholas Kenton was elected provincial.⁸

Dr. John London, 8 October, 1538, received the surrender of the house, the deed being signed by John Kyrtun the prior and six brethren.⁹ The

church was well leaved.¹³ Richard Cecil seems to have promptly taken possession of the house and site, and there was some talk of the king having the Grey and White Friars for his lodging, 'which be scant meet to lodge his dogs.' Cecil obtained a lease of the site in 1542 for a rent of 50s.¹⁴ It was granted to Lord Clinton in 1552.¹⁵

The seal of the friary was pointed oval, representing a saint full-length, in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides; a palm branch in the right hand.¹⁶

84. THE FRIARS OF THE SACK OF STAMFORD

The house of the Friars of the Sack, or Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ, must have been founded here before 1274, when the council of Lyons decreed the suppression of the order. Edward I gave a pittance for four friars of this house in 1300.¹⁷ The ground which they had occupied was in 1342 conferred on the Austin Friars.¹⁸

HOSPITALS

85. THE HOSPITAL OF HOLY INNOCENTS WITHOUT LINCOLN

The hospital of Holy Innocents may well claim to be the earliest foundation of this kind within the county, as it evidently dates from the beginning of the twelfth century. If, as it has been alleged by some, it was built by Bishop Remigius,¹⁰ the date of foundation would be before 1094; but an inquisition taken during the reign of Edward III named King Henry I as founder, on the ground of charters produced at that time.¹¹ Ranulf, earl of Chester, was another benefactor of the hospital, and Henry II confirmed all benefactions made before his reign.¹²

This hospital was commonly called 'La Maladerie', and was intended to receive ten lepers of either sex, under the charge of a warden and

two chaplains; patients might be recommended by the mayor and good men of Lincoln, and the consent of the king and the chancellor had to be obtained for their admission.¹⁹ Such were the terms of the foundation; but the royal patronage extended to the house proved much more of a hindrance than a help. For the office of warden was constantly given, probably as a reward for services of a very different kind, to the royal clerks; and these, not being obliged to reside, left the house in charge of others who proved unworthy of the trust. So, near the end of the reign of Henry III, John of Colchester, the warden, had committed the custody of the hospital to one Walter Otre, who so mismanaged it that in 1274 John was ordered to put a faithful and discreet man in his stead, unless he himself wished to be credited with the maladministration of his deputy. The goods of the house had been so wasted and dispersed that

¹ Peck, *Annals*, x, 14. Heston was buried at Stamford, Harl. MS. 3838, fol. 70b.

² Ibid. xi, 25.

³ Ibid. viii, 44. The *Early Linc. Wills* contain a number of bequests to this house, but none of special interest.

⁴ Ibid. xi, 45; Harl. MS. 3838, fol. 31.

⁵ Harl. MS. 3838, fol. 70; Peck, *Annals*, x, 2; xi, 59.

⁶ Peck, *Annals*, xii, 22; Harl. MS. 3838 fol. 83b.

⁷ Peck, *Annals*, xii, 26; *Fascic. Zizan.* (Rolls Ser.), 343.

⁸ Peck, *Annals*, xiv, 10, 18; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxi, 28.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 565; Rymer, *Foed.* xiv, 612.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 627. ¹¹ Ibid. Charter i, I.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 3.

¹⁴ Stowe MS. 141, fol. 37; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 700; Mins. Accts. 30-31 Hen. VIII, 110, fol. 84 (Linc.).

¹⁵ P.R.O. Aug. Off. Deeds of Purchase and Exchange, H. 2.

¹⁶ B.M. Seals, lxvii, 41.

¹⁷ *Liber Quotid. &c.* 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 44. See also Add. MS. 7966, A. fol. 23b, 2s. addressed to these friars by the hand of Friar Th. de Burn, 19 Jan. 1300-1.

¹⁸ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 69.

¹⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 627.

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it was feared at the time that the brethren would have to beg for maintenance elsewhere unless some speedy remedy were applied.¹ The appointment of a new chaplain followed in the next year;² but time after time the same complaints were repeated. In 1284 the house had to be placed under the custody of the sheriff; he was to apply its goods to the maintenance of the chaplains, brethren, and sisters, but might not remove any except for misconduct; when a vacancy occurred the fact was to be notified to the chancellor. Separate houses were to be assigned to the chaplains, the brethren, and the sisters.³ In 1290 a new chaplain was appointed with an exhortation to do better than his predecessors, from whose carelessness the house had suffered so much.⁴ There were licences for the brethren to beg alms in 1294 and 1297.⁵ In 1301, however, the house was still 'in decay for want of good rule,' and vacancies had been filled without reference to the chancellor.⁶ There were fresh licences to beg alms in 1303 and 1309.⁷ In 1327, rents which should have helped to support the house had been allowed to fall into arrears.⁸ In 1334 William de Gerlethorp, appointed to the custody of the house,⁹ was accused of burdening it with corrodies beyond its ability. He was replaced by Simon of Barlings, a former master, who had been his accuser;¹⁰ but it was reported to the king that Simon's own rule was no better, and a visitation was held to find out the true state of the case. There were then nine brethren and sisters, of whom only one was a leper, and he had bought his place there for 100s., contrary to the terms of foundation; the seven women in the house had not been admitted by charity, but for payment.¹¹ Matters, however, did not improve; in 1341 and 1342 there were fresh complaints of men and women admitted contrary to the terms of the foundation.¹² In 1345 there was another visitation; the brethren and sisters were to be examined separately, and the good men of Lincoln asked to say what they knew as to all lapses of rule and squandering of revenues.¹³ Alms were again requested of the faithful in the following year.¹⁴

In 1422 it was stated that there had been

¹ Close, 2 Edw. I, m. 8.

² Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 36.

³ Ibid. 12 Edw. I, m. 16.

⁴ Ibid. 18 Edw. I, m. 10.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 119 d., 188 d.

⁶ Pat. 29 Edw. I, m. 24.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 59; Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 9.

⁸ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6.

⁹ Ibid. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 7.

¹⁰ Ibid. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 10.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 627.

¹² Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 4 d.; 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 34 d.

¹³ Ibid. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23 d.

¹⁴ Ibid. 20 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 18.

great waste of books, vestments, and all the goods of the hospital, through the carelessness of past wardens; and that the number of chaplains and of brethren was diminished.¹⁵ Finally, in 1461 the king granted the house with its appurtenances to the master of the order of St. Lazarus for ever, on condition that he and his successors should maintain any three of the king's servants or tenants who happened to be afflicted with leprosy.¹⁶

The value of the revenue in 1534, when the hospital was parcel of Burton Lazars, was £30 13s. 4d.¹⁷ It came to an end as a matter of course with the suppression of the order of St. Lazarus.

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL

John of Colchester,¹⁸ occurs 1274

Richard of Codrington,¹⁹ appointed 1275

Andrew Fraunceys,²⁰ appointed 1290

John of Calnhill,²¹ appointed 1301; occurs 1309

John of Carlton,²² appointed 1313, occurs 1315

William Clif,²³ appointed 1319

Robert de Spynye,²⁴ appointed 1321

Robert of Cliff,²⁵ appointed 1322

Thomas of Sibthorpe,²⁶ appointed 1325

Richard of Skerington,²⁷ appointed 1325

William of Carlton,²⁸ appointed 1327

Adam of Clareburgh,²⁹ appointed 1330; occurs 1331

Thomas of Portington,³⁰ appointed 1332; resigned 1334

Simon of Barlings,³¹ appointed 1334

William de Gerlthorpe,³² appointed 1334

Simon of Barlings,³³ appointed 1335

Hugh of Codyngton,³⁴ appointed 1341

John of Codyngton,³⁵ appointed (by exchange) 1341; resigned 1345

¹⁵ Pat. 1 Hen. vi, pt. i, m. 27 d.

¹⁶ Rot. Orig. 1 Edw. IV, m. 49; Pat. 35 Henry IV, pt. ii, m. 9.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv.

¹⁸ Close, 2 Edw. I, m. 8.

¹⁹ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 36.

²⁰ Ibid. 18 Edw. I, m. 10.

²¹ Ibid. 29 Edw. I, m. 24 and 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 9.

²² Ibid. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 2, and 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 29.

²³ Ibid. 12 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27.

²⁴ Ibid. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 6.

²⁵ Ibid. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 24.

²⁶ Ibid. 18 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 22.

²⁷ Ibid. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 35.

²⁸ Ibid. 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 34.

²⁹ Ibid. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 12.

³⁰ Ibid. 6 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 5.

³¹ Ibid. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 19.

³² Ibid. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 7.

³³ Ibid. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 10.

³⁴ Ibid. 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 48.

³⁵ Ibid. m. 40.

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Simon of Barlings,¹ appointed 1345; resigned 1345

Richard of Doncaster,² appointed 1345

John of Nesfield,³ appointed 1347

William Benet,⁴ appointed 1406

Gilbert Thimbleby,⁵ occurs 1534

There is a late twelfth-century seal⁶ of this hospital representing a leper walking to the left, holding out his right hand.

S¹F R RV COLIE

86. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, PARTNEY

Another of the early hospitals of Lincolnshire was that dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene at Partney. The church of St. Nicholas and the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene at Partney were granted by Gilbert of Ghent to Bardney Abbey at its foundation, and confirmed to the monks there by his son Walter in 1115;⁷ and the hospital must have been built shortly after this, either by Walter or by the first abbot of Bardney, for its endowments were confirmed by King Stephen and by Robert of Ghent the son of Walter.⁸

It had a master of its own during the reign of John; but seems to have been always dependent upon Bardney Abbey. It is uncertain whether it was intended for the sick or for the aged poor. By the fourteenth century it had ceased to be a hospital at all, and was regarded as a small cell to the abbey, which might occasionally provide a home for an abbot at his resignation.⁹

The only name of a master which can at present be recovered is Osbert, who occurs 1208 and 1209.¹⁰

87. THE HOSPITAL OF BOOTHBY PAGNELL

The hospital of St. John Baptist, Boothby Pagnell, was founded towards the end of the twelfth century, either by John Paynell¹¹ or by Hugh of Boothby.¹² The latter, if he was not the founder, was a considerable benefactor of the house, which was intended for poor leprous women. He gave to it $4\frac{1}{2}$ bovates of land in Morton, which Baldwin Wake had given to his

brothers. Osbert of Boothby and Hugh his son added lands in Boothby.¹³

In the chantry certificate it is stated that the house had had no incumbent for two years; and it seems at that time to have been used for some time only as a parochial chapel for the hamlet. Its revenues amounted only to £3 19s. 4d.¹⁴

CHAPLAINS OF BOOTHBY PAGNELL

Giles¹⁵

William,¹⁶ occurs 1309

88. THE HOSPITAL OF GLANFORD BRIDGE, OR WRAWBY

This hospital was probably founded by Adam Paynell towards the end of the twelfth century,¹⁷ and placed in charge of the abbot of Selby, Yorks. The abbot undertook to send one of his canons, whom Adam or his successors should choose, to be warden of the hospital for life. It was to be an almshouse for the poor;¹⁸ but its dedication is unknown.

In 1236, however, Ralf Paynel complained that the abbot had turned the house to his own uses, contrary to the terms of the foundation, and at his wish Bishop Grosteste published a bull of Pope Gregory IX for the purpose of restoring it to its original uses. The abbot acknowledged the foundation charter and promised in future to abide by its terms.¹⁹ It is not at present known how long this agreement had effect, as the institutions of masters do not appear in the episcopal registers.

Another hospital was founded at Glanford Bridge in Wrawby by Sir William Tyrwhitt in 1422, which apparently had no connexion with the old hospital. The foundation charter speaks of it as 'lately built' by Sir William, and it was dedicated to St. John Baptist. It was to provide maintenance for seven poor men living in the hospital, and two chaplains, of whom one was to be master; they were to pray continually for the souls of King Henry VI and the founder.²⁰

Neither the first nor the second hospital appears in the chantry certificate.

¹³ Lansd. MS. 207 A, fol. 149 d.-162.

¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 163 d. The Chant. Cert. 33, No. 104, says: 'The said chantry was builded for a Spital house, as doth appear by divers old writings'; showing that it had not been so used within the memory of any then living.

¹⁵ Giles belongs to the thirteenth century, being contemporary with Osbert, son of Hugh de Boothby II. Lansd. MS. 207 A, 163.

¹⁶ Ibid. 151. He is only called chaplain of the chapel; so that perhaps it had already ceased to be a hospital.

¹⁷ Adam Paynell occurs in the Red Book of the Exch. (Rolls Ser.), vol. i, from 1194 to 1201.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 688 (from the Rolls of Grosteste).

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Pat. 20 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 7.

¹ Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 28.

² Ibid. pt. ii, m. 20 d.

³ Ibid. 21 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 20.

⁴ Harl MS. 6962, fol. 38.

⁵ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv.

⁶ Harl. Chart. 44 A, 29.

⁷ Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, fol. 8, 278 d.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 56 d. 124 d.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 628, Chart. xx.

¹⁰ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 82; Cott. MS. Vesp. E, xx, fol. 45.

¹¹ Chant. Cert. 33, No. 104.

¹² The charters given in Lansd. MS. 207 A, fol. 149 d.-162, are all granted by Hugh and Osbert of Boothby. Hugh the son of Osbert was a minor in 1230; he says the hospital was founded by his ancestors.

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89. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES WITHOUT LINCOLN

This hospital was probably founded some time during the thirteenth century. The name of the original founder is unknown; but some time before February, 1280, Oliver Sutton, then dean of Lincoln, assigned the house with its revenues to the support of the vicars choral of the cathedral.¹ It had been intended for the reception of the poor; and in the fourteenth century Gilbert d'Umfraville, earl of Angus, added something to its endowments in order that servants of the cathedral past work might be admitted there in preference to other applicants.² Richard de Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln, to whom the earl had granted the manor of Sturton, ordained that twelve poor ministers and servants of the cathedral might be supported in the hospital, receiving $\frac{1}{2}d.$ daily for their food, and 4s. yearly for their clothing, and the dean and chapter confirmed the ordinance in 1384. During Richard's lifetime he was to fill all vacant places; after his death the right reverted to the dean and chapter.³

In 1428 the master of the hospital held one knight's fee and three-eighths of another in Sturton.⁴ But by 1453 the value of the property seems to have diminished, for the warden received permission in that year to collect alms for the support of the hospital.⁵

The hospital of St. Giles is not mentioned in the chantry certificate; but the chapter acts of Lincoln Cathedral occasionally allude to it as a place of refuge for poor clerks, until the eighteenth century, when it fell into ruins.

MASTERS OF ST. GILES'S HOSPITAL

Henry Willensi,⁶ occurs 1428
John Tyler,⁷ occurs 1453

90. THE HOSPITAL OF MERE

The hospital of St. John Baptist at Mere in the parish of Dunston also belongs apparently to the thirteenth century. Simon de Roppele gave half a fee in Mere to a chaplain and thirteen brethren before 1243 and the earliest institution of a chaplain is dated 1247.⁸

In 1343 the master complained that the prior of St. Katharine's and others had taken five

houses of his at Mere, worth £10.⁹ The patronage of the house was in the hands of the bishops of Lincoln; and this hospital was one of the few which survived the Reformation.¹⁰

WARDENS OF MERE

Thomas,¹¹ appointed 1247
Richard, occurs 1289¹²
Nicholas de Belowe,¹³ resigned 1341
William le Hunte¹⁴ of Tratinton, appointed 1341, occurs to 1349
Adam of Limber,¹⁵ appointed 1361
John Forest,¹⁶ resigned 1398
John Ordy,¹⁷ appointed 1398
Roger Warde,¹⁸ resigned 1405
William Newton,¹⁹ appointed 1405, resigned 1420
Robert atte Kyrke,²⁰ appointed 1420
Gagwin Hodshon,²¹ appointed 1558

91. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST WITHOUT BOSTON

The hospital of St. John Baptist without Boston was founded before 1282, and at that time had sufficient revenues to maintain several poor men.²² The advowson in the fourteenth century was in the family of Moulton;²³ but in 1480 it was granted by the abbot and convent of St. Mary's York to the prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.²⁴ It is said by Leland to have been still in existence in his time.²⁵

92. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD WITHOUT THE CASTLE OF LINCOLN

This hospital, which was intended for lepers and other sick persons, was certainly in existence before 1300, when Bishop Dalderby called upon the rectors and vicars of Lincoln and Stowe to make collections in aid of it.²⁶ Another indulgence for its support was granted in 1311. Nothing further is known of its history.²⁷

⁹ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 28 d.

¹⁰ The later history is given in the account of Lincoln Grammar School.

¹¹ Harl. MS. 6950, fol. 72 d.

¹² Assize R. Linc. 503, m. 33 d.

¹³ Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 8.

¹⁴ Ibid. and *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i, 155.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 99 d.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. Beaufort, 1. ¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 6. ¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. Inst. Flemyng, 23.

²¹ Ibid. Inst. White and Watson, 1554-9, fol. 49.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 766.

²³ Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 8, and 9 Edw. III, m. 33.

²⁴ Pat. 20 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 10.

²⁵ Leland, *Itin.* vii, 39.

²⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 25 d.

²⁷ Ibid. 209 d.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 766; Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 13.

² Pat. 19 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 1.

³ Ibid. 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 4, 3.

⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 280, 305.

⁵ D. and C. Linc. Chapter Acts, 1451-74, fol. 12.

⁶ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 305.

⁷ Chapter Acts of Linc. bk. E. 35, fol. 12.

⁸ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 325. Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosteste. A copy of the Foundation Charter is said by Tanner to have once been at Cambridge.

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93. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, LINCOLN

This hospital, which seems to have been an almshouse for the poor, and contained a master and brethren of number unknown, was in existence before 1311, when King Edward II sent one of his old servants to receive the necessaries of life there.¹ The house was still standing in 1402, when Laurence Allerthorpe, king's clerk, was made master at the death of William.²

94. THE HOSPITAL OF GRIMSBY

The hospital of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Leger at Grimsby was another of those founded within the thirteenth century. It was intended for lepers male and female;³ and its revenues seem from the first to have been scanty and insufficient. In 1291 Bishop Sutton issued an indulgence to those who should contribute to the 'supreme need of the miserable poor lepers' of St. Mary Magdalene at Grimsby;⁴ Bishop Dalderby gave them four similar indulgences between 1300 and 1314.⁵ The last mention of the hospital is in 1336, when the king granted protection to those collecting alms on its behalf.⁶

95. THE HOSPITAL OF LOUTH

There was a hospital for lepers at Louth in 1314, when Bishop Dalderby granted an indulgence for their support.⁷ Nothing further is known of this house.

96. THE HOSPITAL OF SPALDING

The hospital of St. Nicholas at Spalding was intended for the lepers of the neighbourhood, and may perhaps have had some connexion with the priory, as it had the same dedication. Indulgences were granted for its support in 1313⁸ and 1323,⁹ but there is no later mention of it.

97. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW WITHOUT LINCOLN

The hospital of St. Bartholomew was intended for the reception of lepers and other sick persons. Like that of St. Leonard, it was 'without the

¹ Close, 4 Edw. II, m. 7 d.

² Harl. MS. 6962, p. 38, from Pat. 3 Hen. IV. These two notices suggest that the house was, or came to be, a royal foundation.

³ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 11.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 25 d.

⁵ Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, 21, 84 d. 128, 283.

⁶ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 284.

⁸ Ibid. 246 d.

⁹ Ibid. Memo. Burghersh, 113 d.

castle' of Lincoln. There was a master and brethren here as early as 1314, but they are not heard of after 1331. Like many other such foundations, the house had fallen into poverty about this time, and we know of its existence only by the numerous licences for asking alms which were granted by the bishop¹⁰ or the king¹¹ between the dates given above.

98. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR ON STAMFORD BRIDGE

This hospital was certainly in existence from 1323 until the eve of the Reformation,¹² but its founder and its purpose are alike unknown.

99. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES, STAMFORD

This hospital, which was built outside Stamford, was intended for lepers. It was undergoing repair in 1304¹³ and 1319,¹⁴ and again in 1332¹⁵ indulgences were granted for the purpose of increasing the alms of the faithful.

100. THE HOSPITAL OF ALL SAINTS, STAMFORD

The hospital of All Saints was founded by William Brown, merchant of the staple of Calais, for the support of two chaplains, and for the distribution of alms to twelve poor persons, who should pray for the soul of the founder.¹⁶ The endowment consisted of the manors of Swafeld and North Witham, and these now belong to the hospital, which is still in existence.¹⁷ This was in 1485; and in 1534 the terms of the foundation were still observed, and the sum of £18 4s. was still distributed to the poor of the hospital.¹⁸

There is a seal of the hospital¹⁹ of the fifteenth century, in shape a pointed oval, and representing the Trinity seated in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides. In addition to the

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 282 d.; *ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 52.

¹¹ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 14; *ibid.* 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 24.

¹² The first mention is in Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh, 124; the last *ibid.* Memo. Longlands, 20. It is several times called the hospital of St. John Baptist and St. Thomas, showing that it was but one house with a double dedication.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 69 d.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 394.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 247.

¹⁶ Pat. 2 Ric. III, pt. ii, m. 14.

¹⁷ Peck, *Antiquities*, p. 20 of Appendix; and Wright, *Domus Dei* (Hospital of William Browne).

¹⁸ *Valor Eccles.* iv, 142.

¹⁹ B.M. Seals, lxvii, 42.

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figure of our Lord on the cross, held between the knees of the Almighty, the Father is represented holding a cloth in his hands containing three heads, busts, or figures, emblematic of the three persons of the Trinity. In the base, under a round-headed arch, with masonry at the sides, there is a half-length figure of an ecclesiastic in prayer. In the base is a shield of arms, ermine two bars within a bordure ermine (?)

SIGILLŪ : COMUNE : DOMUS : ELEOSINARIE :
STAUNFORD

101. THE HOSPITAL OF WALCOT

There was a hospital for lepers at Walcot, dedicated to St. Leonard, in 1311, when Bishop Dalderby issued an indulgence for its support.¹

102. THE HOSPITAL OF LANGWORTH

There was another hospital for lepers at Langworth, dedicated to St. Margaret, in 1313. One of the numerous indulgences granted by Bishop Dalderby in this year was intended for its support.²

103. THE HOSPITAL OF THORNTON

There was a hospital in 1322 'without the walls of Thornton Abbey.' An indulgence was granted that year for the repair of the chapel of St. James within the hospital, so that it must have been in existence for some time then.³ It is uncertain whether it was intended for the poor or the sick.

104. THE HOSPITAL OF HOLBEACH

This hospital was founded in honour of All Saints by Sir John of Kirton, knt., in 1351, to sustain a warden and fifteen poor people.⁴ He increased the foundation somewhat in 1359,⁵ and obtained a confirmation of his grant from the pope in 1362.⁶ It had ceased to exist, however, before the suppression of chantries and hospitals.

105. THE HOSPITAL CALLED 'SPITTAL ON THE STREET'

The hospital called 'Spittal on the Street' was built in 1396 by Thomas Aston, a canon of Lincoln, and connected with the chapel of St. Edmund,⁷ where a chantry had been founded

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 205 d.

² Ibid. 248 d. ³ Ibid. Memo. Burghersh, 57 d.

⁴ Pat. 26 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 15.

⁵ Ibid. 32 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30.

⁶ *Cal. of Pap. Pet.* i, 385.

⁷ Pat. 19 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 1, and pt. i, m. 20 ; *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv, 510.

in 1343 by John Vendour, vicar of Thimbleby.⁸ Thomas Aston also obtained permission from the pope to appropriate to the new hospital the churches of Little Carlton and Skellingthorpe, of which he was patron.⁹ A warden and a certain number of poor persons were to be maintained in the hospital, which was to remain under the patronage of the dean and chapter of Lincoln. This house was not suppressed among the hospitals generally.

In 1858 a scheme was enrolled in the court of Chancery for building and endowing the Aston School at Market Rasen, altering the Grammar School at Lincoln, &c.

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL

Henry Lightborough,¹⁰ resigned April, 1435
Henry Sibbe,¹¹ resigned September, 1435
John Smith,¹² resigned December, 1435
Richard Saunderson,¹³ appointed December, 1435 ; resigned December, 1436
John Wylton,¹⁴ appointed December, 1436
Robert,¹⁵ occurs 1472

106. THE HOSPITAL OF GRANTHAM

The hospital of St. Leonard 'by the Spittelgate' of Grantham was in existence in the fifteenth century, and wardens were appointed to the custody of it until 1500. It is not mentioned after this date, nor does it appear amongst the chantries connected with Grantham in the Chantry Certificate.

WARDENS OF GRANTHAM HOSPITAL

William Tapyter,¹⁶ resigned 1428
Robert Herring,¹⁷ presented 1428, resigned 1431
William Walsone,¹⁸ presented 1431
William Ashby,¹⁹ resigned 1445
John Stretton,²⁰ admitted 1445
Thomas Isham,²¹ died 1500
Philip Meautes,²² admitted 1500

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, 141 d. ; Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 28. The chapel at this time was already called 'the chapel of St. Edmund, Spittal of the Street,' though the foundation was only a chantry to be served by a single chaplain, and no hospital was then in existence. It seems most probable, therefore, that there had been a hospital there at a still earlier date, which had given its name to the place, and perhaps suggested the later foundation.

⁹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 168.

¹⁰ D. and C. Lincoln Chapter Acts, 1424-43, fol. 104.

¹¹ Ibid. fol. 109.

¹² Ibid. fol. 112.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 119 d.

¹⁵ Ibid. 1465-78, fol. 115.

¹⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Flemyng, 32.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. Inst. Gray, 2.

¹⁹ Ibid. Inst. Alnwick, 95 d.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. Inst. Smith, 40.

²² Ibid.

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COLLEGES

107. THE COLLEGE OF SPILSBY

The college of Spilsby was founded in 1347 by John Willoughby Lord de Eresby, in connexion with a church which he had built close by the original chapel of Spilsby. It was his purpose to endow it for the purpose of supporting a master and twelve chaplains, to sing for ever for the souls of the founder, his ancestors, and successors. The master was to have full powers of correction, and statutes were to be drawn up for the use of the chaplains; and the churches of Eresby, Over Toynnton, and Kirkby were to be appropriated to the college, that it might have an income of 80 marks.¹

The scheme was approved by the pope in 1347, and by the king in 1349,² but the founder died before it was fully carried out. His son, John, in 1351 obtained a fresh licence from the king to complete his father's work,³ but it seems doubtful whether the college was ever served by twelve chaplains.⁴ The master in 1378 was presented by eight chaplains,⁵ the one in 1422 by five,⁶ and the one in 1443 by two only.⁷ Sir William Willoughby, who died in 1503, left £200 to the fabric of the church, and £6 a year for a chaplain to sing for his soul there;⁸ it seems probable that before his time the revenues of the college were much diminished, and the original foundation no longer observed as at first, for in 1547 he was reckoned as the founder. From his death till the suppression of chantries and colleges there was a master at Spilsby, assisted by three chaplains.⁹

At the outbreak of the Lincoln rebellion one of the insurgent leaders came to Spilsby and rang the bells, and swore the master and all whom he found there 'to be true to God, the king, and the commons.'¹⁰ They were not, however, brought to trial.

The clear value of the lands belonging to the college in 1547 (when the advowson had been

granted to Katharine, duchess of Suffolk) was £40 19s. 11d.¹¹

MASTERS OF SPILSBY COLLEGE

William of Scrafield,¹² resigned 1378
John Atte Howse of Hagworthingham,¹³ presented 1378
William Hardegray,¹⁴ resigned 1414
John of Scotton,¹⁶ presented 1414, died 1422
William Styrope,¹⁶ presented 1422
John Garard,¹⁷ resigned 1443
John Forman,¹⁸ presented 1443
Richard Shaw,¹⁹ died 1532
Thomas Maltby,²⁰ presented 1532, occurs 1547

108. CANTILUPE COLLEGE

The Cantilupe College was founded in 1367 by Nicholas, third Baron Cantilupe, and founder also of Beauvale Priory in Nottinghamshire. Its object was simply to secure a perpetual commemoration of the souls of the founder and his wife. A house was provided close by the cathedral for the accommodation of a warden and seven chaplains, who should celebrate masses daily at the altar of St. Nicholas. They were to have a common refectory, to sing the divine office together in choir, and to be habited as secular vicars; the warden was to have £6 a year, and the others 100s. each.²¹ The church of Leake was to be appropriated to the college for its maintenance.²²

A dispute arose in 1422 between the vicar of Leake and the chaplains of the college as to the share in the rectory house and lands which ought to be assigned to the former. The vicar in consequence complained to the bishop, who issued a commission of inquiry into the matter.²³

When Bishop Alnwick visited the cathedral in 1437 he found that by the neglect of the dean and chapter the sums appointed for the salaries of the chaplains had not been regularly paid, and that the value of the lands assigned for their support had greatly diminished through floods and other causes, so that in those days there were only two priests serving the chantry instead of eight.²⁴ He gave orders for the salaries to be paid in future, but it is improbable that the number of chaplains was ever increased again before the suppression of chantries.

¹¹ Duchy of Lancs. Cert. of Coll. No. 2.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, 93 d.

¹³ Ibid. ¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 71.

¹⁵ Ibid. ¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. Flemyng, 16.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. Alnwick, 91. ¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid. Inst. Longlands, 34.

²⁰ Ibid. and Duchy of Lancs. Cert. of Coll. No. 2.

²¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, 21, 22.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1456.

²³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Flemyng, 228 d.

²⁴ Henry Bradshaw, *Statutes of Linc. Cathedral*, ii (ii), 494-5.

¹ *Cal. of Pap. Pet.* i, 126. The church of Eresby, to which the chapel of Spilsby was appendant, is not named in the Papal Petition, but it appears in the Patent Roll, and was finally appropriated in 1384. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 284. The dedication of the chapel was to St. James (Ibid. Memo. Beaufort, 36), but the college was dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

² Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 40.

³ Ibid. 24 Edw. III.

⁴ It was stated in 1377 that the scheme had not yet taken effect, as the churches were not yet appropriated. Ibid. 1 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 4.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 93 d.

⁶ Ibid. Memo. Flemyng, 16.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. Alnwick, 91.

⁸ Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii, 87.

⁹ Duchy of Lancs. Cert. of Coll. No. 2.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 967 (ii).

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

109. THE COLLEGE OF TATTERSHALL

The college of the Holy Trinity, Tattershall, was founded in 1439 by Ralf, Lord Cromwell, then treasurer of the realm. The parish church of Tattershall which was to be rebuilt, was, with the king's permission, at that time transformed into a college for seven priests, six laymen, and six choristers; and an almshouse for thirteen poor people of either sex was attached to it, and placed under the charge of the same warden. The chaplains were to maintain divine service continually, and to pray for the king alive or dead, and for the souls of the founder and his grandmother, Dame Matilda Cromwell.¹

The manors of Washingborough, Leadenham, Fulbeck and Driby, with the advowsons of the churches of those manors, the manors of Brinkhill, Fulletby, Baston, Ashby Puerorum, Withcall Zouche, Withcall Skipwith, Binbrook called North hall, Wood Enderby, Moorby, Wilksby, Coningsby and Haltham, the moiety of the manors of Swinhope, Willoughton, Billinghay and Walcote, and the advowson of the church of Swinhope, and another moiety of the manor of Swinhope after the death of Matilda widow of John Keuermond, were assigned to the master and the chaplains of the college and almshouse.² The manors of Woodthorpe, Maltby by Louth and Cherry Willingham were also assigned to them.³

In 1478 the manors of Manton and Tixover, Rutland, once the property of the abbey of Cluny, were granted to the college of Tattershall,⁴ and a part of the endowments of the alien priory of Burwell, Lincolnshire, was about the same time assigned to its maintenance.⁵

The college was subject to visitation by the bishops of Lincoln, and in 1501 Bishop Smith ordained new statutes for the master and fellows.⁶ In 1519 Bishop Atwater visited Tattershall, and required the chaplains to show their letters of orders. He remarked that the chorister boys were only taught to sing, whereas they ought also to be instructed in grammar. The chaplains also were in the habit of dressing like laymen; he ordered them in future to dress as priests, according to their statutes. In all other respects the college was in a good and prosperous

condition, and there were no other reforms necessary.⁷

The last master, George Heneage, signed the Acknowledgement of Supremacy in 1534, with six other chaplains.⁸ In 1536 he was accused of having sent victuals to the insurgents; and one of the examiners after the rebellion related how Sheriff Dymoke bade the warden to send his 'tall priests' to the host, all but one. It does not seem, however, that they were compelled to serve.⁹

The college was dissolved 4 February, 1545.¹⁰

WARDENS

John Gygor,¹¹ occurs 1471

John Constable,¹² occurs 1522

There is a fine seal of 1515¹³ representing the Trinity in a heavily canopied niche between two smaller niches with tabernacle work at the sides, each containing a saint with nimbus. In the base under a round-headed arch, with foliage in the spandrels, there is a shield of arms; quarterly 1, 4, a chief and baton, Sir Ralph Cromwell, founder; 2, 3, chequy a chief ermine, Tattershall. The style of work is of the fifteenth century.

SIGILLŪ : COMŪNE : COLEGII : SCĒ : TRINITA[TIS]
 ESHALL

110. THE COLLEGE OF THORNTON

Thornton College was one of the short-lived foundations of King Henry VIII. A part of the revenues of the suppressed abbey of Thornton was set aside for the maintenance of a college, for the ministration of the sacraments, the observance of good manners, the care of the aged and those who had spent their lives in the service of the realm, and for the instruction of the young.

There was to be a dean at the head of it, supported by four prebendaries, six minor canons, a schoolmaster, and a choirmaster. To maintain the services of the church a gospeller and an epistoler were appointed, with four singing men and five choir boys. A porter, a sub-sacrist, a butler, and a cook, also received salaries from the foundation, and four poor persons were to be maintained in the house.¹⁴

The college was suppressed at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, a pension of £50 being assigned to the dean, Roger Dalison, and smaller sums to several others connected with the house.¹⁵

¹ Pat. 17 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 19.

² Chan. Inq. p.m. 32 Hen. VI, No. 33.

³ Inq. a.q.d. 33 Hen. VI, No. 9.

⁴ Pat. 18 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 13. These manors had been seized into the king's hands in 1416, and granted to William Porter, who passed them on to Bishop Alnwick; Lord Cromwell bought and presented them to Tattershall.

⁵ Burwell manor and church were granted to Charles duke of Suffolk as part of the endowments of Tattershall in 1545. Pat. 36 Hen. VIII, pt. xi, m. 39.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Smith, 62 d.

⁷ Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower), fol. 49.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1121 (9).

⁹ *Ibid.* xii (1), 70 (7 and 8).

¹⁰ Rymer, *Foedera*, vi, 125.

¹¹ *Hist. of Ormsby*, 255.

¹² *Linc. N. and Q.* v, 37.

¹³ Egert. Chart, 256.

¹⁴ Chant. Cert. 33, No. 124.

¹⁵ Add. MS. 8102 (Pension List).

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

ALIEN HOUSES

III. THE PRIORY OF COVENHAM

The manor which formed the endowment of the priory of Covenham was granted in 1082 by William the Conqueror to the abbot and convent of St. Carileph, Le Mans, at the request of the bishop of Durham,¹ who had formerly been a monk of that abbey. A small Benedictine priory was built here soon after, but it is probable that there were never more than two monks, or perhaps only one to take charge of the estate. The advowson remained with the bishops of Durham.²

In 1303 the cell had become so far unprofitable to the abbey of St. Carileph that licence was sought from the king to sell it to the abbot and convent of Kirkstead.³ It was then in possession of the original manor of two carucates in Covenham, Grainthorpe, Skidbrook, and Little Grimsby, with the advowson of the church of Covenham, and was charged with a corrody due to Robert Merle of Swinthorpe.⁴

PRIORS OF COVENHAM

William,⁵ presented 1238

Matthew,⁶ presented 1261

II.2. THE PRIORY OF BURWELL

The alien priory of Burwell, for Benedictine monks, was probably built quite early in the twelfth century, during the first years of King Henry I. Ansgot of Burwell,⁷ in his foundation charter, stated that after receiving hospitality from the holy and religious house of La Sauve Majeure (near Bordeaux) he determined to grant to the monks there, because of their great love and charity, the churches of Burwell with its chapel of Authorpe, Carlton, Muckton, and Walmsgate, with a bovaté of land in Burwell. The charter was addressed to Robert bishop of Lincoln (1094–1123), and its probable date is about 1110.⁸ Hugh FitzOsbert and his mother Adeliza, who granted a meadow in Carlton a little later, made out their charter to the 'brethren of Burwell,' showing that the priory was already built; Dame Adeliza herself

placed the deed of gift on the altar of St. Saviour in the conventual church, on behalf of herself and her sons—'for the love of God, and in satisfaction for their sins.'⁹

About 1130 King Henry I ordered the sheriff of Lincolnshire, Reynier of Bath, to see that the monks of Burwell held their lands as they did in the time of Ansgot and of Humphrey d'Albini.¹⁰ Ralf de la Haya son of Ralf confirmed all previous endowments, and added other gifts about 1150.¹¹ The monks seem to have suffered some loss during the exchanges of land which took place in the time of Stephen, and one of them sought out Robert de Haya in Normandy, and asked him for a new charter of confirmation.¹² Another benefactor was William d'Albini.¹³ The patronage of the house passed afterwards to the lords of Kyme.¹⁴

The priory of Burwell was not in the strict sense an alien cell, as the duchy of Aquitaine, to which the parent abbey belonged, was under the rule of the kings of England until the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War; but as it belonged to a monastery on the other side of the channel it was always liable to be reckoned as alien property by mistake during the wars with France. In 1337 and 1342 it was thus seized, but its property was restored again when the prior pleaded that he was born of the king's allegiance, and no alien.¹⁵ There was at that time apparently only one monk at Burwell in charge of the estates. In 1347 he pleaded for the remission of a charge of 60s. on the ground that he belonged to the duchy of Aquitaine, and that his house was greatly impoverished by those who had farmed it, and by payment of tithes.¹⁶ The petition was granted for the time; but in 1386 the house was again seized,¹⁷ and after the conclusion of the war it could no longer be reckoned as anything but an alien cell. In 1427, on the death of the prior, it was found that the site of the priory with dilapidated houses was worth nothing beyond reprises: 140 acres of arable land were worth 2*d.* an acre, the rectory 14*s.*, the oblation at the cross of Burwell from 40*s.* to 2 marks, there were 76*s.* of annual rent, pensions from the churches of Authorpe and Walmsgate, and some meadow land, tithes

¹ Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 17.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 993, from Inq. a.q.d. The Lindsey Survey, c. 1115, states that the monks held 3 carucates of land in Covenham and 1 in Ludney.

³ Ibid. and Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 18.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosteste.

⁶ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

⁷ See Domesday translation.

⁸ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i, 448, No. 1239.

⁹ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i, 448, No. 1240.

¹⁰ Ibid. 1241.

¹¹ Ibid. Nos. 1242, 1243.

¹² Ibid. No. 1244.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1015. Gilbert d'Umfraville in the fourteenth century said it was of the foundation of his ancestors.

¹⁵ Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 41; *ibid.* 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 13.

¹⁶ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 15.

¹⁷ Ibid. 10 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 17.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

of Burwell Wood, &c.¹ It was granted finally to the college of Tattershall.²

The value of the revenues of Burwell in 1371 was reckoned as £14 16s. 10d.; in 1387 as £15 13s. 2d.³

PRIORS OF BURWELL

Gilbert,⁴ occurs before 1150

Adam, thirteenth century⁵

Amfred,⁶ died 1293

Peter Pelata,⁷ presented 1293, died 1314

John of Louth,⁸ 1314 to 1317

Hugh de Vallibus,⁹ presented 1317

John de Ponte,¹⁰ presented 1324, died 1344

William Arnold of Calhavet,¹¹ presented 1344, occurs 1347

Peter de Monte Ardito,¹² occurs 1403, died 1418

Hugh de Lespurassa,¹³ presented 1418

Peter de Monte Ardito¹⁴ of 'Acquietan,' dead in 1427

All these were presented by the abbot of La Sauve Majeure, and instituted by the bishop. At the institution of Hugh de Vallibus a note is added, that no inquiry was made, as it was not customary.

113. THE PRIORY OF MINTING

The priory of Minting, for Benedictine monks, was founded in consequence of a grant made by Ranulf de Meschines, earl of Chester, to the abbey of Fleury. The grant was made before 1129,¹⁵ but it is uncertain when the priory was actually built; the earliest mention of a prior is in 1213.

The priory does not seem to have done the parent abbey much credit. About 1238 Bishop Grosteste wrote to the abbot requesting him to send a prior who knew the way of truth, and would walk in it fearlessly and lead his brethren to salvation. This request received no attention, and a few years later he wrote again still more strongly. He told the abbot he ought not to send to such a distance from their home any but men long tried and found faithful; those who had been at Minting lately had been wont

to live luxuriously with harlots; they had enriched themselves, known no obedience to rule, and had been given to much eating and drinking, not being ashamed to eat meat even on Wednesdays. The monks of Fleury might be all that could be desired; but this English cell was a disgrace to them. One brother had been deposed for incontinence, disobedience, wandering abroad, and eating flesh contrary to the rule; three others for holding private property, intolerable disobedience, frequenting houses of ill-repute, and taking part in sports not merely idle and worldly, but actually sinful. More than one complaint of this kind had been made, but the last state of the house was worse than the first.¹⁶

It is to be feared that the abbots of Fleury looked upon their English property mainly as a source of revenue, and cared little about the conduct of the brethren sent to take charge of it.

In 1322 Bishop Burghersh issued a commission for the visitation of the priory, and for the absolution of the prior, who on a former visitation had refused admission to the commissioners.¹⁷

The priory was in the king's hands in 1337, 1344, and 1346 on account of the wars with France.¹⁸ It is probable that the losses of this time rendered it unable to support more than one or two monks. In 1403 it was being farmed by a clerk, William Spenser.¹⁹ It was finally granted in 1421 to the Carthusian priory of Mount Grace.²⁰

The original endowment included the manor and church of Minting, and the church of Gautby, with other lands.²¹ The church of Lavington also belonged to the priory in the fourteenth century.²² Its total revenue was valued in 1384 at £41 11s. 8d.; and in 1387 its goods and chattels were worth 50 marks.²³

PRIORS OF MINTING

Raymond,²⁴ occurs 1213

John,²⁵ appointed 1239, occurs 1240

William,²⁶ occurs 1322

John Chauvel,²⁷ resigned 1327

William de Sargolio,²⁸ presented 1327, resigned 1330

¹⁶ *Epis. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 168, 319.

¹⁷ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh*, 70 d.

¹⁸ *Pat. 11 Edw. III*, pt. iii, m. 10; *ibid.* 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 35; *ibid.* 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 26.

¹⁹ *Acts of the Privy Council* (Rec. Com.), i, 190-3.

²⁰ *Pat. 9 Hen. V*, pt. ii, m. 19. The grant was again confirmed in 1462; *ibid.* 1 Edw. IV, pt. vi, m. 14, 13.

²¹ *Dugdale, Mon. vi*, 1023.

²² *Pat. 10 Edw. III*, pt. i, m. 26.

²³ *Add. MS. 6164*, fols. 370, 480.

²⁴ *Lansd. MS. 207 C*, fol. 256.

²⁵ *Linc. Reg. Epis. Rolls of Grosteste*; Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 317.

²⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh*, 70 d.

²⁷ *Ibid. Inst. Burghersh*, 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹ *Add. MS. 6165*, fol. 145.

² *Dugdale, Mon. vi*, 1015; *Pat. 36 Hen. VIII*, pt. xi, m. 39.

³ *Add. MS. 6164*, fols. 411, 480.

⁴ *Round, Cal. of Doc. France*, i, 449.

⁵ *Harl. Chart. 51 D. 24.*

⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton*, 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid. Inst. Dalderby*, 54.

⁹ *Ibid.* 68.

¹⁰ *Ibid. Inst. Burghersh*, 11.

¹¹ *Ibid. Inst. Bek*, 12 d.

¹² *Acts of the Privy Council* (Rec. Com.), i, 190-3.

¹³ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Repingdon*, 95.

¹⁴ *Add. MS. and 6165*, fol. 145.

¹⁵ *Dugdale, Mon. vi*, 1023. Ranulf died in 1129.

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William le Spicer,¹ presented 1330, resigned
¹³³⁴
 John Chaperon,² presented 1334, occurs to
¹³⁴⁵
 Peter de Soliaco,³ presented 1349, resigned
¹³⁵⁸
 Simon de Naudaria,⁴ presented 1358

114. THE PRIORY OF WILSFORD

The priory of Wilsford, for Benedictine monks, was founded by Hugh Wake, who presented the manor on which it was built to the abbey of Bec Herlouin during the reign of Stephen.⁵ Like nearly all the alien cells in Lincolnshire, it was endowed only for the support of two or three brethren, and never became at all important; during the wars with France the prior was usually the only monk in the house.

In 1324 the prior of Wilsford had to give security that he would conduct himself faithfully towards the king and not send money or goods out of the realm, or quit it himself without licence. He was to be released, however, if he had been put under arrest as an alien; for the king had not intended to seize the persons of religious men governing priories, nor to deprive them of their property.⁶

In 1380 the revenue of the house was found to be so small that after a farm of 12 marks had been paid by the prior, and a clerical subsidy of 10 marks, the residue was not enough to provide him with food and clothing; he was therefore pardoned his arrears for two years. It was not a monk of Bec who was in charge at this time, but one who had been prior of St. Peter de Castro in Aquitaine.⁷

The scanty revenue of the house diminished still further under the losses sustained by the recurrent seizures of alien cells during the French wars, and a payment of twenty marks was due to the Exchequer nearly all the time.⁸ Some time during the reign of Edward III the priory was granted to Thomas of Holland, earl of Kent, a descendant of Hugh Wake, and by his influence its property was finally secured to the abbey of Bourne in 1401.⁹

The original endowment included only the manor of Wilsford and 9 carucates of land besides, worth £16, with the advowson of the church of Wilsford.¹⁰ Its revenue in 1371 was valued at £18 2s. 10d., in 1387 at £29 16s. 2d.¹¹

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Burghersh, 29.

² Ibid. 52; and Close, 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22 d.

³ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 54. ⁴ Ibid. 83.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1018, from *Hund. R.*

⁶ Close, 18 Edw. II, m. 36.

⁷ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 3.

⁸ Ibid. 20 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 8.

⁹ Ibid. and 2 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 8; *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v, 432.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1018.

¹¹ Add. MS. 6164, fols. 411, 480.

PRIORS OF WILSFORD

Roger,¹² occurs 1202

Adam de Subyr,¹³ presented 1226, resigned
¹²²⁹

Peter de Cambren,¹⁴ resigned 1229

Richard de Flaunvill,¹⁵ presented 1248

Roger de Gilmore,¹⁶ presented 1248, resigned
¹²⁵¹

Jordan of Huttoft,¹⁷ presented 1251

William de Tribus Montibus,¹⁸ resigned 1274

John de Insula,¹⁹ presented 1274

Stephen of Stoke,²⁰ died 1290

Walter de Ponte Andomari,²¹ presented 1290,
 resigned 1298

John de Saunarvilla,²² presented 1298, resigned
¹³⁰⁰

Richard de Bonebor,²³ presented 1300, resigned
¹³⁰³

Michael de Ponte Antonio,²⁴ presented 1303

Richard de Flagellon,²⁵ presented 1312, died
¹³¹⁴

William of St. Albin,²⁶ presented 1314

William de Nassaundres,²⁷ presented 1319

Durand of St. Stephen,²⁸ presented 1341,
 occurs 1345

John de Efreno,²⁹ resigned 1367

John de Laomers,³⁰ presented 1367

115. THE PRIORY OF HAUGHAM

The priory of Haugham was built upon land granted by Hugh, earl of Chester, towards the end of the eleventh century, to the Benedictine abbot and convent of St. Severus in the diocese of Coutances.³¹ It is probable that it was only intended for the support of one or two monks to manage the temporalities and sing masses for the soul of the founder. Priors were, however, regularly appointed and admitted by the bishops of Lincoln until 1329, when the wars with France created the same difficulties here as in other small cells of aliens.

¹² Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, 26.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid. Rolls of Grosteste.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹⁸ Ibid. Memo. Sutton, 6 d.

¹⁹ Ibid. Inst. Sutton, 31.

²⁰ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 2.

²¹ Ibid. 48. His name is put into both places as dead and as then presented; probably it was Michael who had just died.

²² Ibid. 53.

²³ Ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 91 d.; and Close, 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22 d.

²⁴ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham.

²⁵ Ibid. 357.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

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In 1337 the prior, on the plea of poverty, obtained the restitution of his possessions, which had been seized by the king's officers; and then, finding it hard to support himself, let the priory to one John of St. Paul to farm for seven years. In 1342 John complained that though he paid the sum agreed upon for the prior's maintenance, he had been forcibly ejected; and yet he was now expected to pay the issues and profits of the house to the king, as its nominal occupant. The demand upon John was withdrawn;¹ but the king let the priory out again to the bishop of Carlisle to farm. In 1346 he in his turn complained of trespasses committed upon the lands entrusted to him, and assaults upon the servants he had placed there.² It is not strange to find that in 1385 it was alleged that much of the property of the house had been wasted by the rule of the various farmers.³ It was still let out in 1403;⁴ there seems to have been no prior since 1346. In 1397 it was granted to the Carthusian priory of St. Anne, Coventry.⁵

The value of the revenue in 1380 was returned as £19 os. 5d., including the church of Haugham;⁶ in 1387 as £27 11s. 4d., when the waste of past years was computed at £73 6s. 8d.⁷

PRIORS OF HAUGHAM

Nicholas,⁸ resigned 1227
 John,⁹ appointed 1229
 Adam,¹⁰ appointed 1229
 William de Beaulieu,¹¹ appointed 1276
 William Lovel,¹² died 1299
 William le Vavassour,¹³ appointed 1299
 John Baunevilla,¹⁴ presented 1319, recalled 1319
 Henry de Landulo,¹⁵ presented 1319
 Nicholas de Hamaro,¹⁶ presented 1329

116. THE PRIORY OF WILLOUGHTON

The manor and the moiety of the church of Willoughton were granted by the Empress Maud to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Nicholas, Angers,¹⁷ and the priory was probably built some

time during the twelfth century. It is mentioned as an alien priory, of which the temporalities were in the king's hands in 1390,¹⁸ and again in 1403, when it was being farmed by a clerk.¹⁹ Its revenue in 1387 was given as £18 6s. 2d., including the moiety of the church of Willoughton; there had been waste and damage at that time to the value of £35 13s. 4d.²⁰

117. THE PRIORY OF BONBY

The churches which formed the endowment of Bonby Priory were granted during the reign of John to the Benedictine priory of St. Fromund, Normandy; they had previously belonged to the prior and convent of Merton.²¹

The value of the house was very small and probably supported but one monk. During the wars with France it became so unprofitable to the prior of St. Fromund that he granted it to the London Charterhouse. As this was done without the king's consent, the grant was disregarded, and the priory was seized as alien property.²² It was farmed for a time by the king's clerks at an annual rent of 12 marks, but in 1403 it was granted to the Carthusians of Beauvale.²³

Its value in 1380 was only £8 5s. 10d. a year.²⁴ The original endowment had included the rectories of Bonby, Saxilby, and All Saints, Stamford.²⁵

118. THE PRIORY OF WENGHALE

The date of the foundation and the name of the founder of this little priory are alike uncertain, but it was founded before the Lindsey Survey c. 1115, for then the monks of Wenghale held 1 carucate and 4 bovates in Owersby of the Earl of Mortain. It was a cell of the abbey of Sées in Normandy, for Benedictine monks, and the earliest appointment of a prior is dated 1223.²⁶ Others continued to be placed in charge of it till 1399; but in 1400 it was granted to a secular clerk in recompense for services rendered to the king.²⁷ In 1441 it was granted by Henry VI to the college of St. Nicholas, Cambridge, after the death of Thomas of Cumberworth, who then held it;²⁸ but it was afterwards transferred to the college of

¹ Close, 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 10.

² Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 17 d.

³ Ibid. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 13 d.

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council* (Rec. Com.), i, 190-3.

⁵ Pat. 20 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 32; and Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 451-2.

⁶ Add. MS. 6164, fol. 370.

⁷ Ibid. 480.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells. 'J.' succeeded him.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹² Ibid. Inst. Sutton, 28.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 63.

¹⁵ Ibid. 357.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 24.

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1056.

¹⁸ Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 24.

¹⁹ *Acts of the Privy Council* (Rec. Com.), i, 190-3.

²⁰ Add. MS. 6164, fol. 480.

²¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1056.

²² Pat. 4 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 31.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Add. MS. 6164, fol. 370.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1056.

²⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

²⁷ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. v, m. 23.

²⁸ Ibid. 19 Hen. VI, pt. iii, m. 18.

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St. Michael (Trinity College) in exchange for other lands.¹

In 1453 it was found by an inquisition that the priory had 11 oxgangs of land in South Kelsey, each containing 20 acres with some meadow.²

The value of its revenue in 1380 was £12 18s. 5d.³

PRIORS OF WENGHALE

Philip,⁴ appointed 1223
William de Rupe,⁵ appointed 1242
Galgavus,⁶ resigned 1276
Geoffrey de Oumayo,⁷ appointed 1276
John de Croquet,⁸ occurs 1345
Simon Pynart,⁹ occurs 1345
Michael de Logges,¹⁰ occurs 1399

119. THE PRIORY OF GREAT LIMBER

The manor and church of Great Limber were granted by Richard de Humet, constable of Normandy, and Agnes his wife, to the Cistercian abbey of Aunay in Normandy, and their charter was confirmed by Henry II about 1157.¹¹ A little later Bertram de Verdun renewed the grant on condition that two monks should always be received into the abbey for the special purpose of celebrating divine service for the souls of the grantors.¹² It is possible that a monk may have been sent to Limber to take charge of the property, but it is doubtful whether there was ever a priory there in any other sense.

The manor and church were sold by the abbot of Aunay in 1393 to the priory of St. Anne at Coventry.¹³

120. THE PRIORY OF LONG BENNINGTON

The church of Long Bennington was presented by Ralf de Fougères to the abbey of Savigny in 1163,¹⁴ and the grant was confirmed by King Henry II¹⁵ and Pope Alexander III;¹⁶

¹ Pat. 21 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 42.

² Mr. Brewster's Notes, from Vernon Papers, Trin. Coll. Camb.

³ Add. MS. 6164, fol. 390.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

⁵ Ibid. Rolls of Grosteste.

⁶ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Close, 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22 d.

⁹ Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 20.

¹⁰ Ibid. 1 Henry IV, pt. v, m. 29.

¹¹ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i, 185.

¹² Ibid. 187. The charter is dated c. 1178.

¹³ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 26; Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokingham, 451-2.

¹⁴ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i, 305.

¹⁵ Ibid. 306.

¹⁶ Ibid.

but the monks of Savigny had had some right in the church before this time, and a long dispute between them and the convent of St. Serge, Angers, had been brought to a conclusion during the lifetime of St. Bernard.¹⁷ But it seems improbable that any priory was built in connexion with the church until the end of the twelfth century.¹⁸

There was certainly a monk (or monks) at Long Bennington in 1275,¹⁹ and there is mention of a warden or keeper of the house, appointed from Savigny, on the Patent Rolls of 1319 and 1323.²⁰ Later this warden received the title of prior,²¹ but it seems unlikely that he had any companions; the notices from 1323 onwards do not seem to imply the existence of more than one monk. Yet the revenue of the house would have supported more; it was of greater value than any other alien cell in Lincolnshire.

The priory was taken into the king's hands, and restored again, in 1339-40,²² and no doubt at other times during the war. In 1401 the priory was being farmed for the king by the prior, Michael Rogers, and one Michael Montayn.²³ In 1462 it was granted, with other property of aliens, for the support of the priory of Mountgrace in Yorkshire.²⁴

In 1275 the monks of Long Bennington held four carucates of land in the vill, worth £16, and the church, worth £40.²⁵ In 1380 the revenue of the priory was valued at £48 3s. 8d. clear; in 1384 at £51 8s.²⁶

PRIORS OF LONG BENNINGTON

Robert,²⁷ occurs 1319
Michael Rogers,²⁸ occurs 1401 and 1403

121. THE PRIORY OF HOUGH

The manor on which the priory of Hough was afterwards built was granted by Henry I to his abbey of St. Mary de Voto at Cherbourg, for Austin canons. The parent abbey itself at

¹⁷ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i, 296.

¹⁸ The church of Long Bennington is named throughout these documents, but never the monks of that place.

¹⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1024.

²⁰ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 43; 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 5.

²¹ Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 33.

²² Ibid. 13 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 34; 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 11.

²³ *Acts of the Privy Council* (Rec. Com.), i, 190-3, and Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 7.

²⁴ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. vi, m. 14, 13. It was first granted in 1432; Pat. 9 Hen. V, pt. ii, m. 19.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1024.

²⁶ Add. MS. 6164, fols. 370, 480.

²⁷ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 43.

²⁸ *Acts of the Privy Council* (Rec. Com.), i, 190-3; Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 7. This priory should be reckoned amongst Cistercian cells, as the 'Order of Savigny' was finally absorbed into that of Cîteaux.

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its foundation contained only an abbot and four canons, and the cell having no other endowment than the manor and church of Hough, was intended for the support of a prior with a single chaplain for his companion, to maintain divine service for the soul of the king and his family.¹

The prior was at first bound to send a fixed sum of money to Cherbourg every year; after the beginning of the wars with France this pension was transferred to the Exchequer. Early in the fourteenth century the assistant chaplain was withdrawn, as the revenue was not sufficient to support two canons any longer,² and in 1340, the prior himself was reduced to such straits that he had to beseech the king for remission of his arrears, amounting to 55 marks.³ An inquisition of the property was taken in 1349, when it was again found almost impossible to pay the pension appointed. The priory mill had become broken and useless, and nearly all the trees had been cut down; indeed, almost everything of value in the house had been sold to supply the money due to the Exchequer. Most of the chantries founded in the priory church had lapsed, as the prior could not serve them all by himself.⁴

The priory was restored to the abbey of Cherbourg in 1399,⁵ but finally granted to the Carthusians of Mountgrace in 1432,⁶ and confirmed to them by Edward IV in 1462.⁷

The revenue of the priory was valued in 1388 at £38 8s. 8d.⁸

PRIORS OF HOUGH

William,⁹ occurs 1208, resigned 1228

Nicholas,¹⁰ appointed 1228

Robert Pampare,¹¹ appointed 1272

John de Insulis,¹² died 1329

Nicholas Waryn,¹³ appointed 1329, died 1346

William de Gardino,¹⁴ appointed 1346, resigned 1359

Richard de Londa,¹⁵ appointed 1359

Richard de Beaugrave,¹⁶ occurs 1399 and 1403

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1329, Chart. I.

² Ibid. Chart. II.

³ Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30. It was pardoned in respect of £14 10s. 5d. which the king owed the prior for wool.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1029, Chart. II.

⁵ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 13.

⁶ Ibid. 9 Hen. V, pt. ii, m. 19.

⁷ Ibid. 1 Edw. IV, pt. vi, m. 14, 13.

⁸ Add. MS. 6164, fol. 480.

⁹ Boyd and Massingberd, *Abstracts of Final Concords*, i, 93; Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells. He was made abbot of Cherbourg.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

¹¹ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹² Ibid. Inst. of Burghersh, 26.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. Beck, 61.

¹⁵ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 87.

¹⁶ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 13; *Acts of P.C.* (Rec. Com.), i, 190-3.

122. THE PRIORY OF CAMMERINGHAM

The church of Cammeringham was granted before 1126 to the abbey of L'Essay in the diocese of Coutances, by Robert de Haya, with the advice of his wife Muriel,¹⁷ but it seems to have been granted also, with the manor to which it was appurtenant, to the Premonstratensian abbey of Blanchelande in Normandy, early in the reign of Henry II.¹⁸ A dispute which arose between the two abbeys in consequence was settled in favour of Blanchelande in 1192, by William bishop of Coutances.¹⁹ It was probably about this time that a small priory was built as a cell to Blanchelande.

The advowson of the priory passed first to Alice countess of Lancaster, and from her to Hugh le Despenser in 1325.²⁰ Shortly afterwards it was taken into the king's hands. There was a prior who had charge of it at any rate until 1345;²¹ but from 1383 onwards it was let out by the king to various farmers. One of these, a canon of Torre, was in 1383 expelled from the priory and robbed by Adam Blakadam and others;²² on his making complaint to the king he seems to have been found unfit for his office, for he was formally removed from it in 1387, and given a pension of 10 marks a year instead.²³

In 1396 the abbot of Blanchelande sold all his rights in the house to the abbot of Hutton in Staffordshire.²⁴

The revenue of the priory lands with the church of Cammeringham was in 1380 £37 6s. 9½d.; in 1387 it was given as £37 11s. 5½d.²⁵

The only prior whose name is recorded is John Lutehale, who occurs 1337²⁶ and 1345.²⁷

123. THE PRIORY OF WEST RAVENDALE

The priory of West Ravendale is said to have been founded by Alan son of Henry earl of Brittany, who gave the manor and church in 1202 to the Premonstratensian abbey of Beauport in Brittany.²⁸ There was a prior here in

¹⁷ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i, 330.

¹⁸ Ibid. 310 and 311; in these charters, Henry II grants exemption to the canons of Blanchelande from suits of shires and hundreds in their manor of Cammeringham.

¹⁹ Ibid. 333.

²⁰ Feet of F. (Div. Cos.), 18 Edw. II, No. 49.

²¹ Close, 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22 d.

²² Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 11 d.

²³ Ibid. 10 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 1.

²⁴ Ibid. 18 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 6; *Acts of P.C.* (Rec. Com.), i, 197.

²⁵ Add. MS. 6164, fols. 370, 480.

²⁶ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 13.

²⁷ Close, 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22 d.

²⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1050; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 376.

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1275,¹ but it is uncertain whether he had ever any brethren with him. Another was pardoned in 1334 for hunting in a free warren.² The temporalities of this house were in the king's hands on and off during the second half of the fourteenth century. In 1340 and 1343 it was released on the ground that Brittany was not under the power of France.³ From 1344 to 1389, however, the king presented clerks to the churches belonging to the priory.⁴ Henry IV granted the lands of West Ravendale to his queen, Joanna, in dower,⁵ and when she died without issue they were finally assigned to the dean and chapter of Southwell in 1452.⁶ This grant was confirmed again in 1462.⁷

The revenue of the priory in 1380 was £22 19s. 5d.⁸ The advowsons of Waltham, Brigsley, Beelsby, Barnoldby le Beck, Hatchcliffe, and Beesby, were reckoned as part of its posses-

sions, but they only brought in small annual pensions.⁹

PRIORS OF WEST RAVENDALE

Nicholas,¹⁰ occurs 1246

Martin,¹¹ occurs 1275

William,¹² occurs 1334

124. THE PRIORY OF NORTH HYKEHAM

This priory is only mentioned in the Patent Roll of Edward IV, under the year 1462, when it was granted to the college called 'God's House,' at Cambridge.¹³ Its revenue was then said to be not more than 100s. yearly. It is not at present known to what foreign house it had belonged, nor if there was ever a priory there—that is to say, an actual religious house—at all.

¹ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 19.

² Ibid. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 18.

³ Close, 14 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 25; 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 6.

⁴ Pat. Rolls *passim*.

⁵ Inq. p.m. 15 Hen. VI, No. 48.

⁶ Lansd. MS. 237, A, fol. 290.

⁷ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 13.

⁸ Add. MS. 664, fol. 370.

⁹ Inq. p.m. 15 Hen. VI, i, No. 48.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Grosteste.

¹¹ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 9.

¹² Ibid. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 34.

¹³ Ibid. 2 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 16; and 8 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 15. It is there called the alien 'priory, manor or lordship of Ikham.'

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LINCOLNSHIRE, by the quaint conceit of a seventeenth-century eulogist, has been likened¹ to a 'bended bow, the sea making the back, the rivers Welland and Humber the two horns thereof, while Trent hangeth down from the latter like a broken string, as being somewhat of the shortest.' The county would seem to have been built up, round its dominant capital, of natural divisions which are strongly contrasted in character and configuration, and their grouping² to form the shire may be the outcome of a previous political connexion.

The three great divisions of the shire—the parts of Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland—find some explanation when we try to create again natural conditions now passed away. In the Roman period, and long after, Lindsey might well be called an island. On three sides lay the sea, the Humber, the swamps of Axholme and the tidal Trent, while the Witham and broad shallow meres washed its southern base but for the neck of land at Lincoln Gap. And even over this the Trent swept in flood-time, till a bank was raised across the openings in the low sand-hills between Girton and Marton Cliff.³ Kesteven was mainly the forest region, a continuance of the undulating midland country, bordered on the north-east with a strip of fen, but including also the 'Cliff' range with its steep western slope betwixt Ancaster and Lincoln. In no part of the shire has there been so entire a change of its primæval character as in Holland. There for league on league once stretched the fen—morass, peatmoor, and shallow meres with rank growth of reed and rush, and on the drier portions rich pasturage, deep sedge, or thickets of sweet gale, birch, and willow. But the natural fen-land and the wild life it harboured are gone. The corn waves now where once lay a waste of waters, and so thoroughly has drainage done its work that in no part of England is drought more felt than in the fen region distant from the river's outfall.

The exact boundary between the parts of Kesteven and Holland was long a matter of dispute. At least as early as 1389 the attention of Parliament had been directed to the matter, and the ancient bounds ordered to be surveyed and marked again.⁴ A final decision was reached only in the second decade of the last century. Proceedings for the levy of a county rate had been delayed and finally suspended by the difficulty of ascertaining what proportion of the ancient inclosed lands called the Severals in Deeping Fen

¹ Fuller, *Worthies of England* (1662), 144.

² Compare the verses of Gaimar cited below.

³ The initiation of this work has been attributed to the Romans. Its necessity and utility were shown in 1795 when the bank at Spalford gave way, and as a result 20,000 acres of low land west of Lincoln were flooded to the depth of ten feet, whilst the people of Saxilby took refuge in their church. Cf. *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 213; and Tatham, *Linc. in Roman Times*, 19.

⁴ *Parl. R.* iii, 272b.

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was situate in the parts of Kesteven and Holland respectively. In August, 1816, four justices were appointed to determine the question, who in November met at Market Deeping, took evidence, and made an exhaustive examination of all available records and surveys. As the result a plan with boundaries precisely marked was made, and opportunities for appeal and objection having been allowed, the surveyor was directed to stake out the limits. When this was done the commissioners, on 16 and 19 May, 1817, perambulated and viewed the boundaries from Kennulph's Cross to the River Glen. Along the limits so fixed were erected 22 numbered stones, the eastern side of each being marked with the letter H and the date 1817, and the western with the same date and the letter K.¹

The three parts of Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland now form administrative counties. In Lindsey there are fourteen petty-sessional divisions, whilst the county boroughs of Grimsby and Lincoln each enjoy a distinct commission of the peace and a separate court of quarter sessions, and the municipal borough of Louth has a separate commission of the peace. In the parts of Kesteven the petty-sessional divisions are only four in number, while the boroughs of Grantham and Stamford have each a separate commission of the peace and separate courts of quarter sessions. Holland is divided into two petty-sessional divisions, and within it Boston possesses a distinct commission of the peace.

Lincolnshire as it existed in the Romano-British period is elsewhere described, and our reference to this epoch must be here most cursory. It was natural that after the south and south-east of England had been secured by the Romans an advance should be made to the region of the Coritani or Coritavi, now represented by Lincolnshire, for its seizure provided an admirable base for more northern operations. The relative importance of Lincoln even in the Roman period is worth notice; a port with water communication with the North Sea and Trent, a place of strength well-placed, rich and dominant. In few parts of our country are evidences of Roman work on a considerable scale so striking as in Lincoln, whilst we may probably ascribe to the initiative and organization of the rulers of the world, the commencement of the long labour by which the swamps of Holland have been changed into cornland. The famous passage in Herodian describing the exploits of Severus in Britain may indeed refer to this reclamation of the fens, and if so, leaves no room for doubt as to its essentially military object;² whilst the description of the combats in swamp and morass reminds us that then, as in later times, the fens were the last refuge of lost causes, their fastnesses a shelter for desperate and landless men.

The English conquest of Lincolnshire can only be stated as a fact; it cannot be described, for all details are lacking. On a coast fringed with dangerous sands there was little risk of any landing in force betwixt Boston Deeps or Wainfleet and Tetney Haven, and we may reasonably suppose that at these places the invaders entered. Though they were mainly Anglian in race, an admixture of Frisians has been inferred from certain place-names.³ We may also say with tolerable safety that if anywhere the British resistance was strenuous,

¹ *Fenland N. and Q.* ii, 364.

² Herod. Hist. (Bekker), iii, 14, pp. 96, 97: *ὡς ἂν ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς βαίνοντες οἱ στρατιῶται ῥαδίως τε αὐτὰ διατρέχοιεν καὶ ἐπ' ὄχρου βήματος ἑδραίως ἐστῶτες μάχοντο.*

³ Freiston, Friesthorpe, Firsby, Friskeneay. *Streatfeild, Linc. and the Danes*, 96.

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and the conquered still lingered unmerged in the conquerors, it was in the fens of Holland.¹ A curious passage² in the life of St. Guthlac may be so interpreted, but it is fair to state that in his early days the hermit had met with Britons on the western marches and understood their language, and thus the long-past struggles of his secular life may have taken a new and imaginative form in the exaltation of spiritual conflict. As to the names of the settlers, Lindsey, Gainsborough, and Spalding, remind us of the Lindisfaras,³ Gainas, and Spaldingas, whilst the Gyrwas are peculiarly associated with the fen-land. Of the Anglian invasion generally, Bede tells us that so extensive was its character that the continental homes of the immigrants were left desolate and empty. The people they encountered were not romanized to the core as in the old province of Southern Gaul, which no forcible disruption nor pressure could deprive of its romance character. Probably the Celtic speech largely remained in use outside the towns, and many Celtic views on kinship and on the holding and cultivation of land.⁴

The political status of Lindsey, or Lincoln, in the Saxon period suffered considerable alteration from time to time, and we find it attached to the hegemony of both Northumbria and Mercia. Under Edwin it plainly belonged⁵ to the northern kingdom. During this time Christianity was preached in Lindsey by Paulinus, and one of his earliest converts was the 'prefect' of Lincoln, one Blæcca, who believed and his household with him. The religious history of the county, however, except so far as the organization of the church strengthened the political fabric, does not concern us here. In 633 we may well believe that Lindsey passed from Edwin to Penda, for Oswald recovered it,⁶ and almost certainly by war.⁷ On his ruin at Maserfelth in 642, Penda again became over-lord till he fell before Oswy at Winwæd in 655. Some time after this Lindsey again passed to Mercia, whether at the successful rebellion of Wulfhere against Oswy in 658, or later, is uncertain, for we hear that Ecgfrid was obliged to reconquer it between the years 671 and 675.⁸ And again in 679, as a result of the battle of the Trent, it went to Æthelred.⁹ How far the people of Lindsey accepted willingly incorporation in a larger unity can hardly be determined with any certainty from the notices left to us, but there seems to be some slight indication of resentment.¹⁰ They had once had princes of their own,¹¹ and later Lindsey seems to have formed a quasi-dependent appanage of Mercia; for in 702 Cenred,¹² afterwards head-king of the Mercians, became ruler of the Southumbrians.

Leaving on one side purely ecclesiastical references, we find little extant which concerns Lincolnshire especially, until the time of Alfred, who married

¹ The paucity of existing place-names of British origin in the shire is remarkable. Cf. *Linc. N. and Q.* vi, 20.

² Felix, *Vita S. Guthlaci*, in *Acta Sanct.* 11 April, 43. In a vision of a demon-host he heard cries in the British tongue.

³ The dwellers round Lincoln seem to have adopted the older Celtic name.

⁴ Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, 120.

⁵ Bæda, *Eccl. Hist.* ii, 16 (Plummer, i, 117).

⁶ Ibid. iii, 11; i, 148, 'super eos regnum acceperat.'

⁷ Will. of Malm. *Gesta Regum* (Hardy), i, 74.

⁸ Bæda, *ut supra*, iv, 12; (Plummer, i, 229).

⁹ Cf. Bæda, *ut supra*, iv, 12 and iv, 21, with Flor. Wig. *Chron.* i, 243.

¹⁰ Cf. Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.* iii, 11, in reference to the uncivil reception of the body of Oswald, 'quia de alia provincia ortus fuerat.'

¹¹ Flor. Wig. op. cit. i, 253.

¹² *Ang. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 67, and cf. Gaimar, *Leſtoire des Engles* (Rolls Ser.), i, 64:

'Kenet regna sur Suthumbreis
Co est Lindeseye e Holmedene,
Kestevene e Hoyland e Hestdene;
Del Hambre tresk en Roteland
Donrout cel regne, e plus avante.'

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at Gainsborough, three years before his accession, Ealswitha, a daughter of Æthelred of Mercia. No doubt at that time the plundering raids of the Danes were already being felt on the shores of Lindsey. Settlement and political conquest soon followed. With the easterly winds of spring the Northmen coasted along the continental shores and crossed the shallow seas to find berths ready for their galleys in the muddy creeks of Grimsby and Tetney, while their crews plundered at will, and church and monastery were sacked and burnt.¹ In the year 873, after ravaging Middlesex, the Danish leader, Healfdene, led his army northwards to Lindsey, and wintered at Torksey-on-Trent.² In the spring of the next year a furious onslaught was made upon Mercia. Burgred, the last of the old line of Mercian kings, was driven from his throne and retired to Rome to die. The western portion of Mercia proper was granted to Ceolwulf, a minister of the late king; the fate of eastern Mercia and Lindsey is indicated by ecclesiastical changes. While bishop followed bishop at Lichfield, Worcester, and Hereford, without break, the see of Leicester was transferred to Dorchester on the borders of Wessex, and for eighty years or more the bishopric of Lindsey was in abeyance. The lands dependent on Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Stamford, and Lincoln were parcelled out by the conquerors, and the towns themselves occupied by divisions of the Danish host had a certain cohesion and probably a similarity of constitution, and were afterwards to be well-known as the Five Burghs. By 876 this settlement would seem to have been complete, or at least Lindsey was included by 877, and in the following year the Peace of Wedmore gave diplomatic confirmation to an accomplished fact. It is possible that the grouping of Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland, to form the shire of Lincoln may date from about this time.³

In Lincolnshire the Danish invasions have left a peculiar impress. Nearly 300 names of towns and villages within Lindsey and Kesteven show by their formation a Danish source,⁴ and the local dialect is probably more affected by Norse admixture than any in England outside Holderness. The grouping of original hundreds⁵ to form a larger aggregate, whether it be called a wapentake or hundred, may not be peculiar to Lincoln and the counties specially subject to Danish influence,⁶ but it would be hardy to deny that 'wapentake' is a word of Norse origin, and that the trithings or ridings of Lindsey are due to the Danes. But the political and economic system of the Northmen could not have differed widely from that of the Angles and Saxons, though probably it was less developed. By the Danish invasion and settlement north-eastern England was re-made. The hands of the clock, if we may say so, were put back; the formation of Lincolnshire in Domesday is more primitive⁷ than we find in southern and western England. In short,

¹ Crowland and Bardney were burnt down, and some of the older stonework of the churches of Stow, Scartho, and Tetney is said, even now, to show traces of fire. ² *Hen. of Hunt.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 145.

³ Mr. Round has shown that this region is distinguished by a duodecimal (as against a decimal) system of assessment, which is very marked in Lincolnshire.

⁴ As might be expected, the nomenclature of Holland is almost unaffected by Danish influence.

⁵ The Elloe Stone, Moulton, at the south side of the Roman road is a striking example of the old meeting-places of the hundreds. *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 141 sqq.

⁶ Note the grouping of the Domesday hundreds of Bucks (Morley-Davies, in *Home Counties Mag.* April, 1904), and compare the lathes of Kent and rapes of Sussex. Cf. also Round, in *V.C.H. Worc.* i, 248: 'Recent research has favoured the view that there was some arrangement of hundreds in threes, with a liability on each group to provide a ship's crew.' See also Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, i, 173.

⁷ Vinogradoff, *Growth of Manor*, note to Book II, chap. i, 6.

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Lincoln at the Conquest, owing to Danish re-settlement, is perhaps better compared with the Wessex before the time of Alfred than with the Wessex of the Confessor.

The notices of Lincolnshire during the Anglo-Saxon period so far as they remain to us are fragmentary and incomplete.¹ In 941 Stamford owned² Edward the Elder as lord, and the confederate boroughs submitted to his arms, but he wisely contented himself with enforcing order by the 'burhs' he built, and apparently did not meddle with the lawmen who administered the municipal affairs of the Danish inhabitants. In the year 993, after the sack of Bamborough, a viking fleet entered the Humber, 'and wrought mickle evil both in Northumbria and Lindsey.' Twenty years later, about the month of July, Swegen, following the coast-line from Denmark, reached Sandwich, and then, sailing round the East Anglian shore, entered the Humber and passed up to Gainsborough by the tidal Trent. To the north of the town is still to be seen, girt with double ditch and rampart, the camp which he made, or at least adapted to his use. Here he was among friends, and we hear of no careless rapine and slaughter. Earl Uhtred brought the Northumbrians to own him lord; the men of northern Lindsey and the five burghs were not slow to follow.³ All England to the north of Watling Street sent him hostages, while provisions and transport were ready at demand. The distinction between the Danish districts and the rest was emphasized in a terrible manner. After he crossed Watling Street 'the most evil they wrought that any host could do.' But we cannot follow the raid beyond our county's boundary. On the morrow of Candlemas in the following year the tyrant lay dead at Gainsborough—struck down, as men said, by the might of St. Edmund, whose shrine and lands he had menaced.⁴

At his death the choice of the host fell on Cnut, but while the men of Lindsey were ready for fresh foray and aggression, his other followers showed faint heart and slackness. Æthelred for once seized the opportunity and marched upon Gainsborough, laying waste Lindsey with fire and sword.⁵ Cnut retired before him, and at Easter followed with his fleet the coast to Sandwich, where he barbarously mutilated the hostages entrusted to his care, and thence returned to Denmark to recruit his forces. On Cnut's return,⁶ in 1016, he marched through the shires of Buckingham, Bedford, and Hertford, and then across the northern border of Northamptonshire, to Stamford, and onwards to Lincoln. As he advanced north into Deira, Earl Uhtred again came in and submitted, as he had to Swegen, but Cnut did not trust him, and found means to compass his death. Although we hear that Godwine, ealdorman of Lindsey, fell at Assandun fighting for Edmund, yet the shire of Lincoln and Danish Mercia naturally went to Cnut by the agreement of Olaneg. Under Edward the Confessor at Leofric's death Lincolnshire, with most of Mercia, passed to his son Alfgar.

¹ A notice of Brunnanburgh (937) 'praeliorum maximum' in the words of Henry of Huntingdon has been omitted from the text, as there seems as yet no general agreement among historians of repute as to the actual position of the battle-field. The facts which favour a site at Burnham in the parish of Thornton Curtis have been ably marshalled by the Rev. A. Hunt, vicar of Welton, in a paper originally read at a meeting of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, 21 April, 1901.

² Hen. of Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 161; *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 208, 209.

³ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 270.

⁴ The story is told by Flor. Wig. *Chron.* (Eng. Hist. Soc.) i, 168. Cf. also Freeman, *Norman Conq.* i, 402.

⁵ Hen. of Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 181.

⁶ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 278.

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Lindsey, which bore so little part in the great day of Hastings and its immediate sequel, had, curiously enough felt one of the earliest effects of William's breach with Harold. In the May of 1066, Tostig, sent from the Côtentin on a raiding expedition, landed and levied contributions at the southern ports, impressed Sandwich boatmen, some at least against their will, and, sailing northward, entered the Humber and harried Lindsey. Edwin and Morcar attacked him with the northern *fyrð* and drove him to his ships, and with a crippled remnant he sought refuge at the Scottish court.¹

The sheriff of Lindsey, Maerleswein, had been with Harold at Stamford Bridge, and seems to have been left in the north by Harold as his lieutenant as he hurried south to meet the Norman invader.² That Lindsey contributed any appreciable part of the English army at Hastings is unlikely. It was mainly a Wessex force that fought, and Wessex men who afterwards paid with special pains for their resistance. It was not until the summer of 1068 that the Conqueror took seisin of Lincoln, reaching it from the north after York and Yorkshire had been entrusted to William Malet and a settlement arranged with Malcolm of Scotland. The size and wealth of Lincoln at this time are abundantly authenticated. Round it had been grouped as the indisputable capital Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland to form the shire. The riches of sea-borne commerce reached it from the Witham, and its inhabited houses numbered 1,150. William of Malmesbury describes it a little later as one of the most populous cities in England, a resort for travellers by sea and land.³ Of the circumstances which attended its submission to William we have little record, but the notices of Domesday give us little reason to suspect any active resistance, while twelve lawmen still retained their position in the town. But a castle was built to overawe the citizens and 166 houses were destroyed to furnish or extend the site. Some haste seems to have been necessary in its construction as the old Roman wall on two exterior sides, probably at that time ruinous and ineffective, was buried in a lofty and steep bank which the builders then carried right round the new castle, and the area enclosed covered more than 5 acres.⁴

The pages devoted to Lincoln and Stamford in Domesday are of peculiar interest, but are more properly considered in the special history of these towns. This may be remarked here, that Stamford would seem to have fared in much the same way as Lincoln; nine of its twelve lawmen still remained though a castle had been erected.⁵ At Torksey, however, a place of some strategical importance, commanding a ferry of the Trent, there may have been resistance either now or at a later period,⁶ as at the time of the survey the number of burgesses was grievously reduced from what it had been under King Edward and 111 houses lay waste. The Domesday record in general as it affects our county is elsewhere discussed in this history. The number of English names of under-tenants at least is considerable, but amongst the holders in chief, Coleswegen, Colegrim and a few smaller men in the long list of Normans, Flemings, and Bretons remind us how few were the fiefs allowed to the Englishry.⁷ But one name in the survey

¹ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 336.

² *Gest. Pont.* (Rolls Ser.), 312.

³ *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xix, 236.

⁴ *Ibid.* 337.

⁵ Gaimar, *Lestoire des Engles* (Rolls Ser.), i, 222.

⁶ Domesday, 336b.

⁷ Alfred of Lincoln was probably a Breton (Round, *Feudal England*).

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demands a further note, though the exploits of its owner belong to the history of the Isle of Ely. Hereward, a man of the abbey of Peterborough, had held land on the edge of the fen at Witham on the Hill and its neighbourhood, land which we are significantly told he no longer held 'die qua aufugit' on the day of his escape from the isle, for it was no doubt forfeited long before.¹ Apart from the legends which have grown round Hereward's name the rising of the fenmen in the spring of 1070 to join the Danish fleet was only one incident in the secular and necessary history of Holland and the adjoining region as the last refuge of the landless and dispossessed. By one recorded act Edgar the Atheling is connected with the history of the shire. In the early autumn of 1069 he landed on its coast and narrowly escaped capture from the Norman guards. But the real objective of his expedition was York.

The chronicles furnish us with few facts which concern Lincolnshire during the reigns of the Conqueror's sons. In 1088 the lands of William of St. Calais in this county were harried by the sheriff of Yorkshire, Ralf Paynel, who had obtained the great estates of Maerleswein, with his residence in Lincoln itself.

The Norman wars of Henry I² indirectly affected the county in at least one instance: Robert de Stuteville had taken the losing side at Tinchebrai against King Henry and his estates were forfeited to the crown. These probably included the lands in the Isle of Axholme,³ which had previously belonged to Geoffrey of Wirce. At least it was in this reign that these were granted to Nigel D'Albini. Finally, in the reign of Henry I, we may briefly note the names of two Lincoln men of some distinction—one, Turgot, the confessor of a king of Norway and both confessor and biographer of St. Margaret of Scotland,⁴ while the other, Wulfric, came as ambassador from Alexios the Eastern Emperor to the English court, and brought to Abbot Faritius of Abingdon a precious gift, the arm of St. John Chrysostom.⁵ The name of Wulfric again reminds us that the Varangian guard of eastern Rome was a refuge for English exiles just as two centuries ago, after the perfidy of Limerick, the Irish fought in the ranks of France.

The first incident of importance in the reign of Stephen which concerned our county was the collision between the king and that episcopal family who for thirty years had controlled the financial administration of the realm with a resultant personal enrichment almost beyond belief. Alexander of Lincoln, the nephew of Bishop Roger, 'for the protection, as he said, and dignity of his see'⁶ reared castles at Newark and Sleaford. Arrested⁷ at the Council of Oxford in 1139, he was brought to Newark and his retainers charged with its defence forced to yield by the entreaties of their imprisoned lord, whom Stephen tortured by an experience of hunger uncongenial to a prelate of high degree. The fall of Sleaford, a position of considerable strategic importance, followed.

The accession of Stephen, personally brave as he was and generous to a fault, but improvident and weak of purpose, with a title open to grave

¹ Round, *Feudal England*, 160.

² For an interesting writ of Henry to the Shire and Moot see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxi, 505.

³ Dugdale, *Bar.* 457, and *Rot. Cur. Reg.* ii, 231. Cf. Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, 512.

⁴ Freeman, *Engl. Towns and Districts*, 214.

⁵ *Abingdon Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 46.

⁶ Will. of Malm. *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Ser.), 468.

⁷ Hen. of Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 266, and cf. Duchy of Lanc. Charters, No. 15 (P.R.O.).

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exception, offered an immediate opportunity to the barons, curbed by his predecessor, to assert the rights they claimed and advance all manner of grievance. Amongst them, not the least powerful, was the earl of Chester, Ranulf 'Gernons,' who seems to have cherished the project of a great midland earldom or palatinate, stretching from Carlisle to Chester, and thence across Staffordshire and Leicestershire to Lincolnshire,¹ where he held a great appurtenant fief. Carlisle and other Cumbrian lands, had been perforce surrendered by his father, Ranulf Meschin, to Henry I, and Stephen had now granted Cumberland to the Scots. Again, William of Roumare, the half-brother of Ranulf 'Gernons,' inherited from his mother Lucy certain lands in Lincolnshire including apparently Bolingbroke, and seems to have shared with the heirs of Coleswegen² a claim to the constablenesship of Lincoln Castle. But in the year 1140³ the motte of Lincoln was held for the king, and Ranulf and his half-brother, under cover of a friendly visit by their wives to the lady of the governor, contrived to enter the castle, which was carelessly guarded, and expel the garrison.⁴ Stephen, on hearing of this exploit, seems to have journeyed to Lincoln late in 1140, accepted the explanations of the aggressors, and not only left them in possession, but granted to William of Roumare the earldom of the county.⁵ Whatever may have been the claims of the new earl of Lincoln to the constablenesship of the castle, the whole action of the king was more generous than politic. The inevitable result followed. Even whilst the court kept in traditional fashion the festival of Christmas ominous reports were received from Lincoln; and it became evident that the two earls were strengthening and provisioning the fortress in readiness to stand a siege. Stephen hurried north to find that Earl Ranulf had escaped to Cheshire to raise his feudal tenants, leaving his wife, a daughter⁶ of Earl Robert of Gloucester, and his brother to hold the castle, whilst aid was sought from Earl Robert and allegiance offered to Maud.

Earl Robert may have felt no particular enthusiasm for either the person or quarrel of his son-in-law, but such an opportunity could scarcely be disregarded. His forces were soon mobilized and on the march. Meanwhile the Cheshire men rallied to the standard of their earl, who had in addition enlisted a number of Welsh light troops led by Cadwalader and Mareddud.⁷ The two allies effected a junction in the Midlands probably where the Foss Way and Watling Street intersect at Claybrook in Leicestershire.⁸ In the year 1141 there was a coincidence of Sexagesima and the Feast of the Purification, and on that day the united army arrived before Lincoln. The scene of the struggle was the level plain by Ermine Street, north of the city walls. Reaching Bracebridge the earl had probably foreborne to cross

¹ Round, 'King Stephen and the earl of Chester,' *Engl. Hist. Rev.* x, 91.

² Robert de Haye had been constable of Lincoln Castle under Hen. I. Round, *Anct. Chart.* (Pipe Roll Soc.), x, 59.

³ Our authorities for the two years before the battle of Lincoln are peculiarly scanty, and it is more than usually difficult to piece together fragmentary details and trace the exact sequence of events.

⁴ Ordericus, *Eccl. Hist.* (Migne), 921; cf. Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 268: 'Cujus munitiones fraudulenter ceperat Ranulfus comes Cestriae.'

⁵ *Gesta. Steph.* (Rolls Ser.), 69; Will. of Malm. *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Ser.), 487; and Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 271.

⁶ Will. of Malm. *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Ser.), 487.

⁷ Ordericus, *Eccl. Hist.* (Migne), 978.

⁸ Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, i, 316.

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the bridge over the Witham, but led his troops through the swamps and water-meadows along its left bank, and after fording the Foss dyke beyond the Brayford pool passed up by way of the Carholme to the scene of the fight. On the northern side alone was the city in any way open to successful assault.¹

When the battle was over men recollected that unmistakable portents had been vouchsafed as the king took part in the Divine Service. The candle he offered in accordance with the ritual of the feast fell and was broken, while the chain by which the pyx hung above the altar snapped asunder, and the Host was hurled to the ground.

Before the fight the leaders on both sides addressed their men, Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert of Clare speaking for King Stephen, whose voice was hardly strong enough for the occasion.² On both sides a triple³ formation prevailed. The cavalry of the royal army, the barons and their men-at-arms filled the first two lines. Alan of Richmond, Waleran of Meulan, Hugh of Norfolk, William of Warenne, and Simon of St. Liz stood foremost in the van. In the second line were William of Ypres, and another William, the earl of York. Stephen with his immediate bodyguard, a mass of footmen, and the citizens of Lincoln closed the rear. In the third line at least there was no wavering of purpose, whatever the inferiority in arms or equipment. In the first rank of Stephen's foes were the landless and dispossessed, the *acies exhaeredatorum* of the chronicler, behind them the men of Cheshire and the Welsh. Robert of Gloucester directed the battle and led the reserve.

The earls of Stephen's vanguard wished to open the fight with the jousts of chivalry,⁴ but Miles of Gloucester, the finest soldier in the Angevin force, was in no mood for ineffective display, and the charge of the disinherited pierced the royal ranks and swept the half-hearted baronage from the field.⁵ The earl of Chester, who had chafed at his exclusion from the van, now assaulted the second line shaken by the rout they had witnessed. The Welsh light troops, more fit for guerilla tactics than the shock of battle, broke on the front of steel, but the charge of the Cheshire men bore all before it, and William of Ypres with his horsemen rode off the field. The whole strength of the Angevin onset was now directed against the infantry who stood around the king. Desperate assault was met by stubborn defence, and Stephen, well seconded by his bodyguard and the Lincoln burghers, showed the courage of a simple soldier in a *mêlée* where no generalship could avail. His sword broke in his hands. With a Danish axe⁶ he kept off his assailants till a stone from behind struck him to the ground. One William of Kahaines caught him by the helmet and kept him down, and he surrendered to the earl of Gloucester. Baldwin of Clare, Bernard of Balliol, Roger of Mowbray, and many others were captured with the king, but the politic cowardice of the royalist earls suggested treachery to their

¹ Hen. of Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 268, describes the march as through 'paludem paene intransibilem,' while Will. of Malm. *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 571, with less local knowledge mentions the flooded Trent, probably referring to the Fossdyke.

² Hen. of Hunt. op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 271.

³ Ordericus, op. cit. (Migne), 978.

⁴ Will. of Malms. *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 571, 'proludium pugnae facere quod justam vocant.'

⁵ Hen. Hunt. op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 273.

⁶ Ordericus, op. cit. (Migne), 978. 'Ense vel securi Norica quam quidam illi juvenis ibi administraverat.'

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contemporaries. The victors sacked the city,¹ and butchered every burgher they could find,² but most of those past fighting age had fled, though 500 or more are said to have been drowned by the swamping of over-loaded boats as they crossed the Witham.³

Stephen on his release from captivity found it a first necessity to patch up a peace, or at least a truce, with Ranulf Gernons and his half-brother. Under solemn sanction an accord was made at Stamford,⁴ and William of Roumare received Kirton in Lindsey, and was confirmed⁵ in the right of holding Gainsborough Castle and bridge, which commanded several converging roads. The year 1146 was marked by the somewhat theatrical submission and apologies of Earl Ranulf, who came to court and was cordially received by the king, whose kindness of nature at times approached abject weakness. The manner of the suppliant was rather that of an equal than a subject, no offer was made to surrender Lincoln, and the advisers of the king were with some reason suspicious of the earl's sincerity. When he employed the newly cemented amity to inveigle Stephen into a Welsh expedition, which may have covered treacherous designs against his person, the barons saw fit to interfere. Certain of their number held colloquy with Earl Ranulf at Northampton and finally arrested him.⁶ He was forced to surrender Lincoln and other castles and give hostages, but after the usual oaths released. It is futile to discuss the political ethics of this anarchical time. Most persons of sober sense may have agreed with the chronicler that, if through 'wicked rede' the king had allowed the arrest of the ambitious palatine, 'through worse rede' he had let him go free.

Late in the year which saw the arrest and release of Earl Ranulf, Stephen took seisin of Lincoln and its castle, and defied a popular superstition which had forbidden his predecessors to wear their crown within the city walls.⁷ This proceeding touched the earl of Chester to the quick, and he again raised the standard of revolt, but the garrison left by Stephen, seconded no doubt by the faithful Lincoln burghers, who had not forgotten the fatal Candlemas six years before, repulsed a furious attack on the Newport Gate. Turning away into the Midlands the earl laid siege to Coventry, and thence was driven by the king. Early in 1148 died that keen politician and active rearer of castles, Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and in the late autumn Robert of Chesney was consecrated as his successor. Meanwhile Earl Ranulf had evolved another scheme for furthering his long-cherished ambition of a great central earldom. In 1149 he did homage to David of Scotland, while a marriage was arranged between Ranulf's son and the grand-daughter of the king of Scots. The price of fealty was to be the honour of Lancaster. David advanced south from Cumberland, but Ranulf was not forthcoming to play his part. Stephen had in fact offered higher terms, and amongst grants almost incredible in their lavish excess we find Lincoln, Torksey, and Grimsby as the eastern limits of the earl's

¹ Hen. Hunt. op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 275.

² Will. of Malms. *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Ser.), 572, 'quod ipsi principium et fomes istius mali fuissent.'

³ Ordericus, op. cit. (Migne), 979.

⁴ Harl. MS. 2044, fol. 55b.

⁵ The language of the grant is significant, 'Omnibus liberis consuetudinibus cum quibus aliquis comes Anglie tenet castella sua.' Great Cowcher, ii, fol. 445, cited by Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 159.

⁶ Hen. Hunt. op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 279.

⁷ William of Newburgh praises him for his good sense, i, 57.

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dominion. Meanwhile the earldom of Lincoln would seem to have remained with William of Roumare,¹ though Gilbert of Gand seems to have used the title at the same time. A few years later Earl Ranulf, foreseeing the near triumph of Henry of Anjou, made terms with him, and received grants² in England and Normandy more extensive than even Stephen had offered. Amongst the incidents of the campaign that followed we may notice in respect to Lincolnshire the siege of Stamford. The garrison begged aid from Stephen at Ipswich, but none could be spared, and the beleaguered stronghold surrendered to his rival.

Until late in the reign of Henry FitzEmpress we have only to chronicle the bare facts of royal or episcopal visits to the shire. In the February which followed his accession, Henry had marched to York by way of Lincoln, and William Peverel³ entered religion in terror of his advent. Later in the same year the city had welcomed Malcolm of Scotland on his way to the court at Chester, whilst in 1164 another illustrious visitor with scant following climbed the steep streets of Lincoln, lodged at the house of one Jacob a fuller, and sailed down the Witham on the way to Sempringham.⁴ Thomas Becket was passing to exile and martyrdom.

Yet another decade was nearly gone, when Henry, who knew the value of the native Englishry against Norman rebels, summoned Lincolnshire to arms in the baronial outbreak of 1173. The king had steadily worked out his policy of centralization, and the greater feudatories felt year by year a sterner curb, a more galling control. Among the rebels was Roger Mowbray of Axholme, the patron of the Templars, crusader and pilgrim. He had inherited from Nigel D'Albini a chain of forts from Kinardferry in Axholme, which he hastily strengthened, to the Yorkshire castles of Thirsk and Kirkby Malzeard. They cut northern England asunder and barred the advance of any southern force against the Scots. Immediate action was needed. Geoffrey, bishop elect of Lincoln, a natural son of the king, called out his tenants and the levy of the shire. The Axholme stronghold soon surrendered for lack of drinking-water, whilst Robert, its constable, a younger son of Roger, was caught by the villagers of Clay as he rode to Leicester for assistance. Geoffrey dismantled Kinardferry and carried the war into Yorkshire.⁵ Probably, from the destruction of Thirsk and their other more northern strongholds we may date the choosing of Epworth in Axholme as the chief residence of the Mowbrays, and the centre of their remaining fiefs.

The commercial importance of Lincoln has already been insisted upon, and its wealthy Jewish settlement would afford ample evidence of the fact, even without the categorical statements of the chroniclers. As Jewish activity in the county had important political consequences, a slight notice is imperative here. The date of the first Jewish settlement on the Steep Hill of Lincoln is unknown, but we can well believe that it can have been little later than the reign of William Rufus or Henry I. By the reign of Henry II they were firmly established, and in 1159⁶ the sheriff of Lincoln

¹ Cott. Ch. xvii, 2.

² Ibid. ; cf. Round, *Engl. Hist. Rev.* x, 87, et seq.

³ He was credited with the poisoning of Ranulf Gernons, to whom had been granted his erstwhile fief of Nottingham.

⁴ *Materials for Hist. Thom. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 399, and iii, 324.

⁵ Benedict of Pet. *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 64, 68, and R. Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 57.

⁶ Pipe R.

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renders account of £40 for the Jews of that city. It was also the head quarters of the greatest financier of the day, Aaron, the king's creditor¹ for £616 12s. 8d. in nine counties, in the year 1166. With Aaron's money the greatest abbeys of the time were built; he took in pledge the plate of Lincoln minster,² and with a trader's bluntness reminded the St. Albans monks that the very shrine of their patron belonged to him.³ In Lincolnshire even lands passed into his hands.⁴ By his organizing genius the Jewish community of England developed into an extensive banking association. The wealth of the Lincoln Jews is still proclaimed by their surviving houses of stone, and when King Richard returned from Germany they offered at Northampton⁵ £287 4s. 11d. The actual number of individual Jews mentioned at Lincoln is larger, though their offering is smaller than at London. The death of Aaron in 1186 had no doubt seriously lessened the aggregate wealth of the Lincoln community, since at his death his property including houses in the precincts of the bailey had escheated to the crown. The treasure of jewels and specie accumulated by him was lost between Shoreham and Dieppe when being forwarded for the king's use in the French war,⁶ but beyond this, debts due to his estate to the amount of £15,000 came into the king's hands.⁷ A special section of the Exchequer⁸ was established to deal with this windfall, and continued at least till the year 1201, when £7,500 of Aaron's debts were still unpaid.

In the first year of King Richard the most important men in Lincoln in the ecclesiastical and civil spheres were Hugh of Avalon, the bishop, who was gifted with strong good sense and a passion for justice; and an able but less reputable person, Gerard de Camville, who claiming the constableness of the castle in right of his wife, Nicholaa de la Haye, had bought the shrievalty of the county in addition, when the king was driven to the sale of dignities to fill his military chest.⁹ Evidence has already been adduced as to the numbers of Lincolnshire men who had fallen into the toils of the Jews. Besides those whom a generous passion for the recovery of the holy places attracted to the crusade, many had assumed the cross to escape their obligations, and for other less worthy motives. There exists a list¹⁰ of crusaders from Lincolnshire which cannot be much later than this time, and although a mere fragment, it gives some notion of the rank and file of the humbler sort who took the cross. In all probability it is a schedule drawn up for the ecclesiastical authorities of men suspected of avoiding the fulfilment of their vows. Lincoln and some seventeen places in the district round Boston are mentioned as furnishing recruits, and thirty-one men are named, four being from the city of Lincoln itself.¹¹ Some seem to have abandoned the expedition, and others claimed untruly to have been in the Holy Land. For instance, Richard, the son of Thurstan of Algarkirk, with a wife and five children, and wretchedly poor, averred that he has been in the land of

¹ Pipe R. ² Gir. Camb. *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), vii, 36.

³ *Gesta St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 193.

⁴ *Red Book Exch.*, 382, 523, and *Liber Niger* (Hearne), iii, 16.

⁵ Exch. Accts. K.R. (P.R.O.); 242; Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin Engl.* 163.

⁶ Ben, of Pet. op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 5.

⁷ Of the 430 persons indebted to Aaron, no less than 186 were from Lincolnshire.

⁸ Madox, *Hist. of Exch.* (1769), i, 190, and 237 et seq.

⁹ Pipe R. 2 Ric. I, and *Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), Introd. iii, xxix.

¹⁰ Amongst MSS. of D. and C. of Cant. See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* (1901), i, 235.

¹¹ Amongst the Boston crusaders were a potter, a dealer in hides, and a butcher.

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Jerusalem, but he furnished no evidence of the fact. A considerable number, indeed, were married men with families, and some were practically beggars. Hubert the son of Guy of Surfleet had started on his journey, but had been robbed in Lombardy and returned home. Andrew, a married clerk of Gosberton Church, had on one occasion gone back to his wife, by the advice of the pope himself, since he was unable to reach the Holy Land, as passage from Italy was prohibited to the crusaders.

The suspicion and dislike with which the Jews were ordinarily regarded became more intense as the volunteers were equipped and assembled for the crusade. And there is good ground for supposing that the flame of jealousy and religious hatred at Lincoln was fanned by local gentry in the money-lenders' clutches, as it certainly was at York. A serious riot took place at Lincoln, and apparently the mob stormed the cathedral, intending to destroy the bonds there placed for safety, and were only turned from their purpose by the vigorous action of St. Hugh, who stood his ground amongst the gleaming blades of the assailants whilst his own officials took refuge beneath their altars.¹ The narrow escape of valuable obligations, even more than the danger to the lives of his chattels, moved the king to serious action against the leaders of the riot, many of whom were responsible citizens. William the son of Warren was fined £100,² Leofwin the moneyer 40 marks. The lowest fine was half a mark, and the total amercement £367 16s. 8d. was not entirely paid for several years.

Another outbreak, directed against the Jewish traders at Stamford fair, took place in the following Lent. A number of recruits for the crusade were assembled in the town, who took it in ill part that the 'enemies of the cross of Christ' should enjoy such great possessions whilst they themselves were without provision for their journey.³ Aided by the local rabble, they sacked the stalls of the Jews and slew some of the owners; the rest took refuge in the castle. One of the robbers who had fled to Northampton with his booty was there murdered by an accomplice. On the discovery of his body the deed was attributed to the Jews, miracles were reported at the tomb, and the slain criminal was honoured as a martyr. Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, however, promptly intervened, and in spite of opposition from the townsmen, stopped the sacrilege.⁴ From his action on these occasions he won the esteem and gratitude of the persecuted race. Far different had been the conduct of Gerard de Camville, who was shrewdly suspected of abetting the Stamford murderers, and had even harboured them after the slaughter of the unfortunate Jews.⁵ Longchamp, whose policy involved the revocation of the more improvident grants made by his absent master, was not content with demanding from Camville the surrender of his shrievalty, but further summoned him to hand over Lincoln Castle.⁶ Camville made appeal to Prince John,

¹ *Magna Vita* (Rolls Ser.), 167. The Jews are not mentioned by name in this account, but this is naturally explained by the reticence of the chronicler, who may have been unwilling to exhibit the saint as their protector. The persecuted people showed by their demeanour at his funeral a deep sense of gratitude, 'lugentes et plangentes, ac verum magni dei famulum eum extitisse conclamantes.' That the cathedral was used for the protection of Jewish property is proved by a mandate on the Close Roll, 28 Feb. 1205, addressed to St. Hugh's successor, William of Blois, and ordering that the practice should not be allowed. The dangers to which Jewish bonds were exposed led to the institution of official 'archae' for their reception in the principal cities in 1194.

² Pipe R. 3 Ric. I.

³ Will. of Newburgh, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 311.

⁴ *Magna Vita S. Hug.* (Rolls Ser.), 348.

⁵ R. de Hoveden, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), iii, 242.

⁶ Will. of Newburgh, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), i, 337, 338; R. de Hoveden, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), iii, 135.

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who demanded from the chancellor his adherent's reinstatement. Longchamp at once gathered what levies he was able, and summoned mercenaries from the Continent. With his usual decision, the chancellor dealt vigorously with Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, who had raised the turbulent Welsh on behalf of John, and then hurried to Lincoln, where the Lady Nicholaa had made ready to stand a siege.¹ Meanwhile Prince John had seized Nottingham and Tickhill. At this point the archbishop of Rouen intervened, and prevailed on the chancellor to give over the blockade of Lincoln and meet his opponent in conference. Accompanied by their armies, the two protagonists held colloquy at Winchester, and there towards the end of July patched up a truce, Longchamp undertaking to reinstate Camville in his shrievalty pending a legal decision on his conduct, John on his part agreeing to respect the considered judgement of the court. Later, at the council of Northampton, Camville was deprived both of shrievalty and castle, which were again put up to auction. Longchamp here advanced the old accusation as to Stamford Fair and other grave matters, which the accused flatly denied. Apparently a decision was shelved for the time, but Gerard de Camville ultimately found it expedient to buy the king's favour by a fine of 2,000 marks.² On John's accession he regained his old position, and further increased his ascendancy in the county.

The opposition with which St. Hugh of Lincoln met the king's demands at the Oxford Council in respect to over-sea service, alleged to be due from the ecclesiastical fiefs, belongs to the history of the church, and cannot be considered in detail here. The amiable enthusiasm of a great historian has seen in this resistance a patriotic stand on behalf of the rights of Englishmen against royal exaction. St. Hugh was in reality defending the privileges and interests of the see he ruled.³

Early⁴ in the reign of John the city of Lincoln witnessed a memorable scene. On the steep hill outside,⁵ in the sight of a great gathering of people, William the Lion of Scotland did homage to his liege lord of England, and swore loyalty on the primatial cross of Archbishop Hubert, 'saving his own right.' The conference held on the morrow as to the counties disputed between the kings led to no practical result, and was adjourned till the ensuing Whitsuntide with every prospect of indefinite postponement. On 23 November the king of Scots left for the north, while John stayed behind to join with all Lincoln in the obsequies of St. Hugh of Avalon. Less than two months later, the king was again in the city engaged in a congenial wrangle with the chapter⁶ as to the occupancy of the see, and leaving it on his northward journey towards the Humber, on Septuagesima Sunday halted at Louth to sanction and confirm the reconciliation of William de Stuteville and William de Mowbray, lord of Axholme.⁷ Before passing to the close of this reign, we may note here as an illustration of the incidental burdens of military service in

¹ He reached Lincoln early in July. Round, *Commune of London*, 214; Dr. Stubbs held that there were 'two campaigns,' in each of which Lincoln Castle was besieged by Longchamp, but Mr. Round has shown that there was but one.

² R. de Hoveden, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), Introd. to vol. iii, p. c.

³ His own reported words are surely decisive. It was his duty to 'Our Lady of Lincoln'—'the church of Lincoln'—which determined his action. See Round, *Feudal England*, 528-35.

⁴ 21 Nov. 1200.

⁵ Roger de Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 141.

⁶ Ibid. 156.

⁷ Ibid. 118; cf. Hardy, *Itin.* ad loc.

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the royal castles, that in 1200 Ralph de Bradel gave the king 40 marks and a palfrey to be quit of the custody of the work of the castle of Grimsby.¹

Until the last year of the reign of John, we have few specific details which concern the political history of Lincolnshire, though as early as the Whitsun week of 1215, before the grant of the great charter, a part of the baronial levy had entered Lincoln.² And this event, with the blockade of the Tower and the rising at Northampton, contributed largely to the surrender of the king, who was almost deserted except for his foreign mercenaries. Later in the same year the barons, who at Winchester had shown every mark of disrespect to their sovereign, so far presumed as to supersede the royal officers in the eastern and northern counties, Lincolnshire being committed to the charge of William d'Albini (Daubeney) preparatory to a project for the election of a new king by an assembly to be summoned from the whole baronage of the realm.³ This overt treason would have aroused a less able and desperate man than John, who was now ready to take the field with the mighty support of the Holy See. 'As one on the warpath' he kept his Christmas at Nottingham,⁴ and then dashed northward against Alexander of Scotland,⁵ 'the little red fox cub' whom 'by God's teeth' he had sworn to 'run to his earth.' The king of Scots fled over the border, and after ruthless butchery and outrage by his mercenaries and the sack of Berwick, John marched south by way of Tickhill, through Yorkshire into Lincolnshire, which had sent many recruits to the baronial forces. The city of Lincoln made its peace by surrendering hostages for the payment of a fine of 1,000 marks,⁶ and late in February, 1216, the king rode out on his way to Fotheringay, where he rested before his descent on the south-eastern counties.

After the landing of Louis of France, the baronial adherents in Lincolnshire took heart again, but suffered great annoyance from royalist raiders from Newark, Nottingham, and Lincoln. Under a commission from the French prince, Gilbert de Gant, who had received the guardianship or earldom of the county, with Robert de Ropesley, captured Lincoln city, but could make no impression on the castle, which was held by Nicholaa de Haye for the king. They proceeded also to ravage the parts of Holland, and there levied tribute as they had already done in Lindsey. The besiegers of Lincoln Castle were now joined by some of the northern barons, but these desisted on a bribe from the Lady Nicholaa,⁷ although Gilbert de Gant still occupied the city. Meanwhile the king was preparing to recover the eastern counties, lay waste the lands of baronial adherents, and if fortune favoured, cut off the retreat of Alexander of Scotland, who had joined Louis in the south. In late September John pushed rapidly forward from Rockingham to Stamford and thence to Lincoln, which he reached on the 22nd, whilst Gilbert de Gant fled northward to the isle of Axholme, 'from before his face as in terror of lightning.'⁸ Raiding parties crossed the Trent in

¹ *Rotuli de Oblatis*, 107.

² Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 221.

³ *Ibid.* ii, 224.

⁴ *Ibid.* 228. 'Sicut in expeditione positus.'

⁵ *Hist. des Ducs de Normandie*, 163, 164. Matt. Paris, *Chron. Mag.* ii, 642.

⁶ A list of Lincoln gentry who about this time were forced to pay heavy fines and give their children as hostages for good behaviour, will be found in *Rot. de Oblatis et Finibus* (Hardy), 575 et seq.

⁷ Walter of Coventry, *op. cit.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 230.

⁸ Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 193.

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pursuit, the royal head quarters being fixed for three days at Stowe. Apparently during his absence the king of Scots reached Lincoln, and receiving intelligence of the movements of his enemy, slipped past him and escaped into Yorkshire.¹ The royalist mercenaries now wasted Holland with fire and sword, and either on the way to Lynn or earlier on the march from Rockingham, the autumn crops of the monks of Crowland were given to the flames.² 'Such a burning,' says the chronicler of this terrible foray, 'had never in our parts been known before.' At Lynn the king was welcomed by the townsmen, who contributed generously to his war-chest, but their excessive hospitality is said to have favoured the development of the dysentery of which he died.³ The disease was further aggravated by vexation at the disaster which overtook his treasure and a portion of his troops as he passed northward over the quicksands at the Welland's mouth. On reaching Swineshead Abbey John indulged in a supper of peaches and new cider which increased his fever, and with difficulty he rode to Sleaford. Here ill news was received from Hubert de Burgh at Dover, and by a great effort, carried part way on a horse litter, the king struggled as far as Newark, where in three days he died.⁴

After the death of John the siege of Lincoln Castle was pressed vigorously by the baronial forces, who had reoccupied the town and been further strengthened by a strong contingent from the south. These latter included a body of French infantry, 'the very scum and offscouring of the land,' in the descriptive phrase of the prior of Belvoir, who had seen the rich valley round his home wasted by half-naked ruffians who spared neither church nor burying-ground.⁵ In spite of the courageous defence of the Lady Nicholaa and her lieutenant, Geoffrey of Serland, the castle was closely pressed, and William Marshal, by advice of Gualo the legate, Peter, bishop of Winchester, and the rest of the king's council, summoned the royal forces to meet at Newark on the Tuesday in Whitsun week to march to its relief. At the appointed place assembled 400 knights with some 250 crossbowmen and a great force of men-at-arms. Besides the Marshals, father and son, and the warrior prelate, Peter des Roches, Ranulf earl of Chester, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Ferrers, William earl of Albemarle, Fawkes of Breauté, for once engaged in a praiseworthy enterprise, Thomas Basset, Brian de l'Isle, Geoffrey de Lucy, and Philip D'Albini (Daubeney), were all in the royal camp. About three days were devoted to organizing and resting the host, and on the Friday in Whitsun week the crusaders, for such they were, fortified with plenary absolution from the legate, set out on the march to Lincoln. Their approach was cautious, and conducted with military skill, and at night they bivouacked at Stowe, eight miles from the city.

On the morrow the battle was fought. At this time the city of Lincoln was probably but ill-defended, the walls of no great height nor strength. The massive gates on the main roads and the natural water defences of the

¹ Walter of Coventry, op. cit. ii, 231.

² There is some difficulty in determining the exact date. Cf. Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* ii, 667, and *Hist. Angl.* ii, 189. The raid by Savary de Mauléon on Crowland for the arrest of rebel refugees, would certainly seem to have taken place at the later time. Cf. Walter of Cov. op. cit. ii, 232. Some of those sought for escaped by hiding in the fens up to their necks in mud and water.

³ Walter of Cov. op. cit. ii, 231.

⁴ Roger of Wendover, op. cit. ii, 195, et seq.

⁵ Roger of Wendover, op. cit. ii, 211.

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southern suburbs constituted its most effective protection.¹ The extent of outer rampart could not be adequately manned even by the large baronial force within the city, whilst constant vigilance was needed against the defenders of the castle. Saher de Quincy and Robert Fitzwalter had advised that the royalist advance should be checked in the open before the relieving force and the castle garrison could get in touch with each other. The count of Perche, however, who commanded the French, misled by the crowded royal transport,² concluded that the risk was too great, and elected to fight behind the walls of Lincoln. This want of initiative was fatal. The royalist troops were emboldened by the timorousness of the foe, and cheered by the assurance that their slain enemies would go straight to hell.³ Communication with the castle was opened up by young John Marshal,⁴ Pembroke's nephew, and a general assault was ordered on the city. Several gates seem to have been simultaneously attacked,⁵ whilst the main strength of the assailants was directed against the northern⁶ side, in conjunction with a desperate sortie by the castle garrison. There was little obstinacy or spirit in the baronial resistance, and as the enemy entered from all parts the defenders lost heart, and were only anxious to quit the entangling streets. The mailed cavalry on both sides charged ineffectively in the steep and narrow ways of the city, and though many horses were shot by the crossbowmen of the royal host the number of combatants slain within the walls was ridiculously small. Indeed the nickname of 'the fair of Lincoln' may well have been derived from this almost bloodless jousting.⁷ Many barons and knights were captured within the city, especially owing to the constant blocking of the southern gate, and amongst them the earls of Winchester and Hereford and the titular earl of Lincoln, Gilbert de Gant.⁸ The most noble of the slain was the young Count Thomas of Perche. In respect to actual loss of life the retreat was a more serious matter than the battle. The country people had their own accounts to settle, especially with the soldiers of France, and the haggard and starving fugitives were butchered without mercy. The city⁹ suffered as usual after the fight was over, and many Lincoln women, it is said, were drowned whilst endeavouring to escape the soldiery, and even the minster was pillaged, the canons being reduced to almost apostolic poverty. Geoffrey de Drepynges,¹⁰ the precentor, estimated his losses alone at 11,000 marks.

The spirited defence of the castle by the Lady Nicholaa was apparently rewarded by grants¹¹ or confirmations of the shrievalty of the shire and the

¹ Evidence bearing on this point is collected in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xviii, 255. Note also W. of Coventry, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 237. The royalist army made their flank march from Newark 'quoniam civitas a parte Australi munitior videbatur.'

² Roger of Wendover, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 214. The count may have had in mind Stephen's ill-success.

³ *L'histoire de Guillaume Le Maréchal* (1894), ii, 224.

⁴ The *Histoire* narrates a second mission by Peter des Roches, but this is extremely unlikely. Cf. Prof. Tout. *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xviii, 247.

⁵ *Ann. Mon.* iii, 50.

⁶ W. of Coventry, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 237.

⁷ *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xviii, 241, n. 4. Yet Dr. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii, 24, describes 'a bloody struggle in the streets.' The name 'Fair of Lincoln' has also been derived from the booty which rewarded the royalist troops.

⁸ Roger of Wendover, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 217. Another prisoner was William de Huntingfield, to whom Prince Louis had granted on 21 November, 1216, the vill of Grimsby with all liberties, &c., until 100 librates of land elsewhere should be assigned to him (Harl. Ch. 43, B 37).

⁹ Roger of Wendover, op. cit. ii, 218.

¹⁰ Or possibly 'Deepinges.' The spelling in the text is that of the chronicler.

¹¹ Pat. 1 Hen. III, m. 14; 2 Hen. III, m. 11.

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custody of the city, Geoffrey de Serland being appointed as her deputy. A year or two later Fawkes de Breauté informed¹ Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar, that he had been summoned by Nicholaa de Haye to fulfil his engagements towards her, and that he hoped to be able to keep Lincoln Castle for her against the earl of Salisbury.

Towards the close of the barons' wars in 1266 Lincoln was assaulted by a raiding party of the 'Disinherited' who, under John Dayville, 'homo quidam callidus et bellator fortis,' had taken refuge in the pathless morasses of the Isle of Axholme. They forced their way into the city, slew many Jews, sacked the synagogue, and not only destroyed the sacred scrolls of the law, but made a bonfire of all deeds and obligations they could find.² To complete our notice of the Lincoln Jewry, it may be mentioned that in 1290, at the final expulsion, some sixty-six householders of Lincoln left deeds and bonds for money or produce of the aggregate value of £2,620 10s. 4d., and many houses, especially in the Brauncegate in St. Martin's parish, which escheated to the crown.³

Our attention must now be turned from a history of war and pillage to the part played by Lincolnshire in the rise and development of parliamentary institutions. The thirteenth century is marked by the admission to the national councils of not only the knights of the shire, but also representatives from the towns. When Simon de Montfort, in the name of his royal prisoner, issued writs to the sheriffs directing them to return not only two knights from each shire, but also two citizens from each city and two burgesses from each borough, York and Lincoln only were named in set words.⁴ Apparently a writ was directed to the mayor and citizens of Lincoln in 1283, though the original is lost.⁵ In 1295, as we learn from a transcript of the original return, the members were William Cause and Peter de Thornehawe.⁶ The names of the county members for the earlier Parliaments have not come down to us. In 1290, however, they were John Dyve, John de Hoyland, and Gilbert de Neville; and at the Lincoln Parliament of 1300 Thomas Fitz Eustace and Thomas de Burnham.⁷ Grimsby probably returned members as early as 1283,⁸ but the first names of representatives known to us are Gilbert de Reyner and William de Dounedale, in 1295.⁹ After this year the county, the city of Lincoln, and the borough of Grimsby furnished representatives to Parliament in regular sequence with some slight exceptions. Stamford, on the other hand, which had sent Nicholas de Burton and Clement de Melton to the Parliament of 1295,¹⁰ only exercised what its burghers probably regarded as an onerous privilege once in the reign of Edward II, when in 1322 it elected Eustace Malherbe and Hugh de Thurleby.¹¹ Louth apparently nominated one Walter de Louth in 1306, but the enrolment of the writ *de expensis* is cancelled, and the original writ for Lincoln county makes no mention of any member from the town.¹² Boston at this early

¹ *Royal Letters*, Hen. III (Rolls Ser.), i, 73. This letter is tentatively assigned by the editor to the year 1220.

² Walt. of Hemingburgh, *Chron.* (E.H.S.), i, 327 et seq. and Rigg, *Select Pleas of Jewish Exchequer* (Selden Soc.), 41.

³ *Jewish Encycl.* viii, 91, and see Exch. Accts. K.R. (P.R.O.), $\frac{249}{80}$ and $\frac{250}{12}$.

⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, 449.

⁵ *Parl. Writs*, i, 16.

⁶ *Ibid.* i, 39.

⁷ *Cal. Writs and Returns in Parl. Writs*, xix.

⁸ *Parl. Writs*, i, 16.

⁹ *Ibid.* i, 39.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.* ii, Div. 2, p. 252.

¹² *Ibid.* i, 171, 178.

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period does not seem to have had any representation in the Parliament of the realm, though it sent delegates to certain councils in the reign of Edward III.¹

On several occasions in the early fourteenth century sessions of Parliament or important councils were held at Lincoln or Stamford. The first and most important of these was the Lincoln Parliament of 1301. The Scots had called for the intervention of the Apostolic See, and the consequent Bull of Boniface VIII, as well as difficulties arising out of the forest laws and other home affairs, required attention. Writs of summons were issued from Rose Castle in September, 1300, and the heads of religious houses were ordered to make search in their muniment rooms for every evidence bearing on the status of the kingdom of Scotland and the papal claims.² Meanwhile preparations were set on foot for the meeting of Parliament early in the new year. Some slight idea of the enormous provision necessary for so great an assemblage can be derived from an inspection of the writs of Privy Seal. For example, one addressed to the sheriff of Lincoln from Dumfries, 28 October, 1300, ordered him to provide 400 quarters of corn, 1,000 quarters of oats, and as much hay as was necessary for 400 horses for a month, and 100 cows and oxen, 100 pigs and 300 sheep, against the opening of Parliament.³ Another writ from Carlisle, dated 9 November, ordered the same officer to procure in his bailiwick 400 quarters of corn, 100 beeves, 60 live pigs, and 400 sheep for the use of the royal hostel, and to deliver the 400 quarters of corn aforesaid to Walter Waldeshof, and to well salt the 100 beeves and 400 sheep aforesaid, and place them in the larder at Lincoln.⁴ Amongst numerous other charges we find the cost of 3,121 gallons of ale at one penny per gallon, drunk between Sunday, 19 February, and 1 March inclusive. One of the members for the city, Stephen de Stanham,⁵ was honoured with considerable custom from the royal household, one bill alone for sugar, figs, and other articles amounting to £96 14s. 5d. He also supplied fish to the cook's office to the value of £54 10s., and during the month of February for the entertainment of Edward, the king's son, a stripling of scarce seventeen, herrings and stockfish charged at £6 16s. Parchment of the best quality was also provided for the use of the clerks who recorded the proceedings.⁶

When the writs of summons were issued the king was in the north. Journeying south he kept his Christmas at Northampton, and after hunting in Rockingham Forest took up his quarters at Nettleham, near Lincoln, where he stayed till about the middle of February, when he moved into the city, and was constantly there until 4 March. The business of primary importance was the consideration of the papal bull, and the claim of the Holy See to intervene in the temporal affairs of Scotland. The often discussed letter of the barons to the pope—whether or no it was ever dispatched to its destination—may express the general result of this debate, although it was probably drafted by the king's advisers after the close of the Parliament. Some of the seals on this document were certainly not attached at Lincoln, and no satisfactory inference can be drawn from their presence that the owners

¹ Thompson, *Boston*, 449.

² *Parl. Writs*, i, 92.

³ Printed *Proc. Arch. Inst.* (Linc. Meeting, 1848), 36, n. A.

⁴ *Ibid.* n. B.

⁵ *Proc. Arch. Inst.* ut supra, 28. Early in the reign of Edw. II, Stephen de Stanham was accused of various fraudulent practices. *Pat.* 1 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 20 d.

⁶ *Proc. Arch. Inst.* ut supra, 29.

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sat in this Parliament.¹ The remaining business of the session seems to have been comparatively insignificant, though a discussion on the forest perambulation shows a gradual growth of the system of coupling the grant of supplies with the redress of grievances.² A statute for escheators was also passed, a few petitions were considered, and a grant of six years' pavage was made to the city of Lincoln.³

We are unable to deal minutely with the various sessions of Parliament or other councils of magnates held within the shire of Lincoln, but the Parliament held at the royal borough of Stamford,⁴ soon after St. James's Day, 1309, must not be passed over altogether. Piers de Gaveston had returned from exile, and here a hollow truce was arranged between the barons, the favourite, and his royal master. A grant was required for the war with Scotland, and as a result of previous complaints made by the Commons at Westminster in the quindene of Easter the Statute of Stamford was passed, dealing with the abuses of purveyance, the courts of the verge, customs, and other matters,⁵ whilst a letter to the pope on ecclesiastical affairs was drafted. A council was also summoned to Stamford at the instance of Queen Isabella⁶ in 1326; we meet with another⁷ in 1337, whilst late in the same century, in 1392, a third was held to consider the affairs of France.⁸

Parliaments were held at Lincoln in 1316, both in January and July, and again in the second year of Edward III. The first of these was of some importance and sat for twenty-five days. Its chief object beside matters of local concern, such as the confirmation and extension of the privileges of the city of Lincoln, was the raising of forces for the king's service in Scotland. The Parliament of Edward III in 1328 was probably concerned with the measures to be taken for ensuring a permanent peace with Scotland.

The reigns of Edward I and Edward II formed in military matters a period of transition, the feudal tenures were hardly fulfilling the requirements of the royal policy, new methods were introduced, and the older system of the *fyrð* developed to provide the necessary troops. As early as the twenty-fifth year of Edward I, we find a commission for raising knights and yeomen (*vadletti*) to perform service on receiving the king's pay.⁹

Again, on 12 March, 1301, writs of military summons were issued to sixty-two persons in Lincolnshire for service against the Scots.¹⁰ On 6 April, 1306, the sheriff was ordered to make proclamation that no one was to presume to attend any tournaments, jousts, or feats of arms, but that all are to prepare for the king's service against his rebels of Scotland.¹¹

In the next reign the exhausting Scotch war still dragged on, and in 1311 one foot soldier was requested from each township as a voluntary aid, the Lincoln commissioners being Philip de Kyme, Edmund D'Eyncourt, David de Fletewyk, and Laurence de Holbeche.¹² At the Lincoln Parliament in the quindene of St. Hilary, 1316, we find a further hardening of the practice, one foot soldier being charged upon every township throughout the kingdom

¹ See further Mr. Round's discussion of the whole question in the *Ancestor*, No. 6, 185-9.

² *Proc. Arch. Inst.* (Linc. 1848), 31.

³ Pat. 29 Edw. i, m. 25.

⁴ Stamford as well as Grantham had been settled on Prince Edward on his marriage with Eleanor in 1254.

⁵ *Ann. Lond.* in *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 47.

⁶ Vesp. E. xxi, fol. 58 (B.M.).

⁷ Anc. Corr. (P.R.O.), $\frac{45}{229}$.

⁸ Knighton, *Chron.* in Twysden *Scriptores* (1652), 2740.

⁹ Pat. 25 Edw. I, pt. 2, m. 5.

¹⁰ Close, 29 Edw. I, m. 12 d.

¹¹ Ibid, 34 Edw. I, m. 16 d.

¹² *Parl. Writs.* ii, Div. 2, p. 408.

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without any distinction of tenure.¹ The sheriffs were ordered to make return into the Exchequer of the names of all townships in their several bailiwicks and their lords, and then commissions of array were issued in pursuance of the grant, Simon Chaumberlyn, Laurence de Holbeche, and William Dysny acting for Lincolnshire.² A few years later, in the autumn of 1321, William de Kyme and Peter le Breton were appointed to assemble if necessary all the horse and foot in the parts of Lindsey against the king's insurgents,³ and this was followed in the spring of the next year by a commission to Robert Darcy, Robert Breton, and Peter Breton to raise 4,000 footmen in Lincolnshire, excepting the city of Lincoln and the town of Stamford. A little more than a month later, on 6 May, as the Bretons could not attend to the matter, William Dysny and Simon de Lunderthorp were appointed in their places.⁴ The county on the order to raise this levy petitioned⁵ the king, pleading murrain, inundation of the lowlands, failure of crops, devastation, and lack of money owing to heavy ransoms demanded by the rebels.⁶ At the same time apparently, or perhaps a little later, grievous complaints were made of the conduct of Robert le Breton, the sheriff, the members of his family and certain adherents.⁷ Some relief as to the levy seems to have been granted,⁸ and in July, 1323, a commission of oyer and terminer was issued on account of outrages by the Bretons and their friends.⁹

Both in this and the preceding reign large quantities of provisions and military stores were sent north for the use of the royal army,¹⁰ whilst in 1315 inquiry was ordered to be made as to charges alleged against divers men and merchants of York and Lincoln, that they had helped the Scots with victuals and armour.¹¹ As a county with a considerable seaboard and at least one port of the first rank, Lincolnshire was apt to suffer requisitions for sea service. In 1299 one ship apiece was summoned from Boston and Grimsby and two from Wainfleet with Saltfleet,¹² and again, at the outbreak of the French war under Edward III, ships were arrested in Lincolnshire and prepared for war with armed men, archers, mariners, helms, bridges, and other necessities.¹³ The archers levied in Lincoln, it may be noted, were chosen especially amongst the foresters and parkers.¹⁴ The demands for men, money, and wool for the successful prosecution of the French war under Edward III, did not always meet with cheerful acceptance. Wool was sometimes stored in castles and fortalices and every difficulty put in the way of the king's collectors,¹⁵ but in the general levy granted to Edward III in 1341 Lincolnshire contributed 1,265 sacks.¹⁶

¹ *Parl. Writs*. Pref. vol. ii.

² Pat. 15 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 7.

³ *Ibid.* pt. 2, m. 20.

⁴ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 19.

⁵ Anct. Pet. 259 (P.R.O.).

⁶ Some indication of the extent of forfeited lands in the county owing to the rebellion may be derived from Anct. Pet. 4917, in which Alan de Cobeldyk, keeper of forfeited lands in Lincolnshire, declares that he has thirty and more courts to hold and prays that a receiver may be appointed. Compare, too, a mandate to the same Alan, 'keeper of the lands in the county of Lincoln that belonged to Thomas late earl of Lancaster.' Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 1. John de Mowbray, a Lincolnshire adherent of Lancaster, was executed at York.

⁷ Anct. Pet. 10224.

⁸ Note endorsement of Anct. Pet. 259.

⁹ Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 7 d.

¹⁰ Close, 30 Edw. I, m. 17 d. Pat. 1 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 16. *Ibid.* pt. 2, m. 3 and elsewhere.

¹¹ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 6 d.

¹² *Foedera*, i, 928.

¹³ Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* m. 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 14 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 40. An enormous amount of wool was produced in Lincolnshire, especially by the Cistercian and other religious houses. Compare the document quoted from Pegolotti, *La pratica della Mercatura*, Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry* (1905), i, App. D.

¹⁶ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 131b.

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The history of Lincolnshire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries however briefly it may be sketched, demands some particular allusion to the growth of the maritime towns and especially Boston. As early as 1205 the fifteenth of the merchants at Boston produced £780, compared with the £836 of London and the £651 of Lynn.¹ The rise of the town had been rapid, for in Domesday it was merely included in the district of Skirbeck and appears to have been of little importance. It may have received a stimulus from the Hanseatic League and the settlement of Flemish merchants,² who attended the annual fair, whilst it was the natural port for the wool of such Cistercian houses as Revesby and Swineshead. Commerce is peculiarly sensitive to violence and insecurity, and perhaps the pillage of Lincoln, more than once repeated, and the favourable position of Boston for maritime trade, may have combined to advance the fortunes of the younger town. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, however, this prosperity received a check through a disastrous fire (1281) and inundation (1286), followed by the Chamberlain riot a year or two later.³ The town, however, rapidly recovered from these disasters, and the notices preserved of assessments and levies, both military and naval, leave no doubt as to its pre-eminent position amongst the sea-board communities of the shire. When Edward III in 1359 was preparing for the invasion of Brittany, Boston is said⁴ to have furnished to his navy 17 ships and 361 men. London on the same occasion sent 25 ships, and Yarmouth no less than 43. Of the Lincolnshire ports, Grimsby ranked next to Boston with 11 ships, Barton-on-Humber sent 5, Saltfleet 2, Wainfleet 2, and Wrangle 1. The space at our disposal forbids us more than a bare mention of the pirates who at this time infested the narrow seas. One instance must suffice. About the year 1323, the ship *Annot*, of Ditton, was boarded south of Lynn by John Russell of Spalding and other Lincolnshire and Norfolk men. The cargo was mainly fish *en route* for London for the king's use, but in spite of this the outlaws murdered the crew and carried their prize into Seaford in Sussex.⁵

Lincoln in the fourteenth century is closely associated with the name of John of Ghent, the fourth son of Edward III. This prince married, in 1359, Blanche, who eventually became the sole heiress of Henry, duke of Lancaster, and, probably, he claimed in her right the earldoms of Lancaster, Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, whilst in 1362 he was created duke of Lancaster. His eldest son, Henry of Bolingbroke, was, as his name implies, born within the limits of the county of Lincoln, and on his election as king of England, all the honours to which he succeeded merged in the crown.⁶ The vast estates of the duchy of Lancaster all over England, many of which lay in Lincolnshire, were declared by a charter of the first year of Henry IV to be a separate inheritance, distinct from the lands and possessions of the crown, a careful stipulation having been made that, with the exception of one or two slight provisos, the status of the duchy should remain unaffected by its royal ownership.⁷ Owing to its territorial influence the house of

¹ Thompson, *Boston*, 37.

² Extent of honour of Richmond, cited Thompson, *ut supra*, 315.

³ The town was deliberately fired in several places to cover the operations of a gang of robbers at the annual fair.

⁴ Thompson, *Boston*, 55.

⁵ Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 29.

⁶ *Complete Peerage* (Cokayne).

⁷ See J. Tait, *Engl. Hist. Rev.* Jan. 1906, p. 150. Chief Justice Gascoigne decided in 1405 that, in matters relating to the duchy, the king could be sued like any common person. The statement in the Introduction to the 30th Rep. of Dep. Keeper of P. R. R., usually quoted as to this matter, is hardly expressed with sufficient caution.

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Lancaster could generally count on powerful support in the county during the civil strife of the following century, although Grantham and Stamford, part of the provision made by Edward III for his third son, Edmund of Langley, duke of York, were mainly Yorkist in sympathy, and paid dearly for their allegiance to the White Rose. It was at Lincoln also, not many years before his death, that John of Ghent, to the great scandal of his royal relations, married his mistress of many years, Katherine Swinford, the mother of the Beauforts.

During the reign of Richard II Lincoln plays no prominent part in the history of the kingdom. The effervescence of the Peasant Rising was felt there very slightly in comparison with the burning and slaying further south, although the tenants of the Hospitallers showed some restiveness,¹ and in May, 1382, a Lincoln man, Hugh de Garwell, received a pardon under certain conditions, at the instance of the queen, for his share in the late insurrection.² Beyond a visit of the king to the county capital in 1385 there is little to record till the year 1397, when the extortions and outrages committed by John de Skipwith, sheriff of Lincoln, called forth numerous complaints to the Chancery. Sybil, widow of Sir Robert Darcy, had been kept from the enjoyment of her dower; John de Rouseby had been 'imprisoned horribly in Lincoln,' and so great was the influence of this outrageous sheriff that the common law provided no remedy either to John de Rouseby or 'many others greater than he.'³ The records of this reign, and of those which followed, furnish a rather lurid picture of the manners and customs of the gentry. The feud of Sir Robert Tirwhit, of Kettleby, with Lord Roos in 1411, is only one of many which might be mentioned. The Council and the Chancery, and at a later period the Star Chamber, were constantly occupied in teaching an almost savage race that might and right were not of necessity synonymous.

The local feuds of every county fed the broader political quarrels of the time, and stout men were readily procured for any outrage or assault upon a rival. The very courts of law were not free from murderous affrays. In 1449 Cromwell,⁴ the lord of Tattershall, whilst on his way to attend a council, was assaulted in Westminster Hall by a Lincolnshire squire, William Tailboys, of South Kyme, an adherent⁵ of Suffolk and Viscount Beaumont, and himself destined, after the fight at Hexham, to pay the reckoning of a life of constant turbulence.⁶ The attainder of Tailboys as an adherent of the house of Lancaster was not reversed till 1472.

It was not until after the battle of Wakefield in 1461 that Lincolnshire had any serious share of the bitter fruits of the war between the rival houses. Margaret then advanced south with a force recruited from the retainers of the Lancastrian nobles, and swollen with a rabble of Scots moss troopers, Welshmen from the marches, and adventurers from France. With her were the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the earls of Northumberland, Devon,

¹ Pat. 5 Ric. II, pt. i, mm. 30 d. & 31 d.

² Ibid. pt. ii, m. 12. Cf. also an order to suppress a rising in Lincolnshire, Harl. Ch. 43, E. 34 (B. M.).

³ Baildon, *Select Cases in Chancery*, 24-30.

⁴ *Parl. R.* v, 181-200.

⁵ *Paston Letters* (Gairdner), i, 96. Attached to the party of Cromwell were Leo Lord Welles, and Robert Lord Willoughby of Eresby, who had married a niece of Cromwell's.

⁶ By this time he was apparently a peer.

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and Shrewsbury, and such local men as Lords Welles and Willoughby. The chief military direction was confided to Sir Andrew Trollope, who permitted fearful havoc to be wrought south of the Trent. All England beyond that river, according to the common report, was to be the reward of the northern army. Grantham and Stamford now paid the price of their Yorkist loyalty, and in the sack even the vessels and books of the altar were not respected.¹ Stamford at least never really recovered from this disastrous raid. The damage inflicted by the Yorkists at Lincoln or elsewhere was trivial in comparison.

The only other occurrence concerning our county at this time which needs a detailed notice² is the Lincolnshire rising of 1470. It was probably due to the persistent intrigues of the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, though its immediate occasion was found in a private quarrel between Richard Lord Welles, the son of Lyon Lord Welles, slain on the Lancastrian side at Towton, and Sir Thomas Burgh of Gainsborough. To the partisans of Warwick, Burgh was peculiarly obnoxious. With Sir William Stanley he had recently assisted King Edward to escape from durance at Middleham Castle, and now the king interposed on his behalf, and summoned Lord Welles and his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Dymoke, to London. Under a safe-conduct they complied. Meanwhile rumours were set abroad that the king purposed dealing severely with the commons of the shire. Owing to the continued unrest Edward resolved to leave London for Lincolnshire on 4 March, but remained a day or two later to interview his brother Clarence, whose arrival was daily expected, and with him had a friendly enough meeting on 6 March at the residence of their mother, Baynard's Castle, Blackfriars, the two brothers afterwards proceeding together to offer at the altar of St. Paul's.

Early in February orders had been issued by the king for a muster at Grantham. On 7 March Edward, who had spent the night at Waltham Abbey, heard that his levy had been anticipated by Sir Robert Welles, the son of his hostage, who had summoned the men of Lincolnshire to a rendezvous at Ranby Hawe, a few miles to the north of Horncastle. The king at once sent for Dymoke and Welles from London, and himself marched northward without delay. On the morrow he was met on the road to Royston by a messenger from John Morling, steward to Humphrey Bourchier Lord Cromwell, despatched from Tattershall on 6 March, who confirmed previous reports of the rising, and added further that it was spreading beyond the borders of Lincolnshire into the county of York. And, again, on the evening of the same day arrived a letter from the duke of Clarence offering his own support and that of the earl of Warwick, though both were even at this time in correspondence with the rebels. The king, completely deceived as it seems, issued a commission to the duke and earl for the levy of forces on his behalf.

By 9 March Edward was at Huntingdon, and there closely questioned his two hostages, who, confessing to a guilty knowledge of the rising, were ordered on pain of death to use all their influence to bring it to an end.

¹ 'As though they had been Saracens and no Christians,' is the comment of Stow, *Annals*, 413.

² The account here given is mainly founded on an apparently official narrative of the 'Rebellion in Lincolnshire,' printed in *Miscellany I* of the Camden Society.

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On the Sunday following the king had reached Fotheringay, and was there informed that the rebels had passed Grantham and were marching on Leicester. This move was undoubtedly prompted by Warwick, who had advised Sir Robert Welles to avoid an engagement with the royal army, and make for Leicester, where he himself would meet him on 12 March. On Monday, the day appointed for the junction of Welles and Warwick, the king halted at Stamford and there received sure intelligence that Sir Robert, apprehensive as to his father's safety, had doubled back, with the desperate design of surprising the royalists quartered in the town. Edward at once ordered Lord Welles and Sir Thomas Dymoke to execution, and they suffered in front of the Queen's Cross at Stamford.¹ Meanwhile the royal army moved out to meet the insurgents, whom they found 'at Empyngnam in a felde called Hornefelde.'² The raw levies of Lincoln peasants broke in panic under the fire of Edward's guns, and ran so fast that the action won the nickname of Losecoat Field. Sharp execution was done amongst the fugitives, and the place, some four or five miles north-west of Stamford, is known to this day as the Bloody Oaks. Amongst the prisoners taken was Sir Thomas De la Launde, another brother-in-law of Lord Welles, who was 'headed'³ for his treason three days after the battle. The younger Welles got safely off the field, but was taken before the week was out.

In the battle the war-cries of Clarence and Warwick had been heard from the rebel ranks, and several of their retainers were captured in the rout. Edward's suspicions were now thoroughly aroused, and on the very morrow of the fighting he wrote to his brother and to Warwick announcing his victory and bidding them dismiss their levies and join him with a suitable escort only, whilst all existing commissions of array were cancelled. Instead of obeying this summons they retired towards Burton-upon-Trent. On Thursday, 15 March, the king was at Grantham, and here Sir Robert Welles and other ringleaders were brought in. The confessions wrung from them implicated Clarence and Warwick in the most definite manner.⁴

'I have welle understand,' declared the young leader, 'by many messagges, as welle from my lord of Clarence as of Warwike, that they entended to make grete risinges, as forthly as ever I couth understand, to thentent to make the duc of Clarence king : and so it was oft and largely noised in our hoost. Also I say that ne had beene the said duc and erles provokinges, we at this tyme wold ne durst have maid eny commocion or sturing, but upon there comfortes we did that we did.'

A few days later Sir Robert Welles was led to execution, a young man of high promise who had readily risked everything at the call of filial duty.⁵ The rest of the story of Clarence and Warwick does not specially concern the history of the shire.

With the final struggle between the rival houses of York and Lancaster the county had little direct connexion, but at the Angel Inn at Grantham Richard III⁶ signed the death warrant of Buckingham, and Lincoln Minster witnessed the thanksgiving of Henry VII for the crowning victory of Bosworth.

¹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* 46 App. ii, 67.

² Act of Att. Rich. Welles, 14 Edw. IV.

³ On 15 March. *Paston Letters*, ii, 395.

⁴ Harl. MS. 283, fol. 2.

⁵ 'Also when my lord my fader went to London he charged me that if I understode him att eny tyme to be in jupartye I shuld with all that I might make com to socour him.' Harl. MS. 283.

⁶ Rymer, *Foedera* xii, 203.

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In the second half of the fifteenth century and the early years of that which followed we may briefly note the struggle between a secular landlord, Robert De la Launde, and his near neighbours the Hospitallers of Temple Bruer, as an illustration of a certain friction which in some instances may have led the local gentry to acquiesce with greater readiness than might have been anticipated in the spoliation of the religious houses,¹ though their dissolution was certainly one factor in the causation of the Lincolnshire rising which heralded the Pilgrimage of Grace.

This rebellion in Lincolnshire and beyond the Trent was the outcome of discontent both political and religious. The turbulent nobility of the north resented the influence of the men of low birth, whom they complained were dominant in the royal councils. Another grievance was found in the recent Statute of Uses, designed to deal with the intricacies of tenure in the interest of the crown. The landed gentry declared with some reason that they could no longer raise ready money by charges on their estates nor provide for any but their eldest sons. 'Younger brothers would none of that in no wise,' wrote the earl of Oxford to Cromwell. How bitterly the action of the statute was resented may be ascertained from the speech of Mr. Dymoke, the sheriff of Lincoln, to the insurgents at Horncastle, or the statements contained in the examination of Aske. This and other motives furnished provocation to the cadets of the gentry. The commons had other and material grievances. Grazing had become immensely profitable. Corn-land was turned into pasture, and yeomen and copyholders who had once held up their heads before their fellows were evicted² from their holdings or ousted from enjoyment of the common lands, whilst the unquiet state of the public mind was further disturbed by the interrogatories of the subsidy commissioners and strangely distorted rumours as to the imposition of parish registers.³ But the grievances of gentry and commons, however real to either class of sufferers, were no material for common or united action, and would hardly have brought about a serious rising but for the king's proceedings in the matter of religion. The Lincolnshire rebellion of 1536 was very largely an immediate outcome of the suspicions engendered by the suppression of the lesser monastic houses, and by the raising to high place of avowed adherents of the 'New Learning.' A widespread expectation was undoubtedly present that the spoliation of the religious merely formed a prelude to the pillage of parish churches. Strenuously denied by the king and his ministers, this fear was justified not many years after by the proceedings of the Edwardian reformers.

The first outbreak in Lincolnshire was at Louth, not far from Legbourne Nunnery, which in late September, 1536, was suppressed by the royal visitors. There had been premonitory symptoms of unrest, for on St. Matthew's Day a 'tall serving-man,' probably one of Cromwell's retainers from Legbourne,

¹ Arch. Inst. Proc. at Linc. (1848), 67 *sqq.*

² Inequitable enclosures would seem, however, to have had little to do with the purely Lincolnshire rising. The Rev. W. O. Massingberd, who has made a special study of the social and economic position of the small holders, kindly points out that the 'Domesday of Enclosures' (1517) reveals no injustice in Lincolnshire. The religious factor was certainly dominant in the rising, and apart from the suppression of the monasteries and the anxiety for the parish churches the facts brought out in the examination of Kendall, the vicar of Louth, and other insurgents show that there was widespread 'grudging' against the royal interference with doctrine and discipline.

³ Dep. of Henry Thornbek. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 324.

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said openly in Louth church 'that a silver dish with which they went about to beg for their church was more meeter for the king than for them, and by St. George's coat was not meet for him.'¹ The effect of this foolish speech by a servant of the commissioners may be imagined. One of the congregation 'fashioned to draw his dagger, saying that Lowthe and Lowthesk should make the king and his master such a breakfast as he never had.' On Sunday, 1 October, it became known in the parish that Hennage, appointed an examiner under the clerical commissioner, together with the chancellor of the bishop of Lincoln would reach Louth on the morrow, and that the clergy of the neighbourhood had been summoned to appear before them. At the procession after vespers in Louth church as the three silver crosses of the parish were carried forward, one Thomas Foster cried 'Our Lord speed you, for I think ye shall be taken away shortly, so that we shall never follow you more.'² Fearing that their ornaments might be delivered to the chancellor a party of the parishioners after service-time took the keys of the treasury from the churchwardens and gave them to Nicholas Melton, shoemaker, afterwards known as Captain Cobbler, while an armed guard was placed all night in the church. On the morrow the more zealous were at the church porch at nine o'clock, and at the ringing of the common bell a great concourse assembled. Melton on his way home from this gathering met Mr. John Hennage, the official of the bishop of Lincoln, who asked to speak with him privately and learn the meaning of the tumult. They entered a house together, but the mob of commons resented the secret interview and broke the windows and doors.³ So hideous was the uproar that Hennage promised to go to the church and hear the truth of the matter, and in fact was 'vigorously' dragged thither,⁴ where one Bawnus declared that their jewels and ornaments 'should be taken away.' Hennage, anxious to escape at any cost and fearing for his life, swore solemnly to be true to God, the king, and the commonalty, and was thereupon suffered to depart on the pretext of an errand to the king to know the truth.

According to Melton's deposition certain honest men would then have made proclamation to stay every one till Hennage's return, but amongst the crowd were several of the country clergy who had been summoned to the chancellor's visitation, and it was possibly on some encouragement from them that the riot took a more serious form.⁵ The chancellor had fallen ill and had been unable to reach the town, but the episcopal registrar, Mr. Frank, who acted as his clerk, had arrived with writings for the assessment of benefices and other documents, and was lodged at the 'Saracen's Head.' He was now fetched from his inn, and his books, together with sundry Protestant tracts and copies of the English New Testament, burnt at the town cross, all except the 'king's writings,' at the sight of which the

¹ Examination of Thom. Mawre. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, No. 828.

² There are some trifling discrepancies in the various versions of the exact words used. That adopted in the text is from the deposition of Melton *alias* Captain Cobbler (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 968). Foster confessed to the rather weaker form 'Go we to follow the crosses, for *and if* they be taken from us, we be like to follow them no more.' But all reports of Foster's words betray the fear of the spoliation of the parish treasure. See *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 389, &c.

³ Capt. Cobbler's Dep. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 390.

⁴ Kendall's Answer. *Ibid.* 393.

⁵ This is distinctly stated in Melton's deposition, but the confessions of men with halters round their necks must be received with some suspicion.

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commons 'put off their caps and bade God save the king,' and a book of reckonings saved by the intervention of one of the priests who were present.¹

Meanwhile two of Cromwell's servants, left at Legbourne to further the dissolution of that house, were brought to Louth and, narrowly escaping the gallows, were put first in the stocks and after in the town gaol. On the days following the unrest spread to Caistor and Rothwell, and upon the approach of the insurgents from Louth the men of Caistor refused to pay any more money to the commissioners for the subsidy who were sitting there, and the church bells rang out an alarm. From all quarters the commons, headed by their clergy, came marching in. Several gentlemen² were taken, persuaded more or less forcibly to join the ranks of the insurgents, and were compelled together with the local clergy to contribute to the war-chest of the rebels. Certain of the commissioners for the subsidy and other gentlemen, Sir Robert Tyrwhit, Sir William Askew, Sir Edward Madison, Thomas Portyngton, Sir Thomas Messyndyn, and Thomas Moigne the lawyer, were brought as prisoners to Louth, and, in danger of death, devised a letter to the king petitioning for a general pardon. This was despatched by the hand of Sir Edward Madison, early on Wednesday morning, after it had been read to the commonalty. The gentlemen had also written, doubtless under pressure, to Lord Hussey, at Sleaford, warning him to join the commons if he would not have them seek him out as an enemy. Madison was examined before the Council on 6 October, and the names and particulars mentioned by him are of interest for the light they throw on the character of the rising. The ringleaders at Caistor were one Huddiswell, a gentleman, Walter Redmere of Fulstow town, Charles Godande of Kermounde, the bailiff of Middle Rasen, Parson Skerne, a monk late of Louth Park, a priest of Elkington, the parsons of Rothewell juxta Caistor and Thurswey, Richard Curson, and Thomas Foster of Lowth, one Bawnus, William King, bailiff of Louth, Robert Browne, a shoemaker named Melton, and Robert Spencer and his brother of Louth. On the Wednesday Sir Andrew Byllesby³ and Mr. Forcette were sent for and joined the insurgents with men from Alford and the township of Rasen, whilst letters were received from Lord Hussey and the mayor of Lincoln. Attempts were now made to organize the host; paymasters appointed, and at a muster near the cross of Julian Bowre, the peasantry in arms were divided according to their respective wapentakes.

Meanwhile Horncastle had risen as well. About nine in the morning of the Tuesday after Michaelmas the common bell was rung by one Davy, a weaver, by order of William Leache, and Nicholas Leache, the parson of Belchford, his brother, reported to the parishioners in the churchyard the deeds of the men of Louth. Sir Robert Dymoke, his son Edward the sheriff, Arthur, his second son, and other gentlemen were fetched from Scrivelsby Court and sworn to the cause. Articles drawn up by the gentry on the

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 393.

² The attitude of the gentry is diversely reported. As to the religious side of the rising, they were probably sympathetic, but may have been of opinion that the outbreak was inopportune and insufficiently organized.

³ In a muster book of the reign of Henry VIII we find this entry: 'Andrew Byllesby, Knight, is charged with horse and harnes for himself and vij men whereof be archers iiij and billmen iiij, Edward Forsett, Esquier, is charged wth horse and harnes for himself and iiij men whereof be archers ij and billmen iiij.' *Misc. Books. Exch. Tr. of Rec.* 21, fol. 43.

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previous evening were on the Wednesday submitted to the insurgents by Mr. Dighton, Thomas Dymoke, and the sheriff. They demanded the restoration of the suppressed houses of religion, the remission of the subsidy, the detachment from the crown of tenths and first fruits, the repeal of the Statute of Uses, the dismissal of low-born men from the king's council, and the degradation of Cranmer, Latimer, Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and others. Now fully embarked on manifest treason the insurgents murdered the bishop's chancellor, who had been detained at Bolingbroke by sickness, and hanged his servant, Wolsey, while Edward Dymoke, the sheriff, distributed the money found in the official's purse to the more needy members of the host. By this time the local gentry were thoroughly involved in the rising, and the Dymokes at least gave it every encouragement. A banner with the arms of the late Sir Lyon Dymoke was openly displayed, but afterwards replaced by the ensign of the commons of Horncastle, which bore amongst other emblems the Five Wounds of Our Saviour. Later in the week six canons of Barlings appeared in armour amongst the rebels, much against the desire of their abbot, Dr. Mackarel,¹ and on compulsion, according to his deposition; and provisions were supplied from the abbey farm, requisitioned by Mr. Dymoke, the sheriff. Bardney, Kirkstead, and Revesby also seem to have contributed recruits to the rebel ranks; though as regards Kirkstead, the abbot who had been ordered by one of his own servants to join the host but had made excuse, was glad when his contingent returned and 'thanked God there was no business.'² The whole country-side was now ablaze with insurrection. Alarm-bells clanged from the village steeples, and beacon-fires called out gentleman and commoner in defence of the Faith. As early as Tuesday also Lincoln had risen, the palace of the hated diocesan was sacked, the assailants doing 'as much hurt as they could,' and from all quarters rebels poured into the city. On it converged the country contingents, a numerous but undisciplined and ill-equipped host.

Lord Hussey at Sleaford adopted a policy of inaction, but even if he had wished to proceed against the rebels he could, as he informed Cromwell, depend on no one if it came to fighting. All Holland and the south of the shire were at least passively disloyal, and even in the home counties men were punished for expressions of sympathy with the rebels.³ The worst feature of all, as the king with his shrewd ability instantly observed, was the easy way in which the local gentry had allowed themselves to be forced into the movement. He at once issued orders for the necessary preventive measures, whilst Richard Cromwell, on 7 October, obtained from the arsenal at the Tower great stores of arrows and other material of war. The earl of Shrewsbury summoned the levies of the Midlands to meet him at Nottingham on Monday, 9 October, whilst the duke of Suffolk advanced north to Stamford with the southern army, and was there joined on the Friday following by a train of artillery from the Tower. The king himself was preparing to take the field at the head of troops, who were to muster at Ampthill on 16 and 17 October.

Meantime, the rebels waiting at Lincoln for the king's answer to the articles drawn up at Horncastle, lost the fruits of their initiative. Supplies

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xi, 311 et seq.

² *Ibid.* 325.

³ *Ibid.* 276.

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were meagre and intermittent, the timorous feared envelopment by the southern and western armies, and, worst of all, the inevitable dissension broke out between gentry and commons. On Wednesday, 11 October, a herald had brought the royal reply to the 'rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm'—a document vigorous and unyielding, skilfully framed to suggest class division, and with all the driving power so characteristic of the king. Its communication to the people aggravated still more the growing dissensions, and by Friday, 13 October, the insurrection, as far as concerned Lincolnshire, was practically at an end. The gentry rode south to meet the duke of Suffolk and render submission. The whole array of the commons, melted away without a blow. Robert Aske, the future leader of the rebellion in Yorkshire, who had borne a subordinate part in organizing the Lincolnshire insurgents, left the county on the collapse of the rising. As he crossed the Trent he saw the glare of the beacons in the midnight sky and heard the sharp ringing of the alarm bells which were calling the north countrymen to arms. But his history does not further concern us here.

In the following spring vengeance was taken on the ringleaders of Louth and Horncastle districts which, in the opinion of Richard Cromwell, were 'better stored of arrant traitors than any towns in England.' Thomas Moigne, Guy Kyme and the abbot of Kirkstead were executed at Lincoln on Wednesday, 7 March, 1537, and others of less note at Horncastle and Louth on the Friday and Saturday following. A little later on, the 26th of the same month, the two Leaches, who had been prominent in the Horncastle rising, Brian Stone, probably the actual murderer of Chancellor Raynes, the abbot of Barlings, and George Huddeswell of Horstowe, gentleman, who had led the men of Louth, were with several others indicted of high treason before a special commission at the Guildhall, and on conviction condemned to suffer death at Tyburn. Their remains were gibbeted through the towns and villages of Lincolnshire. Lord Hussey, as the result of his inopportune lethargy, was tried by his peers for apparent complicity in the rising, condemned and beheaded. After the Louth executions Sir William Parre was able to inform the king that no shire was 'now in better quietness.'

A few years after the suppression of the Lincolnshire rebellion and the far more formidable Pilgrimage of Grace to which it formed a prelude, Henry VIII visited York to hold a personal conference with his nephew, the young king of Scotland, on the relations of the two kingdoms, and on his way passed through our county. Probably a secondary object of this progress was to test the feeling of the districts lately in revolt, and dazzle them with the spectacle of a gay and crowded court, whilst with him journeyed Queen Catherine Howard, the bride of a few months only. As the king was about to enter Lincolnshire at Stamford an awkward triangular dispute as to precedence and service arose between the corporation of Stamford, the sheriff of Northamptonshire, and the bailiff of the liberties of Peterborough. A summary decision for the occasion was decreed by the Council without prejudice to existing rights. Perhaps angered at this inopportune strife the king then passed on at once to Grimsthorpe, the house of his brother-in-law, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who had married on the death of Mary Tudor, Katherine, heiress of the line of Willoughby de Eresby. Left a widow

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she ultimately carried Grimsthorpe to the Berties by her union with Richard of that name, member of Parliament for Lincoln. On 8 August the progress was renewed to Sleaford, where the king probably occupied the forfeited manor-house of Lord Hussey, which had been almost rebuilt by its late owner, and stood without the town on its northern side. On the evening of the next day Lincoln was reached. Here, according to the charges later formulated against the queen, grave acts of misconduct were alleged to have taken place at the bishop's palace. The next stage was Gainsborough, where the only house suitable for the royal abode was the moated mansion of Lord Burgh, who had a few years before escaped so narrowly from the insurgents. Here again misconduct was alleged against the queen. After four days' rest at Gainsborough the court entered Yorkshire, crossing the Trent to Scrooby on 17 August.

The return route of King Henry early in the month of October lay across the Humber, from Hull to Barrow, and he was received in procession by the college of Thornton which he had founded, soon to share the fate of the monastery of which it was the heir. The next stopping place was Kettleby, the seat of Sir Robert Tyrwhit, brother-in-law of Lord Burgh, and allied by marriage with the Tailboys family. John Tourney, another member of the same circle, who had married a sister of Gilbert Lord Tailboys, now received the king, and from his house Henry passed to South Carlton, where he seems to have knighted the owner, Mr. Monson, who was then a very old man. On the 13th the king slept at Nocton, having probably passed a second time through the city of Lincoln. Nocton was the property of Thomas Wymbysh, who had taken to wife the only daughter of Gilbert Lord Tailboys, half-sister of Henry, duke of Richmond, the king's natural son. The close family connexion of the gentlemen honoured by the royal visit is worth notice. The king himself may be said to have entered the same family circle when not long after this progress he espoused Catherine, the widow of Sir Edward Burgh.¹ At Sleaford the Portuguese ambassador was received in audience, and soon after the king quitted the county for Northamptonshire.

The history of Lincolnshire from the death of Henry VIII to the outbreak of the Civil War is mainly concerned with the political results of recusancy, as well as the constant demands of the central government for men and money. At least as late as 1569 the gentry were in great measure favourable to the old religion; the queen's staunchest adherents showed little enthusiasm for the Anglican settlement, many magnates were described² with complete accuracy by the newly appointed bishops as 'indifferent in religion,' whilst rigid Puritanism was confined to the towns. The throne of Elizabeth owed its stability in the main to the distrust felt by many of the Roman Catholic gentry in reference to the character of the queen of Scots, and a shrewd recognition on their part of the probable effects of the heretical education of the young prince James. No document perhaps brings this out so clearly as the address³ of the knights and gentlemen of Lincolnshire to Philip of Spain, preserved at Simancas, whatever the exact authority we may allow it as an expression of the opinion of

¹ J. Hunter, in *Proc. Arch. Inst.* (Linc. Meeting, 1848), 156.

² Maitland in *Camb. Mod. Hist.* ii, 572.

³ Cited by Froude, *Hist.* ix, 547.

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the county. Thus we can in part explain the apathy and general quietude of a shire still largely favourable to Rome during the northern rising, though a certain aloofness, by no means confined to its physical situation only, has ever been a distinctive note of Lincolnshire, and its very insurrections have been curiously local.¹

In the reigns of Edward VI and Mary we have several notices of troops raised in Lincolnshire especially for service in the north, and it may be remarked that 200 foot sent² in the spring of 1549 were made up of 40 archers, 80 bills, and 80 pikemen. In July 1553, the Council thanked³ the townsmen of Sutton for their 'redynes in puttynge theymselves in force to serve the Queen's Highnes agaynst her rebels,' but later⁴ in Mary's reign, in 1558, 'some lewde disordred persones went about to sturre a commocion in the countrey,' but were promptly dealt with by Lord Willoughby. In the summer of 1557 Mary seems to have formed the design of leading an army against the Scots, or at least resolved to make ready to meet any assault from beyond the border. The country gentry were summoned to her standard and in Lincolnshire Sir Edward Dymoke received a letter⁵ bidding him prepare 10 horsemen and 100 footmen, 'one iiijth parte to be harquebuttiars or archers; one other iiijth part pykes; and the rest billes,' to be ready to attend on Her Majesty at one day's warning after 25 August. But the illstarred queen was not destined to emulate her great ancestor or see another Nevil's Cross.

In the following reign much attention was given to the county musters. In 1560⁶ the able men of Lincolnshire numbered 7,328, but those equipped only 2,262. About the time of the northern rising the Lord Admiral Clinton found that weapons and powder were needed in the county as often afterwards.⁷ In 1573 the able men were estimated⁸ at 6,000, whilst for 1,200 men there were sufficient arms belonging to the county or in private hands, so that 800 foot were selected for training under Antony Tourney, Thomas Skipwithe, Robert Carre (junior), and Nicholas Aldye, and the remaining 400 soldiers, though 'appointed to other capiteyns,' were apparently untrained. Besides these there were 100 lighthorse, 10 demilances, and 1,300 artificers and pioneers. Four years after, in 1577, the muster roll shows⁹ able men 5,384, men equipped 1,324, trained men 391, and 424 selected, but untrained. Besides 8 demilances there were 88 light horsemen, but only three of these were armed with corselet, morion, pistol, and northern staff, the remaining 85 being 'furnished in other sorte.' Wheelwrights, smiths, and pioneers reached a total of 508. For the infantry 509 calivers, and the same number of morions were provided, also 422 long-bows with sheaves of arrows, 210 pikes, 237 black bills, 189 Almain rivetts, 37 coats of plate, and 553 sallets and steel caps. By the year 1580 the numbers¹⁰ mustered in the

¹ The constant pressure of the fines for recusancy kept disaffection alive, but gradually eliminated from the county all but the most wealthy and staunch of the gentry who still clung to the old faith, although as late as the end of the sixteenth century Lord Burghley declared that in respect to recusancy, part of Lincolnshire was more dangerous than the worst part of Yorkshire (S. P. Dom. Eliz. cclxxiv, 10). A Spanish view of the political and military bearings of recusancy in the county will be found in *Cal. S. P. Spain*, iii, 603.

² S. P. Dom. Edw. VI, Add. iii, 26b.

⁴ Ibid. vi, 336.

⁶ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xiii, 53.

⁸ Ibid. xci, 39.

³ *Acts P. C.* iv, 301.

⁵ *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 77, and cf. S. P. Dom. Mary, xi, 32, 33.

⁷ Ibid. lix, 26.

⁹ Ibid. cxviii, 52.

¹⁰ Ibid. cxxxviii, 8.

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parts of Holland had fallen off, partly owing to the 'deluge' in the twelfth year of the queen's reign, and partly from the lack of resident gentry.

Lincolnshire was not exempt from the drain of men for Flanders and elsewhere. In 1581, 100 recruits were ordered¹ to be sent to Chester and there shipped for service in Ireland, whilst in August, 1585, the justices of Lindsey² were bidden to provide their share of the 150 men who formed the Lincoln quota for Flanders, to place them under the charge of Mr. John Borough, while each man is to have his cassock and Venetian hose of red cloth, twenty shillings for conduct money, and twelve pence a day till they come to Hull. In the spring of the next year we hear of a letter³ from the lords of the Council to 'George Carleton, Thomas Bendiche, and John Colvile, Esquiours, to be aiding and assisting to the berer hereof, Thomas Gray, in the providing and impresting xij or xvj, Scatchemen or Stiltmen in the countie of Lincolne, to be chosen of the best able and most experte men that are to be found, furnished with either of them two paire of the highest stiltes at the least, and the longest poles that are or maie be used with the said stiltes to be sent over into the Low Contryes to the Erle of Leicester, to be employed for some necessarie uses in the present services there.' And again, in June 1587,⁴ 300 men were ordered to be levied in the county for the Low Countries.

Already in 1586 preparations were being made against threatened invasion, and the earl of Rutland had been active in organizing the armed forces of the shire, disarming Papists and preparing beacons. The captains of trained bands in Lindsey, in February, 1586, were Geo. St. Paul, Wm. Wray, John Savile, and Denzill Hollis; in Kesteven, Bartholomew Armine and Charles Hussey, senior; in Holland, Robert Carre, junior, and Richard Ogle. A concluding note of the earl's report is worth citing. 'For the 300 or 400 shot on horsbacke uppon conference with the gentlemen I see not how the country can furnishe them, considering the finding of Launces, light horses and horses for petronelles required, exept with draught-horses, which are but fewe in respect *the cariages of that country standeth most by oxen.*'⁵ Early in the spring of 1587, Geo. Constable⁶ was sent down to the county as muster master, and Valentine Browne and Charles Bowles were appointed captains of trained bands in place of Savile and Hollis already mentioned. The autumn returns⁷ of 1587 show a muster of 11,154 able but unequipped men, including pioneers, and 3,024 footmen furnished with weapons. Demilances were 32, and light horses 189. Lindsey provided 800 trained men and Kesteven 400. In Holland 300 men had been selected, but were without training. The proportion of musketeers to archers in this select 1,500 was 708 to 369, the 'armed men,' who were presumably to a large extent pikemen, numbering 423. A return⁸ belonging to the spring of the next year shows us 6,400 able men, 2,150 furnished with arms, and 1,500 trained soldiers, of whom 690 were armed with calivers, 438 with bows, whilst 372 were probably pikemen. No bills are mentioned. But the carelessness or parsimony as to stores, so continuously inherent in English military policy, is marked by an absence of

¹ *Acts P.C.* xiii, 45.

² *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* clxxxi, 33,

³ *Acts P.C.* xiv, 75.

⁴ *Ibid.* xv, 119.

⁵ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* clxxxvi, 307.

⁶ *Ibid.* cxcix, 71.

⁷ *Ibid.* cciv, 36.

⁸ Harl. MS. 168 (B.M.), fol. 168.

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powder, matches and bullets. The cavalry, including 150 light horse, 91 petronels, and 38¹ lances, were under the command of Charles Dymoke. Lincolnshire was too far removed from the great storm-centre of the crisis of 1588 to be so directly affected as were the counties of the south coast; but when in August, 1588, reinforcements were ordered for the north to join the earl of Huntingdon, the quota for the county was 700 foot and 30 horse,² whilst in the spring of the next year it was called on to furnish 200 oxen for fresh meat for the navy.³ There was probably at this time not a ship above 100 tons burden at either Boston or Grimsby,⁴ and beyond the liability of its mariners for enforced service afloat, Lincolnshire in spite of its extensive seaboard played little part at this period in the naval history of England. Complaints had been made, however, some years before⁵ that the men of Grimsby and other havens received pirates' spoil, 'which was distracted into the possession of sondrie inhabitants thereabouts.'

There can be little doubt that the musters for Lincolnshire during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign were defective and inefficient, and this was all the more serious, as in case of invasion they were depended on for the reinforcement of the East Anglian maritime counties.⁶ A few years after the defeat of the Armada an officer of experience resident in Kesteven was so impressed with the shortcomings which every muster and training revealed, that he drew up a proposal,⁷ or 'platforme,' for the voluntary training of the 'willing, forward, and martiall mynded youthe' of the district. He complains of 'the greate wantes in manye of our contremen farr above others, being never exercised or experienced in any thinge belonginge to martiall dissipyne, for no contrey that I knowe hath lesse use daylie than ours hath eyther of bowe, gunne, or any other warlike weapon; and being not enewred, they are grown to a wonderful sluggish fearfulness, in so much that (as the proverbe is) it is as easie to draw a beare to a stake (i.e. for baiting) as to bring a rude Lincolnshier man without auctorite to these exercises.' It is evident that the grievous deficiencies in the county forces were also about this time exercising the responsible authorities. In September, 1595, the deputy-lieutenants, Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Edward Dymoke, informed⁸ Lord Burghley that 'there were many wants which are reasonably supplied but not so fully as will content your lordship.' Especially were arms lacking. 'The country greatly excuse themselves by the armour and shot sent into France⁹ with Mr. now Lord Cromwell and Mr. Morgan, which amounted to above 200, none of which has been returned.' Soon after Captain Buck was dispatched to Lindsey, and Captain Sims to Holland and Kesteven to reorganize the trained bands. The fruit of their labours was seen in the following month. In the Lindsey¹⁰ contingent all bows were by Captain Buck's advice exchanged for 'swords, muskets and calivers, which makes the

¹ Stowe MS. 570 (B.M.), fol. 238; Harl. MS. 168, gives '30' as the number.

² *Acts P.C.* xvi, 231.

³ *Ibid.* xviii, 391.

⁴ Cf. Return of 1576, in Stowe MS. 570, fol. 139, and S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cxxxviii, 60.

⁵ *Acts P.C.* xi, 65.

⁶ *Ibid.* xi, 381, and cf. S.P. Dom. Eliz. cclxxii, 42.

⁷ *Proc. Arch. Inst.* (Linc. Meeting 1848), 159.

⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* ccliii, 100, p. 98

⁹ There was a levy of 300 from the county ordered to ship at Hull by 14 July, 1591. Cf. *Acts of P.C.* xxi, 221, and S.P. Dom. Eliz. 28 June, 1591, cccxxix, 60.

¹⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* ccliv, 15, p. 109.

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bands much fairer and stronger than heretofore'; whilst Sir Edward Dymoke also has now no bows to certify¹ for Kesteven and Holland, as 'they have all been converted into calivers by Captain Sims' direction.' The complement of trained foot in these two divisions of the shire now reached 700 (245 corslets, 350 calivers, 105 bills), besides 72 muskets the voluntary charge of the county, and 330 men equipped but untrained. Charles Dymoke led a troop of 24 lances, whilst 50 light horse mustered under the charge of Captain Edward Carr. In place of Richard Ogle, Mr. Read had been admitted captain. On the whole it was a very creditable muster of efficient men for the smaller parts of the shire; and again at the very end of the queen's reign² we catch a glimpse of Captain Berry *en route* for Ireland, but detained at Chester waiting for 200 Lincolnshire men who were due to join the troops he had already enlisted.

Early in the reign of James I the general muster³ for the county of Lincoln showed 8,000 able men, 4,000 armed, 353 pioneers, 45 demi-lances and 200 light horse, while the city of Lincoln contributed 226 able men, 120 armed, 40 pioneers, and 10 light horse. Our limit of space forbids any further detailed account of the local levies, but in 1620 the earl of Rutland certified⁴ that he had seen to the provision of sufficient arms that those who were without might purchase them at once. He had also insisted that the persons charged should themselves serve in the trained bands instead of shifting the responsibility on their servants. Two years later he declared⁵ both city and county to be well-armed and provided both with horse and foot, but regrets his inability to make any further addition of new forces, as he had formerly done, 'but at this tyme the want of money is such in theis partes togeather with the fall of all manner of commodities exceptinge graine as will not suffer any further charge to be laid upon the inhabitants in this behalfe.' The fall in the price of wool had disastrously affected Lincolnshire farmers, and Sir Ralph Maddison of Fonaby wrote⁶ with prophetic instinct that this impoverishment of all trades and handicrafts was the 'mother of rebellion, every man being ready to strike the next above him or about him.'

The growth of Puritanism as well as the abuses of purveyance, and the demands for money of the central government, united with an unfavourable economic situation in creating an atmosphere of discontent especially in the parts of Holland, the special home of the small freeholder and yeoman. The loan raised after the defeat of the Armada was well subscribed,⁷ but even in the reign of Elizabeth there had been troubles in respect to purveyance and complaints of the action of royal officers, whilst the 'sinistre dealinge' of contractors sometimes exposed the responsible justices to causeless obloquy of the common folk and touched their credit with their good neighbours.⁸ In the reign of Charles I the forced loan of 1627 was met in Lincolnshire by a vigorous resistance and several ringleaders were imprisoned, the earl of Lincoln being sent to the Tower.⁹ But we are unable here to do more than

¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccliv, 31.

² Stowe MS. (B. M.), 574, fol. 26.

³ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxvii, 65.

⁴ *England's Looking In and Out*, p. 21. The first edition known was printed in 1640.

⁵ List in *Linc. N. and Q.* ii, 131.

⁶ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, lvi, 39, and lviii, 85.

⁷ Ibid. cclxxxiv, 21, 30 May, 1602.

⁸ Ibid. cxxxii, 66.

⁹ Cf. S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxx, 5, 29, and 54.

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allude to these grievances and add a few details on the collection of ship money.

In 1635 the mayors of Lincoln, Boston, Grimsby, and the aldermen of Stamford and Grantham reported¹ to the Council their assessment of £8,000 charged on the county for the equipment of a ship of war. They assessed £200 upon the city of Lincoln, £3,900 upon the parts of Lindsey, and £3,900 upon Kesteven and Holland, the use being that Kesteven shall bear four parts of seven, which amounted to £2,228 12s., and Holland the other three, amounting to £1,671 9s., with various minute subdivisions according to ancient custom. The assessment of Grimsby is £20, of Boston £70, Stamford £53 7s. 4d., and Grantham with the soke £159 4s. Apparently a suggestion² had been made earlier to give a far larger share to Boston, which protested vigorously, alleging the decay of the port, and begging that it might be released from the service as in 1588, when the port was in a more flourishing state. As a result of this petition the above-mentioned assessment was doubtless made. It is impossible to trace with any particularity the results of the various levies of the impost, but this may be said, that from the first there was difficulty in getting it in. Sir Christopher Wray declared³ that he neither had paid nor would he pay even a groat, although his assessment was but small, and Mr. Ogle and other gentlemen were equally recalcitrant. In 1637 Sir Edward Hussey reported⁴ that coercion would be necessary, 'there being many and greate men that refuse.' The hundred of Elloe⁵ was particularly refractory, and its chief constables were summoned before the Privy Council, and forced to give a bond of £500 to the king to get in the money. In addition there were constant grievances as to malpractices by the sheriff's agents and even the sheriff himself. Complaint⁶ was made in respect to the first levy that Sir Walter Norton had assessed the county for £8,924 2s. in payment of £8,000; that he had passed his account for £7,721 17s. 6d. and had received £778 2s. 6d. more than he passed his account for, besides £170 in bribes, confessed by his chief agents, for sparing wealthy men to the detriment of the poor. Norton made a vigorous defence,⁷ demanded inquiry, and thought no man living would hold him so base as to have done what was alleged. He appealed to the king to weigh his whole life and carriage with that of his accusers, his constant service with 'there backwardnes and crossnes to his royall prerogative, treading a parliament way.' His successors Pelham and Hussey had similar difficulties with collectors and contributors, whilst later in the autumn of 1638 Sir Anthony Irby complained⁸ wearily of the obstacles he met with and the backwardness of the chief constables in distraining the goods of defaulters. Thomas Grantham, sheriff, in the following March found things no better, and declared⁹ that as to the £500 he had already collected, most had only been got under distress. In Holland, at least, sullen discontent was ripening to a harvest of civil war. From this

¹ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cxcvii, 10.

² Ibid. ccvi, 50. A return of 1628 only shows eleven ships at this port, of which the two largest were only of 70 tons burden. Grimsby was also so decayed as to possess but one boat of 30 tons. Ibid. cxxxviii, 60.

³ Ibid. cccxxi, 26.

⁴ Ibid. ccclii, 67.

⁵ Ibid. cclvi, 44, and ccclvii, 120, 125, and 145.

⁶ Ibid. cccxxii, 68.

⁷ Ibid. 26.

⁸ Ibid. cccxcix, 13.

⁹ Ibid. ccccxv, 33.

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district were recruited many of the sturdy yeomen and grave burghers who found a home in New England. Isaac Johnson, Atherton Hough a former mayor, and Thomas Leverett an alderman of Boston, were leaders in the little band of early colonists of Massachusetts, and a second Boston grew in vigour across the Atlantic.

The actual fighting of the Civil War was preceded by a conflict of proclamations, directions and counter-directions to local authorities, and the publication by king and parliament of every item of news which might serve their own cause or discredit their opponents.¹ A significant example may be cited in the *Humble Petition of Captain William Booth of Killingholme*,² and the answering *Declaration of the House of Commons in Vindication of Divers Members of their House from a False and Scandalous Pamphlet*.³ Lord Willoughby of Parham, in June, 1642, was holding a review of militia at Caistor contrary to the king's proclamation, and Captain Booth, who had been named in the commission of array, scoffed at his efforts, 'There was a brave appearance of the trained bands at Lincoln of some fifteen or sixteen.' As a consequence the royalist was arrested and disarmed, 'to his great disgrace in the presence of his own Souldiers.' According to the narrative of the captain, which was possibly not rigidly exact, Sir Christopher Wray, 'who called himself captain of the said company which your petitioner commands under your Majestie,' not only termed the king's proclamation a seditious pamphlet, but added that they 'came thither neither to dispute the law nor to be taught the law, nor did value the law, but must observe the Orders of the House.'

After his failure to gain admittance at Hull, the king had visited Lincoln and encouraged resistance to the militia ordinance, whilst many gentlemen of the shire, especially in the parts of Lindsey and Kesteven, offered horsemen for his service. The royal commission of array⁴ for Lincoln was addressed to the earl of Lindsey, a veteran of the Dutch wars whom Charles had made commander-in-chief, to the earl of Newcastle, Viscount Newark, Sir Francis Fane, Sir Peregrine Bertie, and many knights and gentlemen of the county. It is impossible to work out fully here the political complexion of the chief local families or trace their fortunes. But this much may be said: The Dymokes, Heneages, and Thorolds were consistently loyal and suffered accordingly. Sir John Monson went with the king, but a younger representative of the house helped to bring him to the scaffold. The Andersons of Manby were royalist and heavily fined under Cromwell, but Edmund Anderson of Lea served in 1643 on a committee of the Parliament. By the Restoration he had turned his face towards the rising sun and was created a baronet. Among the families active for the Parliament and led by Lord Willoughby of Parham, may be mentioned the Wrays of Glentworth, the Massingberds of Ormsby and Gunby, the Armynes of Osgodby, and the Whichcots of Harpswell, while Colonel Rossiter of Somerby was a well-known figure on the same side during the closing scenes of the war. Although Lindsey was largely royalist in sympathy, the outlying Isle of Axholme followed the Sheffields of Butterwick and Normanby who had

¹ B. M. pressmark 669f⁵/₈, and others in same volume; also Grange, *List of Civil War Tracts*.

² B. M. pressmark E. 154 (38).

³ Hotten, *Topography and Family History* (1863), 140.

⁴ Add. MS. 6118, fol. 429 (B. M.).

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declared for the Parliament, whilst in the south of the county the Puritan yeomanry of Holland were no lovers of the prerogative, and amongst the gentry the Irbys at Boston, with representatives of the Custs, Pureys, Walcotts, and Trollopes, might be found in the same camp. Papist recusants to a man were of necessity for the king.¹

If for no other reason, Lincolnshire would be memorable in the history of the Civil War as the field where Cromwell's military genius first received public recognition. In the early spring of 1643 the royalist garrison of Newark, with the Lindsey cavaliers controlled the large part of the county outside the walls of Lincoln and Boston, or the districts round Stamford and Spalding. About Lady Day raiders from Crowland carried off the Rev. Robert Ram and some Parliamentary sympathizers from Spalding, but Cromwell, who had crushed the last traces of active royalism in the counties of the Eastern Association, was now marching north. Crowland had been put in a state of defence, and the royalist works were strong and well lined with musketeers, 'backed with store of hassock knives, long sithes, and such like fennish weapons,' whilst in their front was 'a great water both broad and deep.' The Puritan prisoners enjoyed a fearsome experience, being placed in the forefront of the battle and exposed to the fire of their own friends, but nevertheless found opportunity to observe the conduct of Mr. Styles, the minister of Crowland, of whose activity on the royalist side they rather unkindly remark, 'If fearful oathes be the character of a good souldier he may well passe muster.' After a sharp fight the Parliament troops captured the place and rescued the men of Spalding, who, sore at the losses of their friends, charged the royalists with using bullets 'champt² and poisoned.'

Suggestions made at this time for combined action between Lord Grey of Groby, the commander of the Association troops, Sir John Gell at Nottingham, and the Lincolnshire gentry, led to very little. Local jealousies, the presence at Lincoln of the younger Hotham, and Grey's determination to stand by Leicester, offer sufficient explanation. Towards the middle of May a sharp combat near Grantham on the Newark road revealed in Cromwell a skilled leader of horse, and in the eastern yeomanry troopers of mettle. The royalists were in force, one and twenty troops; on the Parliament side twelve only, 'whereof some so poor and broken that you shall seldom see worse.' For half an hour or more the 'dragooners' on either side kept up a fusillade, and when the Cavaliers showed signs of advance, Cromwell met offensive with offensive and charged. Firing their pistols in the faces of their foes his troopers dashed forward, and the enemy broke in rout. Forty-five prisoners and several colours were taken.³ It has been well said⁴ that 'the whole fortune of the Civil War was in that nameless skirmish.'

¹ For further details see Maddison, *Lincolnshire Wills*, and W. O. Massingberd in *Ancestor*, No. 7 (1903). In the Calendar of MSS. of House of Lords (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. i) there is quoted a 'Memorial concerning Sir William Armyne to be considered when the Viscount Campden makes his composition at Guild Hall.' According to this, on 11 June, 1643, 'Viscount Campden's forces came to Sir William Armyne's house at Osgodby, and plundered it of goods and writings, taking away what they liked best, drove off sheep and cattle, destroyed his park, and killed and drove out his deer, and since then his tenants have been made prisoners, and large sums taken from them, by which Sir William Armyne and his tenants are damnified at least £500.'

² i.e. 'jagged by biting,' *Divers Remarkable Passages*, E. 109, 34 (B.M.).

³ Carlyle, *Cromwell's L. and S.* i, 149, and B.M. pressmark E. 104, 12 (3).

⁴ Gardiner, *Civil War*, i, 143.

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On 18 June, the younger Hotham, who was justly suspected of correspondence with the enemy, was arrested and conveyed to Nottingham Castle, but found means to escape to Lincoln, and thereafter angrily complaining of Cromwell's interference with him, proceeded to his father at Hull. Meanwhile Queen Henrietta reported to her husband that 'young Hotham hath sent to me that he would cast himself into my arms, and that Hull and Lincoln shall be rendered.'¹ His purpose was not destined to find fulfilment. In Hull the mayor and townsmen promptly arrested both father and son, and sent them by sea to London, while an attempt on Lincoln the first Sunday in July, by a detachment from Newark, aided by treachery within the city, proved abortive. Threescore Cavaliers disguised as country folk had been admitted and sheltered in the deanery, but though on sallying out to seize the magazine they did some execution, a lucky shot from a cannon slew several, the rest were overpowered, and the expectant Newarkers outside retreated.²

Nearly three weeks after, Lord Willoughby of Parham surprised Gainsborough, a position of great strategic importance, thus interposing between Newcastle and the garrison of Newark, and at the same time barring the road to Lincoln. The recapture of the place was thus essential to the Royalists, who did their utmost to interrupt water communication with Hull, and actually shot dead,³ in the cabin of a pinnace, one of their own men, the earl of Kingston, who was being conveyed thither as a prisoner for greater security. Cromwell, who had just stormed Burghley House, hastened to Willoughby's assistance with horse and dragoons, being joined on the way by Meldrum from Nottingham, and at North Scarle by a detachment from the garrison of Lincoln. In the early hours of 28 July they met the horsemen of Newcastle's army under Charles Cavendish, a son of the earl of Devonshire, who were stationed rather northward of Lea on the Gainsborough road, at the edge of a sandy heath only to be reached by a steep ascent rotten with rabbit-holes. The Lincoln men, who were elated with their success in the preliminary skirmishes, first reached the top, and supported by the Nottingham force, charged the main body of the Cavaliers and drove them five or six miles in headlong rout. Cromwell had noted, however, that Cavendish's reserve was not engaged, but waiting to fall upon the victors when scattered and blown. He therefore kept back some troops of his regiment from the chase, and when the Royalist leader drove off the exhausted Lincoln men, Cromwell charged him in the rear and forced the Cavaliers down a steep slope into a morass, where the gallant Cavendish was slain by Cromwell's captain-lieutenant 'with a thrust under the short ribs,' while Colonel Heron, high sheriff of Lincolnshire, and others, were forced into the Trent and drowned.

Victuals and powder were hastily thrown into Gainsborough, and this was hardly done when the enemy were signalled approaching from the north. A Parliament force sallied from the town to meet them, and found themselves face to face with the whole of Newcastle's army. The foot soon fell into disorder, and fled back into the town. The retreat of the cavalry was managed by Cromwell in a masterly fashion, though both men and horses

¹ Queen to King, June 27, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 221.

² Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* v, 277.

³ *Ibid. ut supra*, 278.

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were tired out with the fighting earlier in the day. Slowly, troop by troop, daring the enemy to their teeth, the horsemen retired, and with considerable loss.¹ A cavalry as disciplined as courageous had at last been trained, and was wielded by a consummate soldier. No wonder a contemporary writer remarks²: 'This was the beginning of his (Cromwell's) great fortunes, and now he began to appear in the world.'

Cromwell now fell back before superior forces, leaving Gainsborough to its fate. On 30 July it surrendered to Newcastle. Willoughby abandoned Lincoln and retired on Boston, his ranks thinned by constant desertion. The danger was imminent. A bold move by Newcastle might brush aside the defenders of Boston and Peterborough, open a way into the counties of the Eastern Association and threaten London itself. 'It's no longer disputing, Cromwell warned³ the Cambridge committee, 'you must act lively; do it without distraction. Neglect no means.' He himself, obliged to retreat from Stamford, sent his foot to Spalding to assist Willoughby and establish communication. His horse marched to Peterborough where he had fixed his head quarters. On 9 and 10 August Parliament took measures for raising fresh troops in the eastern counties, and Manchester received a commission as major-general to obviate the paralysis of local jealousies, while authorization was granted for the pressing of men. And further, on the 20th of the following month, Lincolnshire was by an ordinance of Parliament attached to the Eastern Association.⁴

Meanwhile Manchester was engaged in the siege of Lynn,⁵ which had declared for Charles, and as a large force of cavalry was unnecessary for this operation, Cromwell was despatched north, and not only succeeded in throwing ammunition and arms into the besieged town of Hull and relieving the garrison of their superfluous horses, but also, by the diversion he caused, enabled Sir Thomas Fairfax to cross the Humber into Lincolnshire a little later, on 26 September, with the cavalry, twenty troops in all, still remaining in the town. After a perilous march through the enemy's country, Cromwell on his return reached Holland in safety.⁶

On 16 September Lynn surrendered, and the Parliamentary commanders were free to combine for other enterprises, though the scarcity of money hampered rapid and efficient action. On 9 October Bolingbroke Castle, which was held for the king, was summoned, in Manchester's name, but the governor returned answer that 'bugbear words must not win castles nor should make them quit the place.' Manchester soon after arrived in person, and joined Fairfax and Cromwell. On the evening of the day following an advanced party⁷ of Fairfax's horse was driven in by some Royalist cavalry, commanded by Sir John Henderson, the governor of Newark. In this skirmish 'Cavendish' was the watchword of the Cavaliers, 'Religion' of the Parliamentarians. Emboldened by this partial success Henderson, on Wednesday morning, 11 October, made a determined effort to relieve the garrison of Bolingbroke. Manchester drew out his troops to meet the enemy; the numbers on either side were nearly equal, but the horses of Cromwell and

¹ Carlyle, *Cromwell's L. and S.* 159; Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* v, 278.

² Whitlocke, *Mem.* (1682), 68.

³ Letter, Aug. 6, Carlyle, *op. cit.* i, 164.

⁴ *Lord's Journals*, vi, 224.

⁵ 'A Relation of the Siege of King's Lynn,' E. 67, 28 (B.M.).

⁶ Carlyle, *ut supra*, i, 176; Rushworth, *op. cit.* v, 280. 'A True Relation from Hull,' E. 69, 13.

⁷ Vicars, *God's Ark* (1646), 43.

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Fairfax, worn with the hard riding of the preceding month. The Parliament watchword was now 'Peace and Truth,' whilst the Cavaliers adopted that of 'Newcastle.' Manchester's cavalry met the enemy near Winceby, a little hamlet close to Horncastle. As often afterwards, the Puritan horsemen sung their battle-psalm, and after the dragoons had fired a few volleys broke into the charge, Vermuyden leading the forlorn hope and Cromwell the van. The future protector had a horse shot under him, and as he struggled to his feet was a second time knocked down by a Royalist gentleman, Sir Ingram Hopton. Quickly recovering he leapt on the horse of a trooper, and was in the *mêlée* again. So fierce had been the shock of the Puritan onset that the enemy, forced back on their supports, threw these also into confusion, and a second charge by Fairfax, with Manchester's reserve, turned the combat to a rout, the Royalist fugitives galloping through Horncastle, and then scattering over the country, whilst many a horse and rider escaped their pursuers only to be drowned in the swamps along the Witham.¹ The combat had been almost entirely an affair of cavalry; Manchester's foot had no part in completing the Royalist rout. A soldier of the Parliament who was present noted,² amongst the stripped bodies of the dead, 'some fair and white skins, both upon the place where the fight was and in the highway much farther off,' and he drew the inference that men of note and gentle blood had fallen. Amongst them were Sir Ingram Hopton and Sir George Bowles; the total Cavalier loss in killed was about 1,000, in prisoners not much less, whilst 35 colours were taken. Two contemporary statements throw a vivid light on this and other defeats of the king. Mortally wounded Royalists were heard to declare³ 'The Commission of Array brought us hither full sore against our wills; we were as true servants to the Parliament and our religion and liberties as any in England, and woe to those that were the cause that Lincoln and Yorkshire became a prey to the enemy; we die as true friends to the Parliament as any.' The verdict⁴ of Sir William Widdrington on the Puritan horse, contained in a dispatch to the earl of Newcastle, was equally significant: 'Their horse are very good and extraordinarily armed, and may be reported to be betwixt 50 and 60 troops, being very strong.' Whilst the Royalist remnant sought refuge at Newark, the Puritan chronicler summed up the issues of the action: 'Yorkshire is discouraged, Lincolnshire is delivered, Cambridge is secured.'⁵

The siege of Hull had been raised by Newcastle on 12 October. Eight days later Lincoln surrendered to Manchester, and the pacification of Lincolnshire now begun was rendered easier by the king's policy of bringing Roman Catholic troops from Ireland.⁶ Yet early in the next year the Parliament was obliged to devote attention to patching up the quarrel between Manchester and Lord Willoughby of Parham, whom he had superseded. In March local quarrels were, for the moment, forgotten in the onslaught of Prince Rupert, who raised the siege of Newark, whilst Gainsborough was abandoned by its garrison, and Lincoln, Sleaford, and Crowland fell into

¹ *The Scottish Dove*, E 75, 24 (B.M.). The sepulchral inscription of Sir Ingram Hopton in Horncastle church bears witness to his encounter with Cromwell, 'the attempt of seizing the arch-rebel.' There are also preserved above the north-east door of the church certain scythes, which according to tradition were borne by foot soldiers at Winceby Fight.

² 'A True Relation of the First Fight,' E. 71, 5 (B.M.).

³ Vicars, *God's Ark* (1646), 47.

⁵ *The Weekly Account*, E. 71, 18 (ii) (B.M.).

⁴ Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* v, 282.

⁶ *The Scottish Dove*, E. 75, 24 (B.M.).

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Royalist hands. But Rupert was forced to raise men and contributions in Wales, his men went back to their garrisons, and the Parliamentarians soon recovered what they had lost. On 6 May Manchester stormed the Close of Lincoln,¹ and the place was taken in about half an hour. Seven hundred private soldiers were captured, and considerable ordnance and ammunition. Besides the Governor, Sir Francis Fane, Sir Charles Dalison and Colonels Midlemore and Baudes were among the prisoners. The remaining history of the Civil War, as it affects Lincolnshire, is mainly contained in the exploits of the garrison of Newark, who were a constant menace to Lindsey and Kesteven and the borders of Holland as long as the Royalist stronghold held out. In June, 1645, Colonel Rossiter, who was then in command in the county, was summoned to join Cromwell at Naseby,² and his arrival on the right at the opening of the battle, gave the Parliamentary troops an overwhelming numerical superiority. After the battle he returned to his old duty of watching Newark, which did not surrender till the May of the next year. Our last notice of the Civil War in Lincolnshire may be found in the year 1648, when a recruiting party for the king were surprised and overwhelmed³ near Stamford by Colonel Waite. And the name of Stamford may remind us that two years before, at the house of Mr. Wolph, the king slept, on 3 May, 1646, when travelling to the Scots camp, the last night he may be said to have passed as a free man.⁴

With the end of the Civil War we take leave of the more stirring features of the political history of the county, and there is little afterwards to engage our attention but its electoral record and military associations. The story of the gradual draining of the fens of Axholme and Holland with the enclosure of common land, and the troubles thence arising, belongs rather to the social and economic province. In the reign of Charles II, as at an earlier and later period, Lincolnshire and its maritime population contributed to the naval history of the country, though the prisoners of the press-gang were not always appreciative of the honour of serving His Majesty afloat; and in 1672 it was reported⁵ from Whitby: 'Some are run away with the maintenance and impress money, who merit the gaol for example's sake, and others have absconded themselves unworthily, as in Hull many lusty men.'

Fines for recusancy and delinquency ruined the Roman Catholic landowners, and there is little evidence in 1715 or 1745 of the associated Jacobitism, which was still a living spontaneous force in the early eighteenth century among many gentry and yeomen of the dales and the border. Some sympathy with the exiled family there probably was amongst the older Tories, and at the county election of 1723 Sir Neville Hickman drank the health of the king over the water, and so occasioned a considerable defection amongst his own supporters. But a devotion only apparent under the stimulus of the wine-cup was harmless to the Hanoverian government, and a mere parody of the high enterprise of Derwentwater and the northern men. The arrival of the army of Prince Charles Edward at Derby during the rising of 1745 caused considerable alarm in the country, and measures were taken by some of the gentry for local defence. On 1 December of that year,

¹ 'True Relation,' E. 47, 2 (B.M.).

³ Rushworth, viii, 145.

⁵ S.P. Dom. Chas. II, cccxii, 156, and cf. cccviii, 73.

² Gardiner, *Civil War*, ii, 247.

⁴ Add. MS. (B.M.), 5886.

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a rumour ran through Lincoln that the rebels were approaching, the drums beat to arms, and it is said that numbers of people even buried their money and jewels in the ground. Again, after Culloden, some of the prisoners taken were brought through Lincoln on their way to the south.

Something has already been said in respect to the early evidence of parliamentary representation in Lincolnshire, and a few scattered notes are all that can be added. In comparison with the anomalous, and at times curiously restricted franchises of the towns, the counties, with their forty-shilling freeholders, often in the two centuries preceding the first Reform Bill, indicated at national crises the trend of popular feeling. But on ordinary occasions the influence of the great families of the shire was preponderant as, for example, in Lincolnshire that of the Berties in the early eighteenth century. On the question of Dr. Sacheverel, it is interesting to notice that the county members were divided, Peregrine Lord Willoughby de Eresby, the eldest son of the first duke of Ancaster, voting for the doctor, whilst George Whichcot, of Harpswell, who had been mainly returned by the Whig freeholders of Axholme, voted against him.¹ In 1832 the county was divided into a northern and southern division, each returning two members; in 1867-8 the number of members for the shire was raised to six by the addition of a Mid-Lincoln Division; whilst in 1884-5 a further re-arrangement divided the county into seven single-member constituencies, West Lindsey or Gainsborough, North Lindsey or Brigg, East Lindsey or Louth, South Lindsey or Horncastle, North Kesteven or Sleaford, South Kesteven or Stamford, and Holland or Spalding, and at the same time the country labourer was enabled, for the first time, in some measure, to take his proper place in returning representatives to the House of Commons.

The city of Lincoln retained its double representation till the last Reform Bill of 1884-5, when it lost one member. Before 1832, in an electorate composed of freemen not averse to guineas, there was often a good deal of bribery and corruption. The election of April, 1754, was long remembered as one of the worst in this respect. The final figures were Hon. George Monson, 635, John Chaplin, 617, and Robert Cracroft, 437. It is said that no one took the oath against bribery and corruption but Alderman Davies, and after the declaration the defeated candidate published a list of more than 200 men who, pledged to him, had actually voted for his opponents, overcome no doubt by golden persuasions.

Boston does not seem to have returned members to the regular parliaments of the realm till the reign of Henry VIII. In the sixteenth century the burgesses were particularly anxious to be represented by members content to waive their claim for expenses, after an experience they suffered with a Mr. Nauton, who sued the town for his fees, and only compromised the case on receiving 20 nobles.² In 1621, the earls of Exeter and Lincoln were both interfering in the election, and the mayor was directed to write excuses to these noblemen for declining their nominees. In this century the usual disputes arose as to the character of the franchise, and in 1661 there was a double return, Lord Willoughby and Sir Antony Irby being elected by the party who limited the franchise to the freemen, whilst Sir Philip Harcourt and Mr. Thorey, the mayor, were the nominees of those advocating the

¹ *Linc. N. and Q.* iii, 211.

² Thompson, *Boston*, 499.

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wider extension of the electorate. Lord Willoughby was permitted to take his seat, and in 1663 the Committee of Privileges reported that the inhabitants if they were not freemen had no voices in the election, and that accordingly Sir Anthony Irby was duly elected.¹ It may be mentioned that up to 1826 the elections were held in the parish church, and only after the contest of that year were removed to a more suitable place. The last election before the first Reform Bill created much excitement, the final figures² being, Neil Malcolm (junr.), Tory, 337; John Wilks (Whig), 294, and C. K. Tunnard, 186. Wilks declared, in a speech to the electors,

I relied upon the unbought and unbuyable suffrages of the middling and lower classes of the freemen of the borough. And backed by these I dared all the combination of Mayor, Aldermen, Common Councilmen, Gaolers, Officers, and even the Gentleman who carries the silver oar.

Mr. Malcolm left the Peacock Inn after the polling in a very elegant canopied chair covered with pink and white drapery, and Mr. Wilkes immediately after ascended a car on wheels with springs, supporting a chair and canopy ornamented with blue silk and silver fringe. Mr. Tunnard, however, whose supporters displayed orange favours, significantly observed, whilst declaring that his nomination was against his desire, 'I had no intention of offering myself to the notice of the electors of Boston because I could not afford it, and this I am not ashamed of repeating to you face to face.' At this election the number of voters was 559, whilst at the first after the passage of the Act of 1832 the electorate had increased to 788. At the last reform of representation in 1884-5 Boston lost one of its members.

Stamford for some 150 years after the reign of Edward II apparently forbore to exercise its onerous privilege of returning members. In the seventeenth century it was afflicted with the usual controversies prevalent in small boroughs as to where the right of election lay, and the Committee of Privileges reported in 1661 'That the right of election was in such freemen only as paid scot and lot.' Previous to the Reform Act of 1832 Stamford was a pocket borough of the marquess of Exeter, who owned a large part of the town. In 1812 Sir Gerard Noel stood against the Exeter interest represented by Evan Foulkes and Lord Henniker, but found himself at the bottom of the poll.³ By the first Reform Act the boundaries of the parliamentary borough were extended, whilst in 1867-8 it lost one of its members, and in 1884-5 was finally merged in the county.

Grantham received the elective franchise in 1463 by charter of Edward IV, and a hundred years later, in 1552, we find Sir William Cecil nominating one of its members, and the earl of Rutland the other, whilst in 1580 one of its representatives published reflections on brother members accusing them of drunkenness, and was severely dealt with by the House. Bribery and corruption were ordinary incidents in the history of this borough. On 1 December, 1710, Sir John Thorold, bart., petitioned against the return of the marquis of Granby, on the ground of undue practices. The Committee of Privileges found that 'the right of election of members to serve in Parliament for the said borough is in the freemen of the said borough *not*

¹ *H. of C. Journ.* viii, 484.

² Allen, *Hist. of Lincolnshire*, ii, 324.

³ *Sketch of Boston Election*, 1830, p. xxvi.

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receiving alms or charity,' and Sir John Thorold was declared duly elected.¹ From 1660 till the early part of the nineteenth century the influence of the duke of Rutland and the Brownlow family was dominant in the borough. At the election of 1802, when Sir William Manners tried unsuccessfully to gain a footing for Mr. John Manners, the price of votes is said to have risen from two to ten guineas.² A few years later he was more successful after purchasing Lord Brownlow's property, but was obliged to come to a compromise with the corporation of the town, who had the enviable privilege of creating any number of non-resident freemen. By the last Reform Act of 1884-5 Grantham lost one of its members.

Few boroughs in England were more hopelessly corrupt than Great Grimsby, in which the franchise before 1832 was vested in freemen paying scot and lot.³ As early as the fifteenth century at least its members were nominated by the lord of the town or other powerful local magnates. Sometime before 1459 John Viscount Beaumont recommended⁴ Ralph Chaundeler, 'his right trusty and well-beloved servaunt,' and nearly thirty years later Ralph earl of Westmorland wrote⁵ to the corporation—

I adiure and hartely requyre you to send into my hondes youre wrytte directed for the electionne of the seid Burgessis, wheche I shall cause to be substauncially retoorned and appoynt ij of my counsale to be Burgessis for your seid towne, who shall not only regarde and set forward the welle of the same in suche causis, if ye have any, as ye shall advertise me and theym also dymmynyeshe yo^r charges of olde tyme conswete and used for the sustentacioun of there seid costes. And in this doyng ye shall shewe unto me a singuler pleasure and unto yo^r selffis convenient proffit.

And again, about the middle of the next century, Sir Francis Ayscogh recommended⁶ to the corporation Christopher Wind, another Westmorland nominee.

And yf you do chuse him now at my request the towneship shall have a great treasure of him, and lykewise I fro my parte shall be glad to do for you anything that lyeth in my power.

The scot and lot freemen were early alive to the opportunities of their vocation, and in September, 1667, Sir Freschville Holles,⁷ who in the spring of the year had entertained Pepys with drink and his bagpipes, 'a mighty barbarous musick,' when about to stand for Grimsby, informed the diarist that he believed it would cost him as much as it did his predecessor, which was £300 in raw ale and £52 in buttered ale. Pepys, however, genially adds 'which I believe is one of his devilish lies,' but he had not the honour of knowing the freemen of Grimsby. A century and a half later, in 1790, the expenditure is said to have reached £80,000 during an election lasting nine months, the public-houses being open all the time, whilst one-fourth of the electorate died of the excesses and fatigues of the contest. On this occasion, when a London banker was fighting for the seat, individual bribes are said to have varied in amount from £20 to £250. The figures of the poll were: John Harrison, 140; Dudley North, 140; Hon. Wellesley Pole, 135; Robert Wood, 135. The returns were voided on petition,⁸ but the successful candidates were re-elected without opposition. The election of

¹ *H. of C. Journ.* xvi, 454.

² Lewis, *Top. Dict.* (1849).

³ *Ibid.* 252.

⁴ *Ibid.* 255.

⁵ *Minutes of Evidence on Grimsby Election Petition* (1793), and *H. of C. Journ.* xlvi, passim.

⁶ Allen, *op. cit.* ii, 304.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. Rep. App. pt. viii, 250.

⁸ *Pepys' Diary* (1904), vii, 128, 374.

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1830 led to a famous libel action¹ brought by Lieutenant Howe, of the Red or Tory faction, in command of the revenue cutter *Greyhound*, against a local attorney of the Blues. Amongst other amusing evidence a freeman, David Snow, deposed that he had at first promised to vote blue, but afterwards 'he did not like it,' and was taken on board the *Greyhound*, but he was free to go on shore again. In cross-examination he confessed that he was very drunk on going aboard, and drunk afterwards during part of every day he remained on board. He could not tell who made him drunk, but got very good fare on the *Greyhound*, and thought he was as well there as anywhere else. There was a man to take care of him, one Bailey, plaintiff's servant, who wished him to go and vote red, but he did not wish to return on shore at all, *as he was quite comfortable while he remained on board*. Nevertheless, the lieutenant got £10 damages, but it is fair to state that he had also been accused of stirring up a riot. By the first Reform Act of 1832 Great Grimsby lost one of its members, and the character of its constituency since the rise of the modern town is now very different from that of the old scot and lot electorate of the past.

The Lincolnshire Regiment, as constituted in 1881, included the two regular battalions of the old Tenth of the line, and the first of these may be said to have a continuous history since 1685, when James II issued commissions² for enlisting eleven companies of foot. These were accordingly raised in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire and united with the Plymouth Independent Garrison Company already existing, the regiment thus formed being commanded by the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth. The uniform was then blue lined with red, with red waistcoats, breeches and stockings, although the colour of the coat was changed to red after 1688. This gallant corps, which did admirable service at Steenkirk under William III, and in the battles of the next reign, had no particular connexion with the county till 1783, when it was directed to bear the title of 'The North Lincolnshire Regiment,' with a view to the promotion of recruiting within the county, and in 1795, after serious loss from disease in the West Indies, recruiting parties were actually sent out from the head quarters at Lincoln. Early in the last century good service in Egypt earned the Sphinx borne on the colours. In 1803 a second battalion³ was raised from the reserve force collected in Essex, but was amalgamated with the first battalion at the close of the Napoleonic wars, the present second battalion having been raised at a later date. The regiment did much hard work in the Sikh war, especially at Sobraon, and during the Indian Mutiny, whilst its recent service in South Africa, for which it bears the honours 'South Africa, 1900-1902,' and 'Pardeberg,' will be fresh in the memory of all.

Another regiment more closely connected in its origin with our county is the present second battalion of the Loyal North Lancashire, the old 81st of the line or Loyal Lincoln Volunteers. At the commencement of the revolutionary war this regiment was raised⁴ in Lincolnshire, mainly from volunteers from the Lincoln militia, by Major-General Albemarle Bertie, whose appointment as colonel is dated 19 September, 1793. 'Corunna' and 'Maida' are

¹ *Ann. Reg.* 1831. Chron. p. 87.

² Lawrence-Archer, *British Army*, 177.

³ *Hist. Records of 10th Reg. of Foot*, i, et seq.

⁴ *Hist. Records of 81st Reg.* (1872), 2.

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borne as honours by this distinguished corps, whilst among their badges the arms of the city of Lincoln¹ still point to the county whence they sprang.

The history of the two militia battalions of the territorial regiment has never been fully worked out, and a very cursory reference is alone possible here. In 1660 there were no less than four regiments of foot belonging to the trained bands (Lord Castleton's, Sir Edw. Rossiter's, Mr. Newton's, and Mr. Heron's), besides six troops of trained-band horse and five troops of volunteer horse, 2,000 infantry and 550 cavalry in all.² From a return³ of the Lincoln militia in 1697 we learn that there were then two regiments of foot corresponding to the later North and South Lincoln corps. Amongst the seven South Lincolnshire companies the senior officer mentioned is Major Reuben Parks. Of the eight North Lincolnshire companies Charles Dymoke was colonel. The South Lincoln were 657 strong; the North Lincoln mustered 673. Besides these there were four troops of horse. The history of the Royal North Lincolnshire and the Royal South Lincolnshire Militia records long embodiments and service in Scotland and in Ireland against the rebels,⁴ and it is said that the appellation 'Royal' was granted to them for their good preparation and promptitude when ordered on the latter service.⁵ The earliest muster-rolls of the northern regiment show that it was stationed in the north of England, at Sunderland, Monk Wearmouth, and South Shields in 1781. The colonel was Gilbert Caldecot, and we may note amongst the officers commanding companies the well-known name of Bennet Langton, the friend of Samuel Johnson,⁶ with the note 'Absent on commander-in-chief's leave, assisting-engineer at Chatham.' His lieutenant was Edward Dymoke.⁷

At the same time the southern regiment was at Eighton Bank Camp under Colonel Christopher Nevile.⁸ During the stress of the French wars supplementary militia were raised, the muster-rolls of the South Lincoln showing service⁹ from 1798 to 1816, of the North Lincoln from 1803-14, and of the third Lincoln for the year 1805. Besides the supplementary militia, in 1808 and even later local militia¹⁰ were enlisted, partly from the then existing volunteers, and not disbanded till 1816. The later history of the regular county militia we are unable to deal with here, but we may mention the recent embodiments¹¹ and good service of the third and fourth battalions of the territorial regiment, the former (the old Royal North Lincolnshire Militia) earning the honour 'South Africa, 1902.'

In the great war which followed the French Revolution Lincolnshire was not backward in raising volunteers, both horse and foot, for national defence. Even as early as 1794 a squadron of volunteer cavalry was formed at Spalding, mounted on serviceable mares or geldings not less than 14½ hands

¹ Lawrence-Archer, op. cit. 377.

² S.P. Dom. Chas. II, xxvi, 73.

³ *Linc. N. and Q.* ii, 139, 140.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 150.

⁵ *Ibid.* i, 190.

⁶ In 1778, when the Lincolnshire Militia Regiment was quartered at Warley Camp in Essex, Dr. Johnson paid a visit to Captain Langton and showed the greatest interest in the details of the daily routine, attending a regimental court-martial, and 'as late as at eleven o'clock' going the rounds with the major. As to the musketry practice, he was pleased to remark, 'The men indeed do load their muskets and fire with wonderful celerity.' The impressions derived from this visit were evidently still vivid in the autumn of the same year, for in a letter written to Mrs. Thrale on 15 Oct. he favoured her with the observation, 'A camp, however familiarly we may speak of it, is one of the great scenes of human life.' Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (1887), iii, 361.

⁷ Militia Muster Rolls (P.R.O.), 1295.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1321.

⁹ *Ibid.* 2524.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 3547-3551.

¹¹ *Army List* (Oct. 1905).

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in height, and often meeting for drill two days a week, of which Sunday was one. They were known as the South Holland Squadron, and carried a standard of scarlet silk fringed with gold, bearing in the centre a garter with the words 'South Lincolnshire Squadron,' enclosing the words 'Loyal Lincolnshire Yeomanry,' with a crown above. In 1799 they were called out to quell a riot at Boston, caused by some misunderstanding about the militia ballot.¹ In 1797 a troop of volunteer cavalry was also raised at Lincoln, under the command of Richard Ellison, M.P.² But a still greater impulse was given to the organization of the county yeomanry after the Peace of Amiens. In 1803 there were existent in the county eleven troops,³ the Lincoln troop which was raised in the August of that year being commanded by Philip Bullen, Esq.⁴ At the present time these earlier troops of volunteer cavalry find legitimate successors in the Lincolnshire Imperial Yeomanry, whose uniform is drab with green facings.⁵

An early example of volunteer infantry may be found in the two companies of Loyal Lincoln Villagers, commanded at Christmas, 1798, by Lord Brownlow, the commandant's own company possessing two places of exercise, one at Belton for that village and the surrounding country, and the other at Hough. The last monthly pay-sheet⁶ is for April, 1802, and it is said that at the Peace of Amiens many of the volunteers of this corps joined the 81st regiment already mentioned. Spalding also possessed a corps of volunteer infantry from 1798 to 1801 under Commandant Fairfax Johnson, but difficulty was found in keeping up their drills during the harvest.⁷ As in the case of the yeomanry, renewed activity is found in the formation of volunteer corps after the Peace of Amiens. The Loyal Lincoln Volunteers, raised in 1803 by Colonel Hezekiah Brown, comprised four companies, under Captains Merryweather, Tyrwhit-Smith, Benj. Wetherall, and John Bate, and were not disbanded⁸ till 1813. Besides the Loyal Lincoln, the Barton-on-Humber, the Brigg, Caistor and Rasen, the Gainsborough, the Great Grimsby, the Horncastle, and the Louth⁹ contingents existed till 1813, but several other corps were disbanded or converted into local militia in 1808-9.¹⁰

At the present time Lincolnshire possesses three battalions of volunteer infantry with head quarters at Lincoln, Grantham, and Grimsby, with their respective cadet corps at Lincoln Grammar School, the King's School, Grantham, and the Grammar School, Louth, while the 1st Lincoln Volunteer Artillery comprises four batteries of heavy guns, one at Boston, two at Grimsby, and one at Louth.¹¹ The late South African war furnished the volunteers of Lincolnshire with a welcome opportunity of showing themselves not less keen and ready in their country's defence than the men of a hundred years before.

¹ *Fenland N. and Q.* iv, 338, et seq.

² *Hist. Acct. Linc.* (1810), p. 34.

³ Parl. Return, 1803.

⁴ *Hist. Acct. Linc.* (1810), p. 35, and Yeomanry Muster Rolls (P.R.O.), 4012.

⁵ *Army List* (Oct. 1905).

⁶ Vol. Muster Rolls (P.R.O.), 4428.

⁷ *Ibid.* 4432.

⁸ *Ibid.* 4428.

⁹ Some curious details as to the 'unpleasant state of the finances' of this corps will be found in the *Ann. Reg.* (1806), 455 et seq. The liberality of the privates, however, prevented their disbandment.

¹⁰ Vol. Muster Rolls (P.R.O.), 4428-32.

¹¹ *Army List* (Oct. 1905).

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LINCOLNSHIRE being chiefly an agricultural county it is necessary to obtain some idea of the natural conditions in early times to understand the progress made. Large portions of Holland, the East, West and Wildmoor Fens, and the Isle of Axholme, were then under water, or subject to frequent floods, the wolds were bleak and cold, almost without woods, and the heath was more or less a waste, while the Kesteven Forest, disafforested in 1230, extended from Swaton and Bicker Bridge to East Deeping and Spalding Bridge.¹

In each parish around the church, which usually occupied a central position, lay the tofts and crofts of the villagers with the house of the lord of the manor close by. On the tofts were the humble homes, the barns and the sheds of the freeholders and villeins, and adjacent thereto their crofts or small home closes.² A little distance off were the two or three large open fields, the meadow and the waste. These fields were divided into furlongs and wongs, in which were the selions or rigs of different owners, each containing half an acre or so, scattered about in most inconvenient fashion, and divided by strips of turf, called balks, with 'headlands' at the top affording access to the lands. The field sown with corn was protected by some kind of fence, while the fallow field was common pasture for the cattle and sheep of the holders of lands in the vill.

The early records of our county tell of liberty and prosperity. Domesday Book mentions 10,820 sokemen, exceeding in number the villeins and bordars combined;³ and there were sixty-six manors on which there were no villeins, fourteen being, however, waste.⁴ These sokemen were freemen, holding their lands freely by fixed agricultural services, more or less onerous, and soon commuted for money payments. The population of the county in 1086, which 'stands at the very top,'⁵ compared with other counties, the increase in its value,⁶ and the undoubted importance of Lincoln, are all signs of prosperity. Some description of a Lincolnshire estate may help to explain matters. There were in 1086 sixty-six tenants holding directly of the king, besides Sortibrand and other thegns. Of these ten were ecclesiastics, who held 195 manors, 710 manors being held by laymen. Two great estates will serve as examples. The bishop of Lincoln held thirty-one manors, of which twenty-five were held by sub-tenants; and two knights are expressly mentioned at both Stow and Louth. Ivo Tailboys held fifty-eight manors, of which his tenants held forty-five. Now these great lords did not grant out to under-tenants much the larger portion of their estates without good reason. They had to provide a fixed number of knights to follow the king,

¹ *Cal. of Charter R.* i, 122.

³ 7,121 + 3,475.

⁵ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 428.

² Lincoln Cathedral Charters.

⁴ *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (Oct. 1905), 700.

⁶ Valet, £3,369 4s. 8d.; valuit, £3,009 5s. 3d.

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and fight his battles without cost for forty days in a year when called upon. The Bolingbroke honor had to provide sixty knights, and the bishop of Lincoln sixty also. Unless they created sufficient knights' fees on their estates to discharge their service they must keep a household of knights at great expense ready for service. It is not then to be wondered at that in 1166¹ the bishop had more than sufficient knights to perform his service, and William de Roumare almost sufficient. Moreover, these under-tenants owed other services. They had to attend their lord's court possibly every three weeks, or when a plea should be there by the king's writ,² or a robber had to be judged, or on a reasonable summons. And the well-known feudal burdens of aids, relief, wardship and marriage, brought in at times considerable profits. Then there was also castle-guard; in 1281 nineteen knights paid 10s. per fee for the ward of Richmond Castle;³ in 1421, twenty Lincolnshire fees paid 10s. each a year for ward of the castle of Lancaster;⁴ the knights of Peterborough paid for ward of the castle of Rockingham;⁵ and tenants both in Lindsey and Kesteven paid for ward of Lincoln Castle.⁶

In dealing with the smaller but to the lord the most valuable portion of a great feudal estate, the manors retained in demesne, we must chiefly rely upon thirteenth-century documents. Of the lands of a manor the free tenants would hold about a third, the villeins another third, and the rest would form the demesne farm. The object of good management in the middle ages was to make the estate self-supporting, to buy little or nothing, to spend as little as possible on wages, to live and maintain the household and retinue upon the produce of the demesne farms, cultivated by the customary labour of the villeins, and occasionally, at harvest, haymaking and ploughing times, of the sokemen of the manors. Walter of Henley's *Husbandry*,⁷ and the other three works published with it, treating of estate management, show that the successful working of the home-farm under the superintendence of a bailiff was the chief thing aimed at. The difficulty of checking the conduct of the various servants made necessary the regular keeping of the Manorial and Account Rolls, which are a feature of the thirteenth century. 'The Rules of Saint Robert Grosseteste,' the good bishop of Lincoln, made for Margaret, countess of Lincoln, widow of John de Lacy, who died in 1240, 'to guard and govern her lands and hostel,' show how a great estate was managed.

Every year at Michaelmas, he writes, when you know the measure of your corn, then arrange your sojourn, for how many weeks at each place according to the seasons of the year and the advantages of the country in flesh and fish, and do not by any means burden by debt or long residence the place where you sojourn, but so arrange that something remains on the manor whereby it can raise money for the increase of stock, and especially cows and sheep, until your stock acquits your wines, robes, wax and your wardrobe. . . . I advise that at two seasons of the year you make your purchases, your wines and your wax at the fair of St. Botolph . . . your robes purchase at St. Ives.

A survey⁸ in 1283 of the bishop of Lincoln's manor of Stow gives a practical example of such management. The way in which the requirements of the bishop and his household are provided for is remarkable. A little ready money is provided by the rents of the tenants, by the returns of

¹ Liber Niger.

² Gale, *Register of the Honor of Richmond*, 29, 40.

³ Assize R. 483, m. 53.

⁷ Royal Hist. Society.

² *Linc. N. and Q.* vi, 237.

⁴ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdles. 243, 3913.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, p. 82.

⁸ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxiv, 299.

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the fisheries, the ferry and the fairs, and the perquisites of the courts held ; but evidently the utmost endeavour is made to make the estate self-supporting. We are told of the labour services of the villeins, how a villein had to work for the bishop sixty-five days in the year, how the ploughmen¹ had to plough for him, how his demesne land was partly manured by the sheep of his tenants which had to lie in his fold, how his free-tenants had to help his villeins to reap his corn and plough his land, how his villeins carried his corn to the mill, ground it and carried it to the bakehouse, while other villeins made malt of the bishop's barley and brewed it, finding firewood from Stow Park, how villeins carried the food of the bishop, when necessary, to other manors where he was residing, how they went to Axholme for timber and turf for the bishop's use, how they provided food for his horses, thatched his booths, or houses, and paid a rent of 434 hens, besides some money payments. Moreover, a tenant collected his rents, summoned the work-tenants to their work, superintended them at it, saw the hens were delivered at the manors they ought to be sent to, and made the distraints.

The actual accounts of a smaller manor tell the results of bailiff management. At Stallingborough in 1341-2² the receipts were £13 4s. 10½d., of which £6 9s. 4½d. came from rents. The corn brought in £4 18s. 6¾d.; 3 quarters 5 bushels of wheat sold for 4s. a quarter; 33 quarters 5 bushels of drage at 2s. 6d. An ox sold for 3s. 6d.; 20 hens at 1½d. each; and 100 eggs for 4d. Herbage and hay sold for 18s. The expenses were £17 7s. 11½d.; these included £6 15s. 4d. paid to the lady of the manor, and 9s. 4d. for expenses of persons staying at Stallingborough, but still there was a loss of over £3 on the farm account. The cost of ploughs was 12s. 10½d.; of carts 10s. 7½d.; of shoeing 4 horses 4s., and 2 others³ on the fore-feet 1s. Wages came to 28s. 6d.; thrashing 45 quarters 5 bushels of wheat at 2d. a quarter; and 100 quarters of drage and 21 quarters 5 bushels of peas at 1d. a quarter; came to 17s. 8½d., nothing being paid for winnowing because it was done by the *ancilla curie*. A horse was bought in the summer for 9s., and another⁴ for 5s. 10d. Fifteen men hoeing corn for four days were paid 1d. a day. Mowing at 4d. and 3d. a day, and making hay, cost 19s. 7d. Forty acres of corn were reaped at 5d., and 62½ acres at 6d. an acre. On the back of the roll is the account of the grange. The receipts of the manor are increased by 34 quarters of drage sent to Sturton to make ale; 40 acres are sown with 2 bushels of wheat each, 42½ acres with 4 bushels of drage each; 34 acres with 2 bushels of peas each; 14 quarters of wheat are mixed with 14 quarters of peas and given to the carters and ploughmen, who receive a quarter each for 12 weeks; some drage and peas are used for the horses, oxen, sheep and pigs; and the reeve and six servants receive 2 bushels of drage each *pro potagio*. As 167 quarters of corn were grown on 102½ acres the yield was 1½ quarters per acre. It will be noticed that no wool is mentioned, and as 12 stone of wool from the same manor sold for 65s. in 1331-2,⁵ we may conclude that altogether a small profit was made. Other manors were of equally small value, which may account for the indebtedness of Lincolnshire landowners to Jews.⁶

¹ Carucarii.

² Addit. R. 25861 (B. M.).

³ Affri.

⁴ Affr'.

⁵ Addit. R. 25860 (B. M.).

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1216-25, p. 179; *Ibid.* 1272-81, pp. 80, 83; *Cal. Close*, 1227-31, p. 499.

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The accounts,¹ however, of the estates of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, give quite a different impression, for nineteen Lincolnshire manors bring him in hard cash £1,529 in 1296, some £23,000 as money is now. He had already given up the old practice of making his manors self-supporting. His estates were so many that he could not visit them all, and he was seldom in Lincolnshire, while he must have wanted ready money for many purposes, so that it is not surprising that the products of his manors were sold, and the money paid over to his constable at Bolingbroke. The manor of Sutton in Holland was much the most valuable, sending £443 for the year, the Marsh came next with £157; Swaton, Wrangle and Ingoldmells send over £100 each: but there are some small amounts; Sedgebrook sends £35, Saltfleetby only £11 10s. The Bolingbroke accounts show how some of the money was spent: the steward's fee was £13 6s. 8d.; the fee and robe of the constable £12 10s.; the wages of the porter 45s. 6d.; his robes 6s. 8d.; certain weapons cost 24s. 9d.; £136 were spent at Stamford fair, principally in cloth for the earl, his knights, clerks, esquires and grooms; £124 were spent at Boston fair for like purposes; £16 were paid to the earl's armourer, while a merchant of Brabant was paid over £62 by means of 10 sacks and 2 stone of wool for cloth bought. Some of the rents paid in kind by divers tenants were 41½ lb. of pepper, 24½ lb. of cummin, 6 pairs of white spurs, 10 pairs of gloves, 2 pairs of white gloves, and 3 pairs of gilt spurs. After the expenses and purchases were paid there remained about £900 for the earl from his Lincolnshire estates.

The farming accounts are so long that particulars of only one manor can be given. At Sutton the total receipts are £501; the expenses £57, leaving a revenue equal to £7,000 now. Lands of 'new acquirement' at Sutton and Lutton have probably been reclaimed from the marsh or sea, and let for over £47. Farms let brought £59; six mills £26; 44 acres of demesne land are let at 2s. 6d. an acre; and the tenants pay £19 15s. instead of doing accustomed works of ploughing, harrowing, etc. The demesne farm produced £295; corn brought £138; wheat, drage, rye, bere, oats and beans being grown; oats making £58; rye £38; and wheat £24. Wool brought over £65, but was the clip of three years; the dairy brought in £13, cheese being 7d. and butter 9d. a stone; 70 swans sold for £5 17s.; live stock fetched £31 18s.; 13 oxen and cows sold for 10s. 2d.; 17 calves for 1s., sheep for 1s. 6d. and lambs 10d., and 33 pigs for 2s. each; wax was 8d. a lb.

The expenses are so small that they prove that the labour question was still solved by the customary services of the villeins. Six ploughs cost in repairs, including the smith's wages, 9s. 7d.; ploughmen were allowed 3d. a day for meat and drink, harrowers and sowers, 1½d.; 2 pairs of new wheels for carts cost 11s. 7d.; 9 ploughmen and 6 other servants were paid 3s. each; 3 shepherds 2s. each for the year, having allowances of corn besides. 25s. 4d. was paid for the meals of bondmen reaping in the autumn at 3 boon days, and 22s. for 11 quarters of 'bere' for their bread, stooking the corn being done by bondmen's works; 19s. 1¼d. is paid for shearing the sheep, the washing being done by the bondmen; cleaning dykes cost 28s. 5d.; mending the sea wall 19s. 10d.; thrashing 970 quarters of corn, at about 1½d., cost £6 4s. The two largest receipts deserve some further notice. The wealth of this district came then,

¹ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. 1, No. 1.

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as now, from the richness of its soil ; 1,000 acres of demesne land produced about 1,000 quarters of corn, which, as at least 350 acres would be fallow, is considerably above the average ; the wheat was 7*s.* 1*d.*, rye 5*s.* 5*d.*, beans 3*s.* 6*d.*, 'mixtilion' 5*s.*, 'bere' 3*s.* 11*d.*, drage 2*s.* 3*d.*, oats 2*s.* 2*d.* a quarter. The wool at Sutton both in weight and price was above Thorold Rogers' average for the year : 2,152 fleeces weighed 14 sacks, the average fleece weighing 2½ lb., worth 3*d.* a lb., but there were also 89 fleeces of inferior wool which sold for £1 1*s.* 3*d.* : the grange accounts show that 1,456 fleeces, weighing 264½ stone, were 'of remainder,' while 798 fleeces of 310 'muttons,' 308 ewes, 180 hogs, weighing 146½ stone, were the produce of the year, of which 79 stone were the tithes, and 3 stone were given to the shepherd.

Under the great lords were the knights and esquires. In 1303 there were 449 knights' fees recorded in Lincolnshire,¹ of which laymen held 367, and ecclesiastics 82, but the system of sub-infeudation that prevailed makes it impossible to ascertain the number of persons who held by knight service. Turning to the classes who actually cultivated the soil we find that the distribution of the sokemen over the county in 1086 comes out clearly by analysis of Domesday Book. Of the 10,820 sokemen there were only 422 in Holland ; in Kesteven and the West Riding of Lindsey the sokemen were fewer in number² than the villeins and bordars combined ; in the South Riding³ they exceeded these classes only by some 200 ; while in the North Riding,⁴ where the Danish element was especially strong, they exceeded them by more than a thousand. The peasant proprietors of the thirteenth century were probably more numerous than these sokemen. In Holland it was certainly so. In 1275 the jurors of Kirton wapentake⁵ say that the free sokemen on the estates of the earl of Richmond are too numerous to number. At Stow in Lindsey there were at least 40 free-tenants in 1283 to 27 sokemen in 1086, at Deeping there were 25 free tenants in 1282 where there were none in 1086, at Bourn there were 61 to 7, at Kelby 7 to 3, at Saleby there were 23 in 1303 to 2 in 1086, at Knaith 11 in 1324 to 3 in 1086.⁶ There may have been exceptions, but an increase was the rule. Many charters of these peasants conveying small quantites of land still exist, and surveys and court rolls tell of their social and economic conditions. At Fiskerton in 1125-8⁷ 20 sokemen, holding 3 carucates of land, had to plough with their ploughs on the demesne lands of the abbey of Peterborough and pay a rent of £4 : four times a year each had to reap an acre of corn, do two boons in August, mow hay one day, make it one day, and another day help to cart it : at Scotter 29 sokemen work for the abbey one day a week throughout the year, and 2 days in August, besides ploughing 2 days and paying a rent. At Weston⁸ each tenant of the prior of Spalding in socage, holding half a bovat of land, containing 25 acres, rendered some money payments, did some ploughing, harrowing, and sowing, owed 3 boon-days mowing in autumn 'at the food of the lord,' gave pannage for his pigs, and gave tallage, and even merchet for his daughter at the will of the lord ; he also did the bank of the sea and marsh and all other commons of the vill according to the size of his tenement, and cannot make his son a

¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 127 et seq.

² Kesteven, 3,223 to 2,287 + 1,122 ; West Riding, 1,389 to 1,177 + 536. ³ 2,438 to 1,439 + 773-

⁴ 3,348 to 1,585 + 738.

⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 307.

⁶ *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xx, 702.

⁷ *Peterborough Chronicle* (Camd. Soc.), 164.

⁸ Cole MSS, vol. 43. The date is uncertain : circa Edw. I.

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clerk without the lord's licence. Whatever may have been the case elsewhere the monastic houses in Lincolnshire were not easy landlords. On the estates of the bishop and lay lords the sokemen fared better. At Stow¹ a tenant held one bovaté of land by 4*s.* a year, he owed 5 ploughings annually, as if he was ploughing for himself, and to reap one day in the autumn, having his food if he worked the whole day, and it is stated that he and others were enfeoffed of the old feoffment. At Bourn² a free tenant, holding one bovaté, rendered 4*d.*, and owed suit of court and foreign service, while another held 2 bovates and rendered 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, besides suit of court, etc., no free-tenants on any of the Wake manors being said to owe any agricultural works. Many of these small freeholders had to attend their lord's manor court 'from 3 weeks to 3 weeks,' or as often as it was held, but sometimes they were able to avoid attendance at the court of the superior lord because their immediate lord had to acquit them thereof. Thus in 1245³ Robert son of Eylric, who held only the fifth part of a bovaté in Sausthorpe, and had been distrained by the earl of Derby to do suit from 3 weeks to 3 weeks at his court of Greetham, successfully impleaded Jordan de Asfordby, who was mesne between them, it being decided that he acquit him of the service.

In the manor court the freeholders held a very important position, indeed their presence on certain occasions was necessary to its existence, and they took a prominent part in the proceedings,⁴ served on the juries, joined in the presentments, formed with the villeins the court which found the judgements, sued and were sued. They had, however, this great advantage over the villein that they could go to the king's court if they wished. If their freehold was in danger this was the safest course. Thus in 1245 Martin the carpenter at Fotherby⁵ recovered at the assizes half a rood of land of which he had been disseised by the prior of Ormsby. In the agricultural arrangements of the vill the freeholder was personally interested. He had his land in the common-fields side by side with the villeins: if the cattle broke into the corn he suffered as well as they; he had rights of pasture in the vill according to his holding; his consent was considered necessary to enclosures before the statute of Merton; thus a defendant in 1245 pleaded that he enclosed a pasture 'by the assent and provision of the whole township,' and another that he had enclosed a certain close⁶ 'with the common assent of the whole vill.' He was a member of the organized community, called the township, and if it was amerced he had to pay his share of the fine: and if, as at Navenby,⁷ the men of the vill took the manor at a rent he joined in the management, the expenses, and the profits.

It is difficult to give an accurate account of the Lincolnshire villein, because his position varied on different manors, and the manor for which there is most evidence⁸ was probably easier than many. The ordinary holding of the villein was a bovaté of land, containing from 10 to 30 acres, to cultivate which he had one or two oxen, and for which he owed customary labour services and some money payments to his lord. The bordars of Domesday Book became the cottars of the later surveys, and, as their holdings were

¹ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxiv, 322.

² *Assize R.* 482, m. 18.

³ *Assize R.* 482, m. 36 *d.*

⁴ *Linc. Cathedral Charters*, D ii, 83, 2. There is an instance at Caistor of the free sokemen taking the manor to farm. *Hund. R.* i, 360.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxv, 24.

⁶ *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* xvi.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 482, m. 29, 25 *d.*

⁸ *Ingoldmells.*

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small, probably worked for the sokemen and even villeins, as well as for their lord. At Thurlby¹ c. 1120, eight villeins hold 8 bovates, and work 4 days a week in August and 2 days a week for the rest of the year, each ploughs one acre, they find ploughs on two boon-days, render yearly 33s., and each mows a cart-load of material for roofing. At Spalding² a tenant in bondage, holding 24 acres of land, renders yearly 4s. 4d., owes tallage and merchet, ploughs and harrows 1 day in Lent, carries 1 day with his cart, owes pannage and 3 boons in the autumn, and pays one hen at Christmas. A tenant of work-land, holding 40 acres, works every day in the year at whatever work the lord will with cart, shovel, flail, fork, and sickle, ploughs with his own plough for 3 days, and harrows the land ploughed, and fetches the seed with his horse from the granary, gives 12s. 10d., owes tallage, merchet, and pannage, and two hens at Christmas, and 1d. for his head for frankpledge, and 1d. for every male of 5 years, and, if he have a horse worth 20s., he may not sell it without the lord's licence, nor may he cut a tree growing above the height of his house without licence, he bakes bread³ for the use of the mowers, and 'defends against the sea and marsh for 1 bovat of land.' A tenant of 26 acres works for 3 days a week, and renders like but less services and rent. At Skellingthorpe⁴ a bond tenant holds 1 bovat, and renders yearly 12d., and for a custom called morelay 4d., and for another called maltsilvre 3d., and 10 eggs or ½d., and at Christmas one hen or 1d.: he ought to work from Michaelmas to Christmas for 12 weeks, 1 day each, and from the quindene of Christmas to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula for 29 weeks, 1 day each, and from the said feast to Michaelmas for 8 weeks, 2 days each.⁵ At West Rasen in 1336, a bondman⁶ with a messuage, a toft, and 4 bovates, gives 8s. 3d. yearly, and winter, autumnal, and summer work every week—except seven weeks which are allowed for holidays—yearly, total 92 works; he renders at Christmas a bushel of malt, a cock and 3 hens, and at the Purification 2d. for 'heysilver,' also 45 eggs at Easter, and at the Ascension 4½d. for 'wyskgilde,' and two geese at St. Peter ad Vincula, and 3 boon-days in autumn with two men to reap, and an aid at Michaelmas. At Ingoldmells⁷ the labour services of the villeins had already in 1291 been commuted for an annual money payment of 4d. per acre, with on alienation an additional rent of 8d. per acre, there being then no demesne farm.⁸ The legal position of the villein is clear. He had, with slight exceptions, no legal rights against his lord, though against a third person he had the same rights as a freeman. In a case at Lincoln assizes in 1202,⁹ a lord claims the chattels and house of a deceased villein as his own, while he denies wounding, housebreaking, and robbery, and the appeal is declared to be null. At the same assizes¹⁰ another villein acknowledges that he holds half a bovat of land of Osbert, son of Nigell de Ingoldby, in villeinage, so that Osbert can remove him when he shall wish. Thus he shelters himself under the power of his lord, and the plaintiff is told he may obtain a writ against Osbert if he likes. In a case in 1366¹¹ a monk of Selby and others were accused of taking

¹ *Peterb. Chron.* 160.

² Cole MSS. vol. 43.

³ 'As many quarters as are necessary for one working man for the whole autumn, and of every quarter 60 loaves according to weight and measure.'

⁴ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxv, 28.

⁵ This work is worth 1½d., at the other times 1d.

⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 250.

⁷ *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* vi, xxviii. ⁸ *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xix, 74, 297. ⁹ *Select Pleas of the Crown* (Selden Soc.), 9.

¹⁰ Assize R. 478, m. 7 d.

¹¹ *Coucher Book of Selby*, i, 85.

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chickens and goods of one William Bene, threatening him and his wife, and beating and wounding another man ; the defence was that the monk seized William as the abbot's bond-tenant, and ordered him to come to Selby to answer for his villeinage as a villein ought, and that the chickens and goods carried off were the abbot's chattels and taken to his use, as was fully allowed, and the threatening, beating, or wounding are denied.¹ William Bene claimed to be a freeman, but later it was decided that he was a villein. That the villein had no remedy against his lord in the king's courts when his land or goods were concerned is abundantly proved. A villein of Margaret de Hiltoft complained² that she had unjustly disseised him of 3 acres in Ingoldmells, when she says he is her villein as of the manor of Hiltoft, and that she is seised of him as of her villein ; and Robert cannot deny this, so he takes nothing by his writ.

On manors of the ancient demesne of the crown, even when they had passed into other hands, it was different. In 1282 the men³ of the bishop of Carlisle, of his manor of Horncastle, brought a writ against him, stating that whereas they hold their lands by certain⁴ services, he in despite of the king's prohibition exacted from them other services⁵ and distrained them therefor ; and eventually the bishop does not come, and he and his pledges are in mercy. Here we seem to be taken back to the times when the men of the vill had rights against their lords, which their successors have lost unless they lived on royal demesne manors. Still their condition was not, at least on the best manors, so bad in actual practical life as might from legal theories appear. Even in the king's court, when the personal condition of the villein was at stake, the burden of proof was upon the lord ; he must bring absolute proof that the kinsfolk of the person he claims as his villein were villeins by descent. In 1245⁶ Thomas de Multon claimed Walter Gamel as his bond-tenant and fugitive, who says he is a freeman and so was his father, but his parents are tenants of Thomas and do villein services, and dare not say they are free. Thomas sets forth an elaborate pedigree; he says Walter's grandfather was a villein, and produces his grandson and great-grandson in the female line, who acknowledge themselves his villeins, and states that two other grandsons paid him 4 score marks for their liberty. In the end Walter⁷ put himself on the mercy of Thomas de Multon, who quitclaimed him and his sequels from all servitude for ever, and gave him 5 marks as a gift, and also the mark he had offered for a jury. In the manorial courts the villein held much the same position as a freeman. Here⁸ he could bring his action for land 'in the nature of an assize mort d'ancestor,' or of 'novel disseisin' ; here his land could be conveyed by 'surrender' and 'admittance,' and leased by licence of the court. He was by no means dependent upon the mere caprice of his lord, but was ruled in accordance with the customs of the manor, having too a real share in the system of self-government which prevailed. Downtrodden, wretched or miserable he certainly was not as far as our records show, and we actually find a freeman at Ingoldmells proving that his wife was a nief when all he could gain

¹ No verdict appears.

² Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 68.

³ Assize R. 485, m. 57.

⁴ Fixed.

⁵ 100s. for frankpledge, £24 on the appointment of a new bishop.

⁶ Assize R. 482, m. 33.

⁷ Walter says his grandfather and his sons were free, but took as wives niefs with villein land, and being afraid to lose these lands are unwilling to call themselves free.

⁸ Massingberd, *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* xxix.

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thereby was four acres of bond land. We have just seen tenants of villein lands unwilling to relinquish them even to claim their liberty, and the Ingoldmells Court Rolls do not record a single instance of difficulty in obtaining tenants. Moreover villeins were thus early growing more prosperous. They were able to purchase small quantities of freehold land, as is proved by the Ingoldmells Court Rolls, and the Ministers' Accounts of the duchy of Lancaster, for which they had to pay their lord a small rent of 2*d.* an acre, a fine being also due upon each admittance.¹ Already too some few were obtaining their liberty.² And in the early part of the fourteenth century, commutation of labour services was becoming common. We have already seen that at Sutton a considerable portion of the accustomed works were remitted on a money payment. The survey³ of the barony of Bayeux in 1288, giving details of the manors, whether retained in hand or held by tenants, shows that then at Thoresway, Grimoldby, Calcethorpe, Linwood, South Witham, Stainby, and Elsthorpe villein lands were put at a full rent,⁴ and at Stewton 'the pleas and perquisites of court are not extended because there are no suitors except tenants-at-will and for a term of life,' while on other manors such tenants are mentioned. In 1341 on a property at Stallingborough, of the abbot of Wellow, called a manor in 1409, it is stated⁵ that 'there are no bond-tenants.'

But some original documents at Ormsby give us the clearest view of what was happening, telling us how the lord of the manor was granting to tenants-for-life small holdings at a fixed annual rent, these holdings being probably villein land, for in later days we find the demesne lands still in hand. In 1324 Simon Fitz-Ralph of Ormsby granted⁶ to Thomas de Tutbury of Boston and his heirs 13*s.* 4*d.* of annual rent, three boon-days in autumn, and two advents at his court, and all other services of Stephen Neil of S. Ormsby to be received of a certain toft and croft and one bovat of land with appurtenances in Ormsby which the said Stephen holds for the term of his life; also the same premises after Stephen's death. This same system of leases for lives or years was prevalent elsewhere, and explains the extinction of villein holdings in many parishes, the villeins being turned into leaseholders, though some became freeholders and others doubtless agricultural labourers.

For the social and economic history of Lincolnshire towns the records are of a different character, and, while giving many significant facts, are wanting in the details which surveys and account rolls supply for the country. For Lincoln, the fact that it was in 1086 a city governed by twelve lawmen, with 910 inhabited mansions, reckoned at eighteen hundreds,⁷ paying a rent of £100, and having a mint that paid £75, speaks volumes for its wealth and importance. The population must have been about 5,000, and the rent represents some £3,500 of our money. In 1130 the burgesses of Lincoln gave⁸ 200 marks of silver and 4 marks of gold that they might hold the city in chief of the king, and in 1160-1 we find the citizens of

¹ *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* xxxi.

² Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 237; *Assoc. Archit. Societies Rep.* xxiv, 322. Final Concords (see index under 'villeins').

³ *Linc. N. and Q.* viii, 51.

⁴ Addit. MSS. 6165-74.

⁷ The Lincolnshire hundred of 12 carucates.

⁴ 'Ad altam firman.'

⁶ Massingberd, *History of Ormsby*, 290.

⁸ Hunter, *Magnum Rot. Pipae*, 31 Hen. I.



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Lincoln accounting¹ for a payment of £200 of assize, the sheriff of the county having accounted for the farm of the city in the two preceding years. The question how the citizens could raise such large sums may be partly answered by the entries on the Pipe Rolls² of £6 a year from the weavers of Lincoln for their guild; the wealth of Lincoln came largely from wool and cloth. The mint, too, must have been a source of wealth to the city, as it certainly was to the king.³ But in order that trade might flourish it was necessary that the citizens should have their free liberties and customs, that they and their property should be secure, and that they should be able to offer security to incomers; hence the importance of the charters of Henry II and other kings confirming all their liberties, customs, and laws, and their merchant guild.

In 1291 Lincoln was appointed one of the staple towns, and the provisions⁴ for the staple of wool, leather, and skins, laid down regulations for mercantile transactions for handicraftsmen, workers in wool, dyers, fullers, hucksters, regrators, etc. An officer is to be appointed to weigh stapulary articles, and four discreet men are to have the custody of the profits of tallages, tolls, etc. The regulations concern alien merchants as well as those of England, but those of Gascony and the duchy of Guienne under the obedience of the king or his son are not to be considered as aliens. The advantages of being a staple town were great, for merchants had to bring their wool, etc., there for sale, the trade of the city was promoted, rich merchants settled there, and considerable sums were derived from tolls and dues. The staple town was linked with a convenient port, Boston being the port of Lincoln; wool was sold, weighed and certified at Lincoln, then it was conveyed by the Witham to Boston, and the customs exacted. What the staple meant to Lincoln may be seen from the petition of the citizens to Richard II setting forth the decay of the city. They recounted⁵ how formerly foreign merchants who came into Lincolnshire had to bring their goods to Lincoln and sell them there upon pain of forfeiture, and there was great cloth making there and the people put in occupation, and the staple of wools of 'Lincolnshyre, Northampton, Leicestre, and Notingham schires was at Lincoln, and there stapulled, custumyde, and poysed, wyth other tolles thereto belongyng, to the behoffe and releve of the payment off the fee ferme of the seyd cite'; and now 'comyth no repayre of lordes ne odor gentylmen, wher thorough that the craftmen and vittelerz ar departed oute of thys youre cite.' Lincoln itself still bears signs of the wealth of some of its former inhabitants in the fine remains of the houses of Jews on the Steep Hill, which remind us how⁶ in 1257 some houses in St. Martin's parish in the cloth market⁷ which had belonged to Leo son of Saloman, a Jew hanged for the death of a boy crucified at Lincoln, were given to the Templars.

With all their privileges and wealth the Lincoln citizens did not avoid disputes amongst themselves. There had been a quarrel with the lord of a manor at Boston concerning the amount of tronage due to him, and the commons of Lincoln would have withdrawn from the fair; but two sons of the mayor and two other rich merchants, who did not want their trade

¹ *Pipe R. Soc.* iv, 15.

⁴ Ross, *Civitas Lincolnia*, 12.

⁶ *Cal. Chart. R.* i, 467.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. vii, 263.

⁷ 'Forum draperie.'

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interrupted, and had command of the common seal gave the lord a charter, promising a yearly rent of £10, without any assent or consent of the commonalty.¹ In 1291 the discord between the rich and the poor concerning this still went on, as also touching 200 marks paid to the king by the poor by distraint of the rich for concealed goods of condemned Jews, and as to divers tallages unduly assessed on the said poor, and other grievances.² In 1323 it was still the complaint that while 'les grauntz seigneurs' paid nothing the 'mean people' were taxed without their own consent; they alone were forced to keep the nightly watch and paid murage tax, and the rulers used the money for their own purposes and rendered no accounts.³ In 1350 a guild was formed of 'common and middling folks,' who strongly objected to anyone joining them 'of the rank of mayor or bailiffs.'⁴

Lincoln had a suburb in Torksey, which had 111 resident burgesses in 1086, and had had as many as 213 before the Conquest, and which had all the same customs as Lincoln, and with Hardwick paid a fifth part of the geld of that city. The importance of Torksey depended upon shipping, and the Fosdyke which connected Lincoln with the Trent becoming obstructed⁵ the trade fell off, the rising importance of Boston no doubt contributing to this also; so that in 1332 only forty-four persons paid the subsidy to the king at Torksey.⁶ Boston, on the other hand, a town of many vicissitudes, fast grew into importance. It is not mentioned in Domesday Book, yet in 1204 the merchants of St. Botolph's town contributed to the 15th from seaport merchants more than those of any town in England except London. The record⁷ of the amounts paid gives strong evidence of the prosperity of Lincolnshire towns. London paid £836 12s. 10d., Boston £780 15s. 9d., Southampton £712 3s. 7½d., Lincoln £656 12s. 2d., Lynn £651 11s. 6d., Hull £344 14s. 4½d., York £175 8s. 10d., Newcastle £158 5s. 6d., Grimsby £91 15s. 0½d., Barton £33 6s. 9d., Immingham £18 15s. 10½d. A return⁸ of the money received of the new custom of wools, fells, and skins, 1278-9, of every sack of wool half a mark, of a last of skins 1 mark, of 300 wool-fells half a mark, places the port of Boston even before that of London. An account was rendered of £336 of 875 sacks 8½ stone of wool of the port of Newcastle-on-Tyne; of £707 9s. 11d. from the port of Hull; of £2,574 0s. 9d., of 7,654 sacks 2 stone of wool, 10,780 wool-fells, and 15 lasts 11 skins of the port of Boston; of £367 of the port of Lynn; of £51 2s. of the port of Yarmouth; of £168 12s. 10d. of the port of Ipswich; of £1,963 14s. 11d. of the port of London; of £241 6s. 11d. of the port of Sandwich; of £1,468 4s. 8d. of the port of Southampton. For 1279-80 an account⁹ was rendered of £344 4s. 3d. of Newcastle-on-Tyne; of £1,019 4s. 4d. of Hull; of £3,406 18s. for 146 sacks 8 stone of wool, 11,905 wool-fells, and 17 lasts 7 dickers and 3 skins of the port of Boston; of £42 16s. 7½d. of Yarmouth; of £306 10s. 4½d. of Lynn; of £149 9s. 6d. of Ipswich; of £1,823 3s. 4d. of London; of £1,249 5s. 1d. of Southampton. For 1281-2 the Boston customs were £3,599 1s. 6d.,¹⁰ London

¹ Green, *Town Life in the 15th Century*, 244.

² Green, op. cit. 244, *Parl. R.* i, 433.

³ Henry I in 1121 improved the navigation (Wheeler, *Fens of S. Lincolnshire*, 138). There was a commission in 1335 to inquire and compel the persons interested to cleanse the dyke (*Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 148; 1345-8, p. 237).

⁴ Lay Subsidy R. $\frac{1386}{16}$.

⁵ Pipe R. 8 Edw. I.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, p. 451.

⁸ Green, op. cit. 272 n.; Toulmin, *English Guilds*, 178.

⁹ Pipe R. 6 John, m. 16 d.

¹⁰ Pipe R. 9 Edw. I, rot. 3.

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£1,602 16s. 6d., Southampton £1,019 11s., Hull £1,086 10s. 8d., Yarmouth £9 12s. 4d. For 1282-3 the Boston customs were £3,115 13s. 8½d.,¹ London £2,087 4s. 1d., Hull £1,226 4s. 11½d. For 1283-4 the Boston customs were £3,746 7s. 5d., London £2,790 1s. 5d., Hull £1,253 2s. 7½d. For 1284-5 the Boston customs were £3,227 10s. 9d., London £2,109 16s. 3d., Hull £1,300 13s. 2d. For 1285-6 the Boston customs were £2,936 9s. 4d., London £2,030 9s. 4d. For 1286-7 the Boston customs² were £3,049 14s. 1d., London £2,304 5s. 9d. For 1287-8 the Boston customs were £3,129 10s. 3½d., London £2,703 16s. 11d., Hull £1,222 18s. 10½d. For 1288-9 the Boston customs were £3,203 5s. 1d., London £3,206 16s. 1d., Hull £1,520 5s. 6d. For 1289-90 the Boston customs were £3,361 7s. 9¾d., London £3,240 9s. 11d., Hull £1,289 6s. 8d. The Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls show the importance of the export trade from Boston after this. In 1315 a Genoese merchant³ is to have £1,017 6s. out of the customs of wools, hides, and wool-fells there; in 1340 merchants of Almain are to lade 1,186 sacks of wool⁴ there to take to Bruges without paying custom; and in 1339 the collectors of customs are to allow two Lincolnshire wool merchants 20s. a sack of the custom and subsidy of wool until they receive respectively £2,135 8s. 8d. and £1,000.⁵ The export trade was carried on after 1327 by foreign merchants, who also imported wines, spices, and other commodities.

The fair was largely attended by English and foreign merchants, and persons came from all parts to make purchases to last them many months. In 1218 Boston Fair was prolonged⁶ for eight days after St. John Baptist's Day (24 June), it being stated that the beginning of the fair was in the second year of King John's reign. Some merchants would have extended their stay and sales beyond the appointed period, but were forbidden to do so, and ordered to go on with their merchandise to Lynn if they wished to do business.⁷ In 1327 native and alien merchants had licence to import and export their wares, and trade at the fair now (26 June) begun at Boston, notwithstanding the ordinance for holding the staple at certain places.⁸ In 1318 the king's serjeant went to Boston to buy wines for the king's use⁹ and in 1333 the king's butler had permission to collect the custom of 2s. a tun of wine in the port of Boston.¹⁰ The fact that in 1280 merchants' houses at Boston, stalls during the fair, and profits of the market court produced an income of over £248 gives some idea of the trade done. The market court brought £6 4s., front houses during¹¹ the mart render £7 10s. 10d., twenty stalls (*seldae*) £11 14s. 2d., houses called royal booths (*bothae regiae*) £28 13s. 4d., houses which the merchants of Ypres hold are worth yearly £20, those of the merchants of Cologne £25 10s., those of the merchants of Caen, etc., £24 6s. 8d., stalls (*stallagia*) and empty places are worth £89 10s.¹²

After Lincoln the most important town in Lincolnshire in 1086 was Stamford, five wards of which were in the county, the sixth being in North-

¹ Pipe Roll, 16 Edw. I, m. 32 d. I omit the ports of which the customs were under £1,000.

² Pipe R. 17 Edw. I.

⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1339-41, p. 420.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1216-25, p. 157.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1327-30, p. 129.

¹⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, p. 58.

¹¹ The rent of houses after the fair until the next fair was £20 11s. 8½d.

¹² *Gale, Register of the Honour of Richmond*, 39.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 339.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 44, 50.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1225-32, p. 488.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1317-21, p. 187.

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amptonsire. In these five wards there were 136 mansions, and nine lawmen had sac and soke within their own houses and over their men. In 1182 an agreement between the abbot and convent of Peterborough and William de Humez, lord of Stamford, mentions dyers, weavers, butchers, fishermen, and fullers, who are to sell in their houses and courts, thus giving us proof of what trades were exercised in Stamford. Stamford's situation on the borders of three counties, where the road to the north entered Lincolnshire, enabled it to maintain its position, and we find Parliament meeting there in 1302 and 1309, and jousts being held there: it had, too, fifteen churches, and very nearly became a university town.

Grimsby and Grantham also were towns of some importance. Henry III, in 1227, granted by charter² to the men of Grimsby the town and privileges at a fee-farm rent of £111, which rent was reduced to £50 in 1256.³ In 1258, in consequence of disputes between the rich men and the poor men the king by charter issued regulations concerning the trade of the borough.⁴ At Grantham there were 111 burgesses in 1086, besides seventy-seven soke-men and thegns, and seventy-two bordars, representing a population of 1,300. In 1272 the burgesses of Lincoln complained that those of Grantham had erected a weighing-beam to their detriment, £10, because none should exist in the county except at Lincoln.⁵ Grantham was the home of many wealthy wool merchants: thus in 1297 the king owed⁶ £710 2s. 7½d. to sixteen Grantham men for 132½ sacks 27 stone of wool, of which £296 11s. 8d. were due to Roger de Beuver, and £85 to Elias de Salteby; and besides, £201 6s. 8d. were due to Grantham merchants for 36 sacks 2 stone of wool. In 1324 the north and south mills at Grantham, let for £36 13s. 4d. yearly, required extensive repairs, when 40 men carrying clay for the north mill and 30 carting it received 3d. a day each, materials for mending sluices cost 22s., boards 13s. 4d., 10 loads of stone 16s., 4 stonemasons to dress and lay the stone for 14 days received 3d. a day, 4 carpenters 3d. a day for 20 days, one master-carpenter 4s. a week for six weeks; for the south mill wood and boards cost 26s., 2 carpenters 3s. a week for six weeks, a wheel 22s. The tenant had also a lease of market dues, tolls, stallage and picage for £36 13s. 4d. a year., while the tronage was let to another for £4 a year.⁷ When preparations were made for the Crecy campaign, 1346-7, Lincolnshire was directed to find 160 men; Grantham was assessed at 10 armed men, Lincoln 40, Stamford 12, Boston 10, Spalding 6, but later the quota of Grantham was reduced to 5, and that of Stamford to 6.⁸ In 1342 an order⁹ is issued to the bailiffs of ports to detain suspected spies, which gives us a list of Lincolnshire ports: Lincoln, Boston, Saltney, Saltfleetby, Wainfleet, Barton upon Humber, Grimsby, Burton upon Stather, Whitton, South Ferriby, Skyter, North Coates, Swynhumber, Tetney, Wrangle, Surfleet, Spalding, Torksey, Gainsborough, and Kinnard's Ferry. Of some of these a word seems necessary to give some idea of their position in the matter of commerce. In 1326 Spalding is to provide¹⁰

¹ Peck, *Antiq. of Stamford*, v, 17. In 1339 the king owed Henry de Tideswell of Stamford £4,430 15s. 2d for his wool sent to parts beyond the sea. *Cal. Close*, 1339-41, p. 50.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. xiv Rep. App. viii*, 237.

³ *Ibid.* 238.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.) i*, 396.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 310.

⁷ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. 1910, Nos. 5 and 6.

⁸ Major-General Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*.

⁹ *Cal. Close* 1341-3, p. 485.

¹⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1323-7, p. 613.

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2 ships to protect the sea coast, with 40 armed men, victuals, etc., chosen from the better ships in the town; while in 1322 the king had thanked the men of Spalding for 20 armed men to be sent against the Scots.¹ Barton upon Humber had a population of nearly 1,000 in 1086, and much the same in 1562-7. In 1313 the good men of Barton upon Humber, having suffered depredation on the sea by the king's Scotch enemies to the loss of £1,000 for goods taken from 5 ships, are allowed to equip at their own expense two ships to set out against the king's enemies to repress their malice and forwardness.² In 1301 Boston is to send one, Grimsby one, and Wainfleet and Saltfleet two ships against the Scots.³

Something more must now be said about rents, wages, and prices. In 1246 we have an account⁴ of the stock Hugh Wak had on his manors of Bourn, Deeping, and Skellingthorpe. At Bourn there were 24 oxen at 6s., 2 cattle at 5s., 90 quarters of wheat at 2s., 14 of barley at 1s. 6d., and 100 of oats at 1s., making a total value of £22 15s. At Deeping the value is £57 13s. 8d.; 40 cows are valued at 5s., 30 two-year-olds at 2s. 6d., 18 calves at 1s. 6d., 30 pigs at 1s. 4d., 20 at 4d. each. At Skellingthorpe the total is £22 5s. 4d., there being 140 sheep at 1s. each. The prices are very low, especially for corn.⁵ The difference in the value of land in different parts of the county was very considerable. At Bourn and Deeping an acre of arable land was in 1282 worth 1s.; at Kelby 8d.; at Skellingthorpe 4d. to even 1½d.⁶ The value of meadow-land varied also, being at Bourn 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.; at Kelby 1s.; at Deeping 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per acre. At Bourn an acre of underwood in the park is worth 1s. and in a wood 6d.; the toll of the marsh, the sale of turbary, the agistment of pasture and mowing there are worth £13 6s. 8d.; two windmills are worth £4 8s.; and the toll of the market £6 13s. 4d. At Deeping the agistment of pasture in the marsh is worth £20, and 3 mills £20 yearly. At Carlton, in 1246, an acre of pasture is worth 1s. yearly, and in other places 8d., an acre of arable 4d., and in Reston 5d.; an acre of meadow in the Westfen 8d., and in Carlton Marsh 10d., and an acre of reeds 16d. A messuage in Lincoln in 1248 is worth 24s. yearly.⁷ The survey⁸ of the barony of Bayeux in 1288 gives the rent of land in many different parishes. The arable land was valued by the sown acre, and so the rent is double what it would be if the whole acreage were taken. At Linwood and Marston an acre sown is worth 1s., at Goxhill and Barrow 10d., at Stewton, Welbourn and West Torrington 8d., at Calcethorpe 7d., at Bulby, Boothby, and Thoresway 6d., at South Witham, Stainby, Elsthorpe, and Rothwell 4d. Meadow is worth 3s. per acre at Marston, 2s. at Calcethorpe, Welbourn, and Healing; 1s. 6d. at West Torrington and Cockerington; 1s. at Boothby, Barrow, Thoresway, and Cockerington; 10d. at Linwood, and at Stewton values of 18d., 15d., 12d., and 10d. are given. Several pasture is worth, per acre, 1s. at Welbourn, 8d. at Kelstern, 15d., 12d., 10d. and 8d. at Stewton, where 10 acres in crofts are worth as much as 3s. per acre. At Goxhill fresh meadow is worth 1s., salt meadow 8d. per acre. The scarcity of fuel was great, for at Stewton of 215 acres of wood each acre is worth 10s., and at Linwood the value is the same, it being

¹ *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, p. 549.

³ *Ibid.* 1292-1301, p. 583.

⁶ *Ibid.*

² *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 8.

⁴ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxv, 14.

⁷ *Ibid.* 18, 19.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 24, 27, 32.

⁸ *Linc. N. and Q.* viii, 46, 75.

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also stated that when the wood is cut an acre is worth 6*d.* yearly. At Calcethorpe 10 cottars pay 1*s.* 7*d.* each for their cottages. At Linwood the villeins pay 10*s.* a year for their bovates as the full rent; but a certain bovaté which is greater than any other is demised to a tenant-at-will at 15*s.*; the value of the buildings there is £9, and it is said that a man's work, reaping the lord's corn, and having food, is worth 1*d.* a day. At Welbourn a man's work making hay for half a day is worth ½*d.*, and hoeing the same, a day's work reaping is worth 1*d.*, the men also having 2 loaves and 2 herrings; mowing an acre of oats is worth 2*d.*, each man also having one sheaf of oats, as much as he can bind in one band, and carting corn is worth ½*d.* a cartload. At Goxhill a quarter of malt is valued at 2*s.* 6*d.*, a hen at 1*d.*, and 100 eggs at 3*d.*; harrowing is worth 1*d.* a day, hoeing ½*d.*; and at Rothwell a day's work reaping is worth 1*d.* and food. At Horncastle the mills are let for £10 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1279, but for £8 10*s.* in 1280; the common oven for £4 in 1279, and for £3 in 1280; the cottages and stalls for £6 22*d.* in 1279, and for £4 11*s.* 4*d.* in 1280; the toll of the market is £17 9*s.* 10*d.* in 1279, and £12 0*s.* 11½*d.* in 1280; and the crop of 22 acres sown with drage is sold for 66*s.*¹

A survey of the possessions of the Knights Hospitallers in England² in 1338 gives additional proof of the variations in the value of arable land: an acre at Skirbeck was worth 2*s.* yearly, being the highest price anywhere in England; at Gainsborough, Thorpe in the Fallows, and East Keal an acre was worth 1*s.*, at Willoughton 8*d.*, at Maltby, Saxby, Temple Bruer, Rowston, North Kirkby, Eagle, Wodehouse, and Whisby 6*d.*; at Cabourne, Lymber, Waddington, and Thimbleby 4*d.*; and at Mere and Temple Bruer 2*d.* Meadow was 25*d.* an acre at Skirbeck, 2*s.* at Gainsborough, Thorpe, Limber, Eagle, Whisby, and East Keal; 22*d.* at Saxby, 18*d.* at Maltby, Rowston, and Mere, 1*s.* at Cabourne, 10*d.* at Waddington, and 8*d.* at Lymber. At Eagle a cow's pasture was worth 2*s.*, a sheep's only 1*d.* At Maltby two water mills and one windmill were worth £3; at Skirbeck a windmill 16*s.* The amount spent on ale was very great; at Maltby-near-Louth, 70 quarters of wheat for bread at 2*s.* 8*d.* cost £9 6*s.* 8*d.*, 80 quarters of barley malt at 2*s.*, £8; while at Eagle 70 quarters of wheat for bread cost £8 15*s.*, and 100 quarters of barley malt for ale £10. The yearly wages of the bailiff at Maltby was 10*s.*, of the 'messor' 6*s.* 8*d.*, of the cook there and at Skirbeck 10*s.*; of the brewer at Maltby 10*s.*, of the chamberlain 10*s.* at both places; of the baker 10*s.*, of the porter at Skirbeck 6*s.* 8*d.*, of the gardener and clerk of the chapel there 6*s.* 8*d.* each, of the preceptor's servant³ 6*s.* 8*d.* at both places; of the knight's servant at Maltby 5*s.*, of the kitchen servant at Skirbeck 3*s.* 2*d.*, at Maltby 3*s.* 4*d.*, and of the stable servant at Maltby 3*s.* 4*d.* At Maltby the wages of a cow-herd and swine-herd were 3*s.* 9*d.* each, those of a laundress 1*s.* The robes, mantles, etc., of the preceptor and two brethren at Maltby cost £5, those of the preceptor and a brother at Skirbeck 69*s.* 4*d.* At Skirbeck the clothes of twenty infirm poor cost 2*s.* 4½*d.* each, and fuel 2*s.* 4*d.* At Temlby, probably Thimbleby, and Temple Bruer, a dovecote is worth 5*s.* At Gainsborough the robes and wages of a bailiff are 26*s.* 8*d.*, and those of his servant 10*s.* At Temple Bruer the wages of free servants at the table are 10*s.*, of a 'garcio' 6*s.* 8*d.*, and of a page 3*s.* The stipend

¹ *Linc. N. and Q.* iv, 236.

² Camden Soc.

³ Garcio.

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of a chaplain was 20s. The contribution of the county came to four-score marks; on the other hand, the Maltby and Skirbeck preceptors each spent 40s. in defending the rights of the house, giving gifts to the sheriff, etc.; at Skirbeck, as the founder of the house ordained, there were twenty poor in the infirmary and forty in the hall to keep, besides visitors. For 1304-5 we possess the evidence of another series of Account Rolls¹ of the earl of Lincoln's estates. Prices are higher, and at Greetham the corn brings in £44 instead of £27 9s. in 1295-6, made by 44 quarters of wheat at 7s. 6d., 17 quarters 5 bushels of peas at 4s., 64½ quarters of drage at 3s. 6d., 30½ quarters of barley at 4s. 6d., and 40¾ quarters of oats at 2s. 5d. At Sutton the corn sold for about £26 less than in 1295-6, no beans being grown, and there being less of every kind of corn except 'bere,' the acreage being considerably less; but the live stock fetched about £6 more, and more stock was left on the farm. Butter was 10½d. a stone, cheese 7¾d. a stone, a goose 1½d., oxen 17s. 3d., cows 9s. 6d., sheep 2s. 1d., lambs 10d. each, horses² 17s. 2d., swans 2s. 7d. Turning to the back of the roll we find the stock kept on this very valuable demesne farm: there were 12 horses, 3 foals, 63 oxen, 64 cows, 2 bulls, 45 young cattle, 26 calves, 345 'muttons,' 329 ewes, 203 hogs, 210 lambs, 21 pigs, 75 swans, 14 signets, and 3 geese; the cattle having increased by 26 and the sheep by 113 since 1295-6. Comparing this with the actual stock on a wold farm, it is found that while the stock is now three and a half times the rent, it was then one and a half times, taking the demesne farm at Sutton to be 1,000 acres at 2s. 6d. an acre, the 1305 value. It is difficult to estimate the rest of the capital required; if the corn required for the servants and for seed was worth £30, and £90 is allowed for ploughs, carts, harrows, etc., that is a generous estimate considering that the villeins did much of the labour and provided their own implements; and we find that the capital required in 1305 was two and a half times the rent, whereas now it is about eight times. The wool at Sutton in 1304-5 was from the clip of the year; there were 888 fleeces, of which 88 went in tithes and 3 to the shepherd, 797 fleeces, weighing 4 sacks 24 stone, being sold for £32 10s., the fleece weighing about 2¼ lb. As information about wool is scarce, because it is often not included in the accounts, some further notice may be useful here. In 1296 the constable of Bolingbroke accounts for 1,966 fleeces of wool received of the reeves of Waddington, Brattleby, Waithe, Bolingbroke, and Greetham, weighing 11 sacks 2 stone, of which 10 sacks 11 stone were sold, 15 stone consumed, and the rest retained, and there remained 4 stone of broken wool; also 137 wool-fells were received from the same reeves. Further, the wool for the twenty-third year consisted of 374 fleeces, weighing 67 stone, from Waithe; 192 fleeces, weighing 32½ stone, from Brattleby; 182 fleeces, weighing 36 stone, from Greetham; and 137 fleeces from Bolingbroke, the Waddington account being missing. Omitting Waddington, the earl had 1,683 sheep to clip this year on only five of his Lincolnshire manors, and that he had many more sheep on other manors is certain, for this same year 161 fleeces, weighing 1 sack, are sold at North Thoresby³; and in 1305, in the 'Hildyk' accounts,⁴ we find 266 fleeces, weighing 2 sacks, sold for £15 6s. 8d.

¹ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. I, No. 2.

³ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. I, No. 1.

² Affri.

⁴ Ibid. No. 2.

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For wages there is not such ample information as for rents. We have seen that at Stallingborough men were paid in 1341-2 for hoeing corn 1*d.* a day; in 1307-8 and 1331-2 they were paid¹ 1*d.* a day there for making hay, so that it looks as if 1*d.* a day was the wage of the ordinary agricultural labourer before the 'Black Death,' especially as the day's work of a villein on the Wake estate at Skellingthorpe, and often elsewhere, is valued at 1*d.*;² but at Sutton in 1295-6 ploughmen were allowed 3*d.* a day for meat and drink, and harrowers and sowers 1½*d.*; so the Stallingborough wage seems small, though no allowance of corn is mentioned. At Hildyk in 1305 a shepherd was paid 21*s.* 4*d.* in food and wages for the year, which is less than 1*d.* a day, but we know a shepherd had an allowance of wool.³ At Stallingborough mowing hay was 4*d.* an acre in 1307-8 and 1341-2; 5*d.* an acre in 1331-2; reaping corn in 1341-2 was 5*d.* to 6*d.* an acre, thrashing wheat 2*d.* and drage 1*d.* a quarter. At Wrangle in 1295-6 three ploughmen were paid 5*s.* each for a year's wages; mowing meadow was a little over 4½*d.* an acre, mowing, gathering, and binding corn 9*d.* an acre, and oats 7½*d.*, thrashing and winnowing corn of all kinds 1¾*d.* a quarter. At Sedgebrook 8 ploughmen, 1 carter and 1 'daye' were paid 40*s.* for wages for the year. At Steeping 4*s.* 9*d.* was paid for cleaning 169 perches of dykes; and at Waithe the cost of the dairy with the wages of the daye and of two women milking was 5*s.* 4*d.*⁴ At Hildyk in 1305 mowing meadow was 5*d.* an acre; at Greetham the wages of 4 ploughmen and 1 shepherd were 27*s.* 6*d.*, and thrashing and winnowing corn of all kinds was not quite 2*d.* a quarter.⁵ The Stallingborough Roll⁶ of 1341-2 tells us that 14 quarters of wheat and peas were mixed and given to a carter and 3 ploughmen at the rate of a quarter each for 12 weeks, a labourer at 1*d.* a day would earn enough to purchase the quarter in 8 weeks, so that he would have 2*s.* over to purchase other necessities for 12 weeks, but on the other hand might have a family to keep. It is possible therefore that he might obtain food enough when the harvests were good and prices low, but if a time of scarcity arose he and his family must have been in sore straits.⁷ Such a time did arise in 1315 when, according to the *Louth Park Chronicle*:

there was such a flood of water and rain that the fruits of the earth were entirely destroyed, and divers cattle, both sheep and oxen, died; the consequence was a famine of a most severe kind prevailed throughout the land, so that before Easter it was scarcely possible to find bread for sale. *Louth Park Chronicle* (Linc. Record Soc.), 24.

Then without doubt the landless labourer was in a truly miserable condition, and it is to be feared not for that year only, though the only indications to hand of the rise in prices in Lincolnshire⁸ are that in 1316 a quarter of beans was worth 8*s.*, of drage malt 9*s.*, a sack of wool £10, and in 1318 a quarter of rye flour 12*s.* Still these prices, high though they were, are much lower than those given by Thorold Rogers, so that we may hope that the famine was not so bad here as elsewhere.

¹ Acct. Rolls at Willingham House.

² Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. I, No. 2.

³ Ibid. bdle. I, No. 2.

⁴ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxv. 28.

⁵ Ibid. bdle. I, No. 1.

⁶ Addit. R. 25861 (B.M.).

⁷ But the labourer may have been a villein with land, on the produce of which he lived, or at the worst the relation of a villein living with him.

⁸ *Ingoldmells Ct. Rolls*, 50, 51, 52, 84. It was at this time that a man who admitted a debt of 3*s.* 6*d.* for beans was condoned because he was a pauper, and two men were sent to Lincoln jail for stealing a bushel of wheat and a ham, 50, 55.

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Two subjects of great importance to the social and economic life of the people, which in England have long gone more or less together, must now be considered—local government and the administration of the law. In Domesday Book we read in the ‘Clamores’ of the shire, and of the men of the North, South, and West Ridings of Lindsey, and of Kesteven and Holland, and of various wapentakes giving evidence concerning disputed facts, and the townships were represented by six villeins, the reeve and the priest. When the Lincolnshire eyre was held in 1202 the king’s justices had before them the county—i.e., the freeholders and representatives of every wapentake and township—and the juries of the several wapentakes make their presentments as to murders, robberies, etc. The justices question the townships, the wapentakes and the county, and then give their decision: we read of the sheriff’s peace as well as of the king’s, of the county court, of the wapentake court, and of the serjeant of the riding: the appellor may be called upon to carry the iron, and undergo the ordeal, as well as the appellee, and must be prepared to wage the battle, though instances of this are rare, and crime too often went unpunished: the coroners appear and bring their rolls, and in one case the county, admitting that its evidence was false, being contradicted by the coroners’ rolls and the jurors on oath, paid as much as £200 for fine.¹ This sum was to be collected throughout the county, ‘franchises excepted,’ which reminds us of the exemptions and liberties the great lords had obtained from the crown for themselves and their tenants, exemptions from tolls, murder fines, etc., and even a gaol delivery of their own; thus as late as 1515 the dean and chapter of Lincoln, reciting royal grants of the manor and hundred of Navenby with all liberties and free customs and all royal liberty, and all their justice of all things and matters which can happen within their said manor, viz.: ‘view of frank-pledge of all residents within our manor and hundred aforesaid as well of our own tenants as of others, and cognisance of pleas as well of the crown as of common pleas, and our own gaols of homicides, thieves, and other malefactors apprehended by our bailiffs within our manor and hundred, delivery and return of all writs and execution of the same by our bailiffs,’ constitute and depute Robert Hussy, John Wymbyshe, Robert Brown, and John Tailboys, their officers and justices,² ‘to execute and exercise what belongs to the offices of justices of the peace, and to deliver the gaol of all and singular the persons in the gaol this turn, granting to you full power to determine and proceed upon pleas as well of the crown as of common pleas, and to deliver our gaol of any homicides, etc., apprehended within our hundred and manor.’³ The county court had both a criminal and a civil jurisdiction, though actions therein for land were few in the thirteenth century and personal actions limited to 40s.; it witnessed transfers of land, and the act of outlawry could only be performed there;⁴ it was a unit for the purposes of rating, and probably had been in earlier days the popular court and council of the district.⁵ The court met at first twice a year, but that of Lincolnshire used to sit every 40 days,⁶ and was attended by the lords of lands and their stewards, and if they could not attend by the reeve and four men of the vill. The wapentake courts were held *temp.* Henry I twelve times

¹ *Select Pleas of the Crown* (Selden Soc.), xxii, 8, 10, 11, 18, 16.

² Justiciarii.

³ Cathedral Muniment Room, D ii, 83, 3.

⁴ Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law*, i, 540.

⁵ Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.* i, 130, 425.

⁶ Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.* i, 524, 525.

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a year, *temp.* Henry III every three weeks, while twice in the year all the freemen of the wapentake were called to the view of frankpledge or tourn held under the sheriff,¹ there twelve were sworn to make presentments, the rest being sworn by dozens and by townships to make presentments to them which they can add to or reject; cases of felony must go to the king's court, but minor offences, such as nuisances and scuffles, may be adjudicated upon. Considering his attendances at these courts, that he might be summoned as a juror to Westminster as well as to Lincoln, and might owe suit every 3 weeks at his manor court, it is no wonder that the Lincolnshire freeholder made complaint, and that sometimes suits had to be postponed for want of jurors. In 1226 many pleas in the county court remained unheard for lack of daylight, and the sheriff told the knights and stewards and others of the county that they must come again next morning, hear the complaints and make the judgements, which they refused to do, saying that the court should only be held for one day at a time, whereupon he adjourned seven score cases to the wapentake court, as he could not alone make judgements. There it was said the knights, etc., ought not to make the judgements there or elsewhere outside the county court, and, though he answered that he should not stay his hand from doing justice to the poor without some command, they went out, and he had to depart, his business undone.²

The best idea of local government may be derived from manorial documents. We find before us a community of peasants, bond and free, to a great extent self-governing, making and enforcing their own regulations concerning matters of great and daily importance to a rural township, punishing immorality, and exercising a very extensive and powerful authority within their jurisdiction of a civil and criminal character. In 1314 the township of Ingoldmells presents that the fence between Winthorpe and Ingoldmells is not made, that the way in the same place has been cut and the water turned out of its course, that the dykes and ways are to be repaired before 1 August, that two men weighed with false weights, and that eleven persons are in mercy for forestalling;³ in 1315 it presents that John Mareis has injured the king's way to the detriment of the whole community, that with the abetment of the graves of the dykes of the south common of Burgh many persons cut the defence between Scalflet and the marsh, by which the lands of the tenants of the lord have been inundated, that John Bride drew blood from Wymund de Westrig, that Sarah Norman raised the hue justly upon Matilda de Presthorp, that Hawis Sabelyn is guilty of immorality, that certain persons do not repair nor make the defence between Scalflet and the lands below Burgh, therefore they are in mercy, and are to be attached to repair and sustain the same; in 1411 two keepers of the banks of the sea of Skegness were elected and sworn, and it is commanded them by the steward in the court that they diligently guard and cause to be repaired all defects of the banks according to the custom before due and of right used under the pain of £20, and that they compel all others within the lordship to help them to distrain for the repair of the said banks in the places defective, as is of custom, viz. each for his portion, as it happens and is ordained by the said township under the said penalty.⁴ The tenants, both in socage and

¹ Stubbs, *op. cit.* i, 430.

² *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* 38.

³ Pollock and Maitland, *ut supra* i, 536.

⁴ *Ibid.* 43, 220.

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villeinage, of the prior of Spalding had to repair the banks of the sea and marsh according to the size of their tenements:¹ and in a book of 'customs and customary uses of the manor and lordship of Spalding . . . in a book of record and by the testimony of divers very old jurors and by other evidences worthy of credit whereby they are proved to be ancient and far older than the memory of all living persons,' confirmed by the lord prior and the chief steward in 1424, it is 'noted that in free tenements, and in bond lands or lands held in villeinage, and in demesne lands of the lord let to farm,' every acre, if ever doubt shall arise, shall be measured by the perch used and known in each township, the perch in Pinchbeck being 20 ft. long and not less, and in the other three towns as in an indenture.² At Ormsby in 1472 :

Because the rector of Ketsby has not repaired his part of a certain sewer in Ketsby, as was enjoined at the last Great Court on the pain of 6*d.*, therefore he incurs the said pain, nevertheless they present that he make the repairs before Michaelmas next under the pain of 2*s.*³

In these early days the manor court not only enabled the tenants to thus regulate matters of importance to them all, but there they could recover debts and damages for trespasses, and enforce agreements; there too offenders against the criminal law were punished, and the judgements delivered were not those of the lord or his steward, but of the court, composed of the tenants, bond and free, and they were ruled in accordance with the customs of the manor defined by themselves.⁴ In cases of felony the prosecutors 'appealed' the felons, as in the king's courts, who had the right to choose between trial by the court or before the king's justices. In a case at Ingoldmells in 1316 two women, accused of house-breaking and robbery, 'put themselves for good or evil upon the court, which says that they are therein guilty, therefore they are hanged,' their chattels, valued at 6*d.* going to the lord.⁵

For some idea of the royal justice we must turn to the Lincoln Assize Rolls, which at the same time will give us an insight into the habits and manners of the times. Much the greater portion of these rolls is taken up by pleas concerning land, dower, and advowsons, but glimpses of social life are sometimes allowed us. In 1202⁶ two pleas are postponed because Henry de Longo Campo and John Malherbe are beyond the sea in the king's service; the Burgh of Stamford gives the king 10 marks to have their ancient customs and liberties, 'and thereupon let it be inquired by the said Burgh if assizes of *mort d'ancestor* were wont to be taken touching tenements in Stamford or not'; the prior of Nocton complains that Thomas de Arcy has deforced him of the common of pasture on 1,500 acres of land which formerly were pasture and now are profitable land;⁷ we hear of a landowner who 'died in the land of Jerusalem,'⁸ of a lady dowered at the door of the church;⁹ the Templars and the prior of Sempringham claim that they ought not to implead except before the king or his chief justice.¹⁰ In 1244-5 the abbot of Bardney claims against Gilbert de Gaunt free passage over the

¹ Cole MSS. vol. 43.

³ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 257.

⁵ *Ibid.* 55, 62.

⁸ *Ibid.* m. 3.

² Document belonging to the lord of Spalding manor.

⁴ *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* xxix.

⁶ Assize R. 478, m. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.* m. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.* m. 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

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Humber for himself and his household, and horses and carts and harness, Gilbert and his men refusing free passage for the harness; eventually Gilbert grants such way at Barton, but not any passage from Hessle to Barton.¹ Gilbert de Gaunt acknowledges that he and his villeins of Skendleby owe suit to the mill of the abbot of Bardney there.² The parson of Frodingham successfully claimed common of pasture in Santon as belonging to his free tenement in Frodingham and Brumby, it being admitted that the men of these vills and the men of Santon used to common with their cattle in their pastures *born cum born*, though the defendants assert that boundaries were made since so that each vill knew its certain portion;³ the prior of Spalding complains that Lambert de Multon has set up a market in Fleet to the injury of his at Spalding;⁴ we read of 60 acres of marsh newly acquired at Tydd,⁵ and of pasture in a field which when sown is put in ward by the hayward of the vill;⁶ the pleas of the township of Stamford fill a considerable space,⁷ one man, distrained by the bailiffs of the fair because he let his houses in the fair of Stamford against the custom of the vill, recovers his chattels and 40s. damages; pleas of the city of Lincoln and county follow; and the custom of the vill of Grimsby is said to be that no claim can be sustained by an heir of full age against a purchaser who has had possession for a year and a day, or by a wife even for her own land against a purchaser in the same position.⁸ In 1271-2 it is stated that the whole manor of Coleby is villeinage, except the fee le ffaconer:⁹ the charter is given of John Deyncourt demising in 1269 his demesne land in Branston to the monks of Kirkstead, the abbot in his great necessity having freed him of £300 which he owed Abraham, a Lincoln Jew;¹⁰ the bridges of the public street between Sleaford and Stow Church being in a dangerous state the justices are ordered to inquire, by oath of 16 men of the wapentakes of Aveland and Ashwardhurn, who ought to repair them, and direct the sheriff to enforce the order;¹¹ in the pleas of the city of Lincoln we hear of a jury of 24 citizens, and Thomas de Bellofago demands against William de Hologate, mayor, and others, £110, asserting that, when the community of the city fined with 1,000 marks for their trespasses in the time of disturbance in the kingdom, he, being then mayor, paid £110 for the citizens; the defendants assert that, they having complained before the justices that Thomas, when mayor, made many extortions and took fines, toll, and murage which he did not place to the profit of the city, it was agreed that he should remise all actions for debts against the community, and stay all actions for his exactions.¹² In 1281 the reeve of Simon de Driby, distraining a tenant for suit of court, prevented him reaping his corn so that the cattle of the vill depastured it, and cut some of his meadow and carried it away, the rest being depastured by the cattle of the vill, and 20s. damages are recovered;¹³ in another case of excessive distraint it is alleged that 5s. paid by 'warnot' is in arrear for which the tenant ought to pay double every day;¹⁴ in a case concerning common of pasture the defendants defend by the body of a certain freeman, and the plaintiff likewise, so there is a duel between them with arms, upon which they are

¹ Assize R. 482, m. 20 d.

² Ibid. m. 36, see m. 38 d.

³ Ibid. m. 40 b.

⁴ Ibid. 483, m. 5.

⁵ Ibid. m. 80, 81.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. m. 45, 46.

⁸ Ibid. m. 30.

⁹ Ibid. 485, m. 3.

¹⁰ Ibid. m. 24.

¹¹ Ibid. m. 38.

¹² Ibid. m. 49 d.

¹³ Ibid. m. 78.

¹⁴ Ibid. m. 35.

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agreed.¹ In 1289 Geoffrey de Rocheford complains that Robert Saleman, who has a manor in Pinchbeck near his, has built a high chamber with windows towards his manor, and lies in wait for him and his servants within his court and shoots² with bows throwing small stones and other bows with 'buzons' and arrows into his court, so that he dare scarcely go outside his house, or his servants do any work for him. Robert says he shoots at magpies and other birds for pleasure, but not to frighten Geoffrey's servants or do him damage; the jurors say Geoffrey was often annoyed by stones falling within his court, and that Robert did this to annoy him and frighten his servants, therefore he is in mercy and is commanded to cease shooting towards Geoffrey's manor, so that he or his servants be molested.

Lay Subsidy Rolls³ in 1332 make possible some rough calculations concerning the population of Lincolnshire. Taking the number of sokemen, villeins, and bordars, as already given, and adding the 1,329 burgesses, 414 under-tenants, and the small number of censarii, etc. and multiplying by five, the population of 1086 may be put at 116,741. In 1332 the payers of the subsidy numbered 20,597. Cottagers, labourers,⁴ and probably the poorer villeins were exempted, and adding a number equal to the bordars and one third of the villeins of Domesday Book, and multiplying by five, gives a population⁵ of 124,825, an increase since 1086 of over 18,000. The whole of this increase is in the county, neither Lincoln nor Stamford having increased. In Holland the population has more than trebled.⁶ In Kesteven the increase⁷ is almost all in Ness, and largely in the Deepings and Langtoft. In the West Riding of Lindsey there is an increase of 3,785,⁸ chiefly in Axholme; in the South Riding an increase of 3,205,⁹ chiefly in the marsh parishes of Candleshoe and Calswaith, and in the North Riding there is a small decrease¹⁰ of 335. Thus it will be seen that the population has increased in the marsh and fen, and in the isle, where the soil was and is the most fertile, and the most suitable for small holdings. In the wapentake of Hill, entirely on the wolds, there is a decrease of 410, seeming to show that already the freeholders and villeins were decreasing there in number. There were in 1332 twenty-three places with more than 100 payers¹¹ of the subsidy, 15 in Holland, 1 in Kesteven, and 7 in Lindsey, exclusive of Lincoln with 432 and Stamford with 183. Amongst these neither Louth, Horncastle, Gainsborough, Bourn, Sleaford, nor even Grimsby or Grantham were included. The amounts paid tell the same tale about the distribution of wealth. After Lincoln the most is paid by Boston,¹² and Pinchbeck and Spalding both pay over £40, while 9 other places in Holland pay over £20, and 15 more over £10; in fact, every parish in Kirton, every parish in Elloe but Crowland and Tydd, and every parish in Skirbeck but Butterwick and Toft, paid over £10. In Kesteven only 6 places paid over £10, including Grantham,

¹ Assize R. 485, m. 44.

² Ibid. m. 29*d*. Trahendo de arcubus ad petram cum minutis lapidibus et similiter de aliis arcubus cum buzon et sagittis in curiam ipsius Galfridi.

³ $\frac{1285}{14}$, $\frac{1285}{15}$, $\frac{1285}{16}$.

⁴ Cal. Pat. 1338-40, p. 500.

⁵ In the case of Lincoln and Stamford the payers have been doubled, and then multiplied by five.

⁶ 19,140 from 6,125.

⁷ 35,120 from 33,590.

⁸ 19,880 from 16,095.

⁹ 26,460 from 23,255.

¹⁰ 28,410 to 28,075.

¹¹ Frampton 102, Kirton 151, Quadring 105, Gosberton 126, Sutterton 160, Pinchbeck 223, Spalding 149, Moulton 181, Whaplode 164, Sutton 170, Leek 164, Bennington 119, Leverton 140, Freiston 121, Boston 131, East Deeping 119, Barton-upon-Humber 126, Ingoldmells 123, Skidbrook 137, Mumby 106, Theddlethorpe 139, Mablethorpe 112, Belton 102.

¹² £60 19s. 8*d*.

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Bourn, and Sleaford, and in Lindsey only 4, including Louth and Barton, but not Grimsby or Gainsborough.¹

The year 1349 left its mark on the social and economic history of Lincolnshire more plainly than any other year since the Conquest. In this year, writes the *Louth Park Abbey Chronicler*,

the hand of the only Omnipotent God struck the human race with a deadly blow . . . this scourge in many places left less than a fifth part of the population remaining, it struck terror into the heart of the world, so great a pestilence before this time had never been seen, or heard of, or written of: in this year many monks of Louth Park died, among them Walter of Louth, Lord Abbot.²

The awful effects of this terrible pestilence, known as the 'Black Death,' are brought very vividly to our minds by the silent testimony of Bishop Gynwell's register of institutions of clergy to benefices. For the first five months of 1349 we find nothing unusual—only, in fact, 5 deaths; in June there are 15; then come the clear evidences of the calamity: there are 60 deaths recorded in July, 89 in August, 61 in September, and 51 in October; then comes a drop in the number: for November there are 29, for December only 13 deaths. At Stickford 4 clergy died, and 2 in several places. Of the towns Stamford suffered the most, losing 6 incumbents by death, besides 4 through other causes, while Lincoln, with 50 churches, only lost 2. The parts of Holland escaped better than Lindsey or Kesteven, there being only 7 institutions to churches there in the six months. The figures given are for the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow, and it may be added that in that of Lincoln there were 302 institutions in the last six months of 1349, the average for a year being 30 to 40, while for Stow there were 59, the average for a year being 6. The plague of course began earlier than appears in this register, and a monk of Thornton tells of 'a great and wonderful mortality of men in Lindsey, in South Ormsby, from Easter to Michaelmas.'³ He also records 'another mortality of children about Michaelmas, 1362,' and 'a third mortality in the Diocese of Lincoln, in the vill of Skendilby, and in other places,' in 1369, while there are a large number of institutions recorded for the end of 1361 and beginning of 1362. Henry Knighton⁴ writes that in 1349 sheep and cattle were untended in the fields and perished in large numbers, and much corn was lost for want of harvesters, but that prices of all things were low, wages being on the contrary extremely high. He says that in the towns many houses fell down for want of inhabitants, and that in 1361 there was another great mortality, especially amongst the young. The inquisition of Margaret, countess of Kent, 1349–50, for Greetham, tells of this 'pestilence and mortality of men arising in those parts, and the poverty of the country,'⁵ whereby customary tenants-at-will, who used to render £6 5s. 5d. now pay only £4 5s. 5d., and certain farmers pay 16s. 4d. instead of 35s., and the tallage of the customary tenants is 18s. 2d. instead of 30s. 2d. At Ormsby a messuage and bovate of land, which was let before and after the 'Black Death' for 13s. 4d. a year, was leased to a tenant for life 29 December 1349, who was to do four boon-days yearly with one man or woman in the autumn only for all manner of services and customs what-

¹ 78 payers in Grimsby paid £8 7s. 9½d., 37 in Gainsborough paid £6 14s. 1½d., while in Torksey there were only 44 payers, who paid £3 17s. 8d.

² *Chronicle*, 38.

⁴ *Chronicle* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 61, 62.

³ Campbell Ch. xxi, 4 (B.M.).

⁵ Chan. Inq. p. m. 23 Edw. III, pt. 1, No. 88.

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soever.¹ Never had the lords of manors been in such a position. The labour question had hitherto been of no anxiety to them, now they had to pay double the wages, or leave their corn to rot in the fields and their land unsown. Their tenants and labourers had suffered terribly, probably half had died, but now was their opportunity, and they had a right to take advantage of it, and obtain a large decrease of rent and increase of wages. There was for some years a struggle; it ended in a great improvement in the position both of the tenants and of the labourers. The landlords had three courses open to them. They could go on—some of them did for a time—farming their demesne land as before, and trying to make a profit notwithstanding the altered conditions. Or they could, as some had already done, let their land on lease to enfranchised villeins or other tenants for lives or years. Or they could let the whole of their demesne lands to their villeins at a money rent, reserving also certain ancient customs and payments.

An account roll of the manor of Saleby, 1358–9, affords an instance of a manor managed on the old system.² Stock sold brought £8 7s. 2½d.,³ a horse of the lord's selling for 25s., an old ox 10s., heifers 6s. to 8s. 6d., a bullock 15s., a bull 12s., sheep 1s. 5d. to 1s. 10d.; wood and fagots sold for as much as £19 5s. 7d., 9 acres of wood selling at 15s. an acre, fagots 5s. a hundred; tolls of Alford market from Michaelmas to the Purification were 30s.; the dairy produced £2 17s. 9½d., butter being 10d., and cheese 7½d. a stone, milk ½d. a gallon; the Lord de Welles pays £13 6s. 8d. for Alford market tolls sold to him; the lord advances £9 to buy sheep, etc.; divers things are sold for £3 18s. 8d.; and the total is £62 15s. 6½d. The balance due is £7 9s. 0¾d.; the expenses of ploughs are 19s. 5½d.; 11 pieces of iron are bought at 7d. a stone, and 4d. a piece is paid for working and putting them on the ploughs; making 4 new ploughs of the lord's wood costs 1s. 10d.; the cost of carts is 10s. 4d., 12 clouts are 1s., 200 nails 6d., 12 shoes for cart-horses 8d., a pair of wheels bare (of tires) 6s. 1d.; iron costs 3s. 10¾d., 30 shoes for the lord's horses are 2s. 3d., 300 nails 10½d.; small expenses are £1 9s. 8½d., fat to make candles being 1s. 2d. a stone, candles 2d. a lb., and a man is paid 4d. a day for making wattles for the fold. The wages of servants are £2 13s.; an old sail for the mill is 3s.; corn purchased is £1 15s. 3d., wheat being 5s. 1d., malt 4s. 4d. a quarter; stock purchased costs £19 6s. 3d., an ox is 11s., muttons 1s. 10d. to 2s. 1d., ewes 1s. 7d., hogs 10d., chickens 1d.; the costs of the dairy are 9s. 0½d.; ditching at a 1d. a perch 2s. 4d.; expenses of sheep 3s. 10d., 6 men washing, etc. 260 sheep for 1 day 2d. each, 24 gallons of milk for the lambs 1s. 10d.; thrashing 58 quarters wheat, 32 quarters peas, 83 quarters 2 bushels drage at 2d. a quarter £1 7s. 6d., winnowing 2d. per 5 quarters 5s. 6d.; making fagots 9d. to 1s. per 100, £3 18s., hoeing corn 2s., hire of 8 acres of meadow at Sutton 16s., mowing this and 41½ acres in Saleby, etc. at 6d. per acre, by rod of 17 ft., £1 4s. 7½d.; mowers at 6d. a day, etc. 6s., reaping at Saleby and Thoresthorpe 6s. 3d., autumn labourers 3d. a day, reaping, etc. 3 acres of wheat 10d. an acre, 8½ acres wheat, peas, and drage 7½d. an acre; outside payments £4 13s. 10d., 30 yds. of cloth 3s., 2 barrels of white vinegar 16s. 6d., 12 yds. of cloth for attendants of the Baron de Strafford 15s. 6d., wine at

¹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 293.

² Harl. R. AA. 31 (B.M.).

³ The figures of the roll are given.

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Alford when the baron was there 3s., for the reeve's boys at school at Strubby 11s. 8d., cloth for a gown for Lady Margaret 4s., divers necessities for the house 23s., other payments £18 13s. 11d., money paid to the lord £4 2s. 4d., provisions for the house £9 13s. 4d. The total expenses are £72 13s. 3½d., and the adverse balance £9 17s. 9½d. On the back of the roll the provisions used in the house from the demesne farm are recorded:—49 quarters of wheat, 1½ of drage, 62½ of malt, 3¼ of drage and 9 of peas for the lord's horses, 4 of malt at the burial of Sir James Stafford, 2 bullocks, 3 calves, 1 boar, 10 pigs, 21 wethers, and 6 more at the above burial, 10 ewes, 116 geese, 20 capons, and 37 gallons of milk. In addition there are several items of expenses of the house struck out, meat £3 14s. 9d., expenses from Michaelmas to St. Hilary £4 5s. 3d., 100 oysters 8d., fish £2 5s., so that we obtain some idea of the manner of living in the household of a Lincolnshire knight in the fourteenth century; bread, meat, and ale were consumed to the value of £58, representing £870 now. Other documents show that the adverse balance could be made up from the receipts of other manors; moreover the Saleby rents are not included, nor the sale of wool. If we take the produce of the farm used in the house as worth £36, the wool from 218 sheep at £6 6s., and add the sales of stock, dairy and diverse things, we have a total receipt of £57 9s., from which we must deduct the expenses, nearly £36, leaving a balance of over £21. In 1291 the estimated value of the manor was £27 7s. 5d., 8 bovates of demesne arable land being valued at 13s. 4d. each, the rent of free-tenants at 56s. 7d., and of 18 bovates held by bond-tenants £12 13s. 4d.¹

In 1359 sixty-five customaries had two meals one day,² on which they were still bound to work, and received from the store in bread 1 quarter of wheat, 2¾ lb. of butter, 6½ stone of cheese, and 28 gallons of milk. But the bailiff farming broke down, and in 1425 we find at Saleby a rental instead of a 'compotus,' a bovat of land and messuage letting for 13s. 4d. to 20s., a toft for 3s. to 4s., a toft with croft for 4s. to 5s., and the total rental being £17 8s. 4d., besides 39s. 4d. from outside tenants.

Instances of lands being let on lease have already been given, so it need only be stated that at Ormsby the practice was continued, a messuage and bovat of land being let³ in 1375 and 1383 on a lease for lives at the old rent of 13s. 4d., and that a similar system prevailed at Tothill⁴ in the fourteenth century and onwards. The third plan was that at Sutton, where in 1367 a thousand acres of demesne with fisheries were demised 'to the whole homage at the parish church of Sutton on the Lord's Day, the Feast of St. Barnabas, to hold to the said homage and their heirs in bondage, to divide amongst themselves according to the state and power of each of them,' rendering yearly £162 4s. 6d.,⁵ a rent that had been reduced to £128 13s. 6d. in 1422, and was the same in 1485. This demise when first made may have caused the lord little loss, for, though his receipts were diminished, he avoided farming risks, and had his farming capital for other purposes; but in the end the loss was very heavy, for his demesne became copyhold land at a small rent, with, however, fines on deaths and alienations. The earlier commutation at Ingold-

¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 19 Edw. I, No. 9.

² Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 294, 295.

³ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. 243, No. 3931.

⁴ Probably boon-days.

⁵ Charters of Lord Willoughby de Broke.

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mells, already mentioned, was even more favourable in the end to the bond-tenants, because the fines there became certain. On the other Lincolnshire manors of the Bolingbroke honour the demesne farm was also given up. At Waithe Hall 174½ acres of arable land were let with the capital messuage to the community of tenants to farm for £6 11s. in 1421-2,¹ but were 'lately demised'² to four bond-tenants for a term of years in 1485 at the same rent. At Greetham, 1421-2, the demesne lands were let for 66s. 8d., including 6s. 8d. of increment of rent, and in 1485 the site of the manor and all meadow and pasture of the demesne, the hall with the chamber excepted, have lately been demised to the rector for a term of six years, thus the demesne lands remain in the hands of the lord, and he eventually obtains their increased value. On other manors we read of demesne lands being demised without particulars as to the terms. It may be concluded then that lords of Lincolnshire manors lost largely by the Black Death, and that even when they had altered their system of estate management their income was less than in the thirteenth century.

Many freeholders doubtless died of the pestilence, and their number was being diminished also from other causes. The wealthier landlords were buying land. Sir William Skipwith acquired lands at Ormsby, Catdale, and Calthorpe 1383-91.³ Richard Welby of Moulton, in his will 1465, mentions lands he has purchased in Moulton, Whaplode, and Fleet, and Robert Willoughby, Lord de Eresby, in his will 1452, lands purchased in Lincolnshire.⁴ It seems, too, that the smaller gentry and wealthier yeomen were adding to their estates at the expense of the poorer freeholders. In 1424 Robert son of Robert Cracroft of Hogsthorpe was given possession of lands in Orby, formerly Richard Smyth's.⁵ In 1479 Robert Cust, flaxman, acquired a property in Pinchbeck, which had belonged to the Levys family, and both the Beales and the Randsons were increasing their properties during the period under consideration.⁶ The villein, after the distress of the pestilence was over, undoubtedly was a gainer. At first there was a struggle, the lords resisting the rise of wages, and the villeins trying to free themselves from boon-days as well as from week-day services. In 1386 the free jurors at Ingoldmells presented that two men went to Swaby for excessive salary to the great damage of the lord and the whole community,⁷ and a fine was imposed: in 1388-9 two women and five men were amerced for the same offence,⁸ and then we hear no more of such amercements except of a woman who is put out at a business at Winthorpe in 1429.⁹

But the villeins are trying to elude old customs; in 1356 the township is amerced for concealing an exchange of lands on which a fine is due,¹⁰ and in 1411 a bond-tenant has alienated by charter a messuage in Yarburgh without the lord's licence, and it is seized and demised to a tenant to farm.¹¹ In Lincolnshire the disturbances were slight, but in 1399 Robert de Bernack, lord of the manor of Driby, 'was spoiled and beaten in Driby by false and malicious men, robbers and thieves, and Robert Piper, his reeve, and Henry, his butler, were wounded and slain, upon whose souls may God have mercy,

¹ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. 243, No. 3931.

² Ibid. 284, No. 3970.

³ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 69; Charter at Ormsby.

⁴ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 191, 192.

⁵ Charter at Gunby.

⁶ *Records of the Cust Family*, 14, 15, 21, 77, 79, 130, 145-57.

⁷ *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* 180.

⁸ Ibid. 185, 186.

⁹ Ibid. 263.

¹⁰ Ibid. 148.

¹¹ Ibid. 218.

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and many others of his dependents were beaten and grievously wounded.'¹ The weekly labour services on the manors of the priory of Spalding at Spalding, Weston, and Moulton had been commuted for money payments before 'the memory of all living persons' in 1424,² and in 1444 certain customs at Spalding, Pinchbeck, Weston and Moulton, such as tallage, boon-days, pannage, &c., are commuted for money rents; at Spalding holders of bond-land agree to pay 4*d.* of new rent per acre and 14*d.* for tallage; at Pinchbeck 3*d.* of new rent and 14*d.* tallage; at Weston 4*d.* new rent and 12½*d.* tallage; and at Moulton 3½*d.* new rent and 12½*d.* tallage; and in the same document it is provided that the bond-tenant shall do his fealty in these words: 'I xall fayth bere to the lord of this lordeschep and justifiable be in body godys and in catell as his oune Mann att his oune Wyll. So helppe me God att the holy dome and be this boke.'³ Thus the villein became a copyholder at a fixed customary rent, and there is proof that many copyholders prospered so much as to become yeomen and even gentlemen. In 1421-2 several tenants of bond-land at Ingoldmells had added to their holdings by purchasing both bond and free land⁴; Robert Gryn *alias* Grene, with Richard his son, acquired in 1392 considerable freehold property in East Kirkby, and in 1477 Richard Grenne, son of John, is described as 'gent,' though in 1492 his heiress had to come to the court of Ingoldmells and beg to be admitted to her lands and pay a fine of £5.⁵

The towns of Lincolnshire were declining in prosperity in the fifteenth century. Their trade depended largely upon the exports of wool carried on by the merchants of the staple, and the merchant adventurers were fast getting the upper hand; the wool was being manufactured into cloth, and the trade was leaving the eastern counties for the south and west.⁶ Lincoln, so long as it remained a staple town, continued fairly prosperous. A roll of the staple⁷ gives the names of the mayor and constables of the staple of the city of Lincoln elected by the merchants, foreign as well as English, and admitted by the king. Sometimes the merchants disagreed; thus in 1354 some would elect Robert de Dalderby, some Walter de Kelby, and some William de Spaigne, as mayor, when, 'lest the sale and purchase of wool, etc., be impeded, or we be deprived of our customs and subsidies,' the king appoints Walter mayor until Michaelmas, when the matter can be discussed before the council and terminated. In 1357 a value is put upon different kinds of wool below which none may be sold, though a seller may obtain as much more as he can. Each sack is to contain 26 stones of 14 lb. each, and Hereford wool is valued at 12½ marks, Shropshire at 11 marks, Lincolnshire, except Holland, at 10½ marks, Oxfordshire at 9½ marks, Norfolk and Suffolk at 5½ marks, &c., per sack. In 1362 William de Skipwith and other justices were informed that the mayor and constables of the staple have jurisdiction within the vills where the staples are of all things belonging to the staple by the law of merchants, and not by the common law of the kingdom nor by

¹ Campbell Ch. xxi, 4 (B.M.).

² MS. at Spalding. The rent is 17*d.* per acre at Spalding, 18*d.* at Weston, 16½*d.* at Moulton. The fine on alienation or death is fixed at 2*s.* 2*d.* per acre at Pinchbeck, and at Spalding and Weston one year's rent.

³ Myntling Book in Library of Spalding Gentlemen's Society.

⁴ *Linc. N. and Q.* vii, 169.

⁶ Green, *Town Life in the 15th Century*, *passim*.

⁵ *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* xxx, 283.

⁷ No. 1.

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the customs of cities, and this applies to all merchants coming to the staple, and their servants and families. The transfer of the staple to Boston in 1369, where Frederic de Tilney was the first mayor of the staple,¹ was a great blow to the trade of Lincoln. In 1399 the citizens informed² the new king of the decadence of their city since the removal of the staple, and in 1433 Lincoln was relieved of payment to the subsidy because of its poverty.³ Thenceforward come continual complaints of impoverishment. In 1447 the mayor and citizens complain that they are so pauperized by the withdrawal of merchants, and by a great pestilence which has continued there for a long time, and other worldly misfortunes, that scarcely 200 citizens remain in the city.⁴ In a petition to Richard II the mayor and citizens speak of the desolation, ruin, and decay of the city, because of the loss of the staple of wool, and the great mortality by pestilence, so that the merchants of the staple of Calais have left the city.⁵

And yet a suspicion arises that affairs at Lincoln were not so extremely bad; there is a temptation to exaggerate misfortunes when taxes are in question, and in 1377 it is estimated that Lincoln had a population of 5,000, being the sixth town in the kingdom; in 1453 the assessment of Lincoln comes eighth, and fifty years later actually fourth of all English towns;⁶ moreover it is clear from the will⁷ of Robert de Sutton, merchant of Lincoln, 1413, and from the position his family took in the county, that there were prosperous merchants at Lincoln. Boston prospered longer because of its staple. But the course of events went steadily against the trade carried on by foreign traders, though Edward IV restored to the Hanseatic merchants their privileges, including their guildhall and steelyard in London, and their houses in Boston and Lynn.⁸

Other towns and ports in Lincolnshire were also suffering. Thus in 1458 the king granted to his town of Wainfleet a charter of incorporation, three fairs, and other privileges, on the petition of his tenants there, because the town 'being already in great ruin and as it were deserted by the inhabitants, seems to be coming to a complete destruction and perpetual desolation, unless our royal relief be speedily bestowed upon the place.'⁹

It is difficult to find information for the fifteenth century, but the account rolls of the duchy of Lancaster give rentals for manors in many parts of the county. The loss of rents at Greetham because of the pestilence has been mentioned: before 1421-2 the rents both of the demesne lands and of the bond lands have gone back to the old figures, as was the case at Ormsby; in 1485 the rents were almost the same.¹⁰ At Bolingbroke the rents, &c., come in 1421-2 to £45, the customary tenants paying £3 6s. 2d. for their works at the old rates of 2d. a work for ploughing and 1d. for reaping; 80 acres of arable land are demised for 47s., they had let for 57s., but 13½ acres lie fallow; the farm 'del ffryth' near Revesby, which used to let for £6 13s. 4d., is now demised for ten years at 113s. 4d.; the farm of the hall is unlet, the dovecote is destroyed, and the water-mill, which

¹ Roll No. 1

² Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 310.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 11.

⁴ T. Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 116, 117.

⁵ Green, *Town Life in the 15th Century*, i, 109.

⁶ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. 243, No. 3913 (1421-2); *Ibid.* bdle. 248, No. 3970 (1484-5).

⁷ Ross, *Civitas Linc.* 20.

⁸ *Ibid.* 263, 264.

⁹ Gibbons, *Early Linc. Wills*, 139.

¹⁰ *Linc. N. and Q.* ii, 12.

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used to let for 20s., is newly demised for 13s. 4d.; the tolls of the market and fairs are demised for 26s. 8d., 10s. less than before; 6 acres of meadow are sold for 15s., and 12 acres of meadow at Northdyk are let for a term of 20 years for 29s.; the cost of the mill in repairs is 32s. 10d., that of the 'Hallehous' 25s. 6d.; in 1484-5 the receipts are £48. At Wrangle in 1420-1¹ the receipts are £61 12s.; in 1484-5 they are £38 12s., the saltpits with tofts and fisheries letting for £4 18s. 3d. instead of £15, the demesne lands for £12 8s. instead of £14 9s. 2d., pasture for £5 instead of £8 16s., meadow for 12s. instead of 24s., there being nothing for market and port tolls, the perquisites of courts being 10s. 8d. instead of £3, and there being nothing for agistments instead of 47s. At Waithe Hall in 1421-2 the receipts are nearly £40, 174½ acres of arable demesne land letting at 9d. an acre; in 1484-5 the receipts are £34 8s., the demesne lands letting for the same rent, the loss being in the profit of the courts and in an item of 43s. 4d. for willows sold. At Sutton the income, which was £443 in 1296, was £391 in 1367, £356 in 1421, and £322 in 1485. In 1420-1 the 1,000 acres of demesne land which let in 1367 for £162 3s. 6d. let for £128 13s. 6d., and decay of rents comes to £2 6s. 9d. besides; in 1484-5 the decay of rents is £13 1s., 3 acres of escheat let for 6s. 8d. instead of 9s., another 3 acres for 2s. 6d. instead of 9s., 2 acres for 20d. instead of 6s., and of herbage let, 2 acres of land and pasture at Pikehale let for 4s. instead of 10s., 2 acres at Wrightes for 3s. instead of 8s. At Waddington,² 1412-3, rents of free and bond tenants charged in the accounts at £20 9s. 5d. are demised for £7 17s. 6d. only. Evidently there was no rise of rents in the fifteenth century, but rather the contrary. A rental of a yeoman at Bicker³ shows that in 1468 land there let for 3s. 4d. down to 4d. an acre, the 'hed' house letting for 3s. 4d. At Bolingbroke, 1421-2, demesne arable land (80 acres) let at 7d. an acre, having been 8½d. before.

About wages there is quite a different story to tell. The rise because of the pestilence was immediate and large. At Stallingborough⁴ the wage for making hay was doubled in 1355-6, being 2d. instead of 1d. a day, mowing was 6d. instead of 4d. an acre, thrashing wheat was 3d. a quarter, barley and peas 2d., mowing and tying corn was 10d. an acre, reaping peas 5d. At Cuxwold,⁵ 1358-9, thrashing wheat and other corn was 2½d., thrashing drage 1½d. a quarter, mowing hay was 5d. an acre, making 2d. a day, reaping and binding corn (mixed) 6d. an acre, three servants were paid 7s. each for the year, and given 2 quarters 2 bushels of peas for 18 weeks from Michaelmas, and 4 quarters of wheat for 32 weeks up to Michaelmas, besides 6 bushels of oats for pottage, and 2d. a score was paid for shearing six score sheep and winding the wool. At Saleby it has been already stated that thrashing corn was 2d. a quarter, washing and shearing sheep or candle-making 2d. a day. Skilled labour was about 4d. a day, as making wattles at Saleby, ramming clay into the mill-dam, and thatching a house at Bolingbroke, in 1421-2. At Boston in 1390 a master carpenter was paid 8d., and other carpenters working on a ship 6d. a day.⁶ A carpenter mending the mill-wheel at Bolingbroke, 1420-1, was paid 5d. a day, but another carpenter working with him only 2d. a

¹ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. 243, No. 3,912 (1420-1). ² *Linc. N. and Q.* iii, 80.

³ *Records of the Cust Family*, i, 151.

⁴ Willingham Muniments.

⁵ Harl. R. Y. 12 (B.M.), one new plough cost 9d.

⁶ *Derby Accounts* (Camd. Soc.) (1894), 27.

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day. At Le Fryth, 1421-2, two men repairing the sea-bank had 4*d.* a day each, and a man was paid 4*d.* a rod for scouring, and 2*d.* to 3*d.* a rod for cleaning dykes. In 1364-5 at Gedney, where the bailiff farming was still continued, a man with a plough for three days at the winter sowing cost 3*d.*, a carpenter was paid 4*d.* a day and a thatcher the same; a man digging roots of trees 3*d.* a day, the lord's servants 1*d.* a day for the same; thrashing wheat and mixture was 3½*d.*, beans 2*d.*, drage 1½*d.* a quarter, hoeing corn was 2*d.*, corn and beans 1½*d.* an acre; the yearly wages of 'messor,' carpenter, and oxherd were 5*s.* each, of the gardener 13*s.* 4*d.*; and they have also an allowance of a quarter of wheat each for 12 weeks.¹ Wheat was then 7*s.* a quarter, and a plough cost 2*s.* 9*d.*, a spade for the garden 1*s.*

The fifteenth century has been termed 'the golden age' of the English labourer, and up to the middle of the nineteenth century this may have been so. Taking corn at 4*s.* a quarter, for the Lincolnshire agricultural labourer did not live on wheat only, and wages at 3*d.* a day, he could purchase a quarter in 3 weeks, and, as the usual allowance was a quarter for 9 or more weeks, there was a good margin for other necessities. Of the comforts of the present day he knew nothing. He lived in a hovel without a chimney, the fire being lit in the centre of the room, and the smoke going out of a hole in the roof; he had to go to bed almost with the sun in winter, for it took two-thirds of a day's wages (2*d.*) to buy a pound of candles, fuel and fagots being very dear. Food he had in plenty, probably more beef and mutton than a labourer now; but in the winter his meat was all salted, for there were no turnips or artificial foods to fatten sheep or cattle then, and he had no green vegetables, and the result was scurvy, pestilence, and leprosy, promoted too by filthy habits and ignorance of sanitary requirements. In many cases he held a small villein holding, or lived with a relative who did, or he may have even been a small freeholder; but in the fifteenth century men born villeins were leaving their birthplace to seek better wages elsewhere. This perhaps eventually helped to increase the number of the wandering poor of whom we hear very soon, for they could not, as a man with a villein holding could, surrender their farm, when no longer able to work, upon condition that an allowance of corn was made to them for life.²

In the matter of education there were more facilities than is sometimes thought, in the monastic or cathedral school, or by a chantry priest whose duty it was to instruct boys as well in good morals as in the grammatical art.³ We know that the sons of villeins were sent to school, and became chaplains⁴ and even bishops,⁵ and the numerous court and account rolls, all in Latin, tell of a knowledge which we should not otherwise suspect.

In the administration of the law a great change was proceeding. Legislation during Edward III's reign⁶ provided that justices of the peace should hear and determine all manner of felonies; and by degrees the administration of county business was entrusted to these justices in quarter sessions. The result was the disappearance of the county and wapentake

¹ Mins. Accts. bdl. 242, No. 3,888.

² *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxiv, 310. The allowance for a man and his wife was one quarter of wheat, half a quarter of rye, the same of barley, and of beans and peas.

³ Chant. Cert. No. 1,477; Curtey's Chantry, Grantham.

⁴ *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* xxviii.

⁵ e.g. Bishop Grosteste.

⁶ *Stat. of the Realm*, i, 301, 364. See *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, pp. 46, 47, for lists of Linc. J.P.s in 1377.

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courts, and a growing change in the work of the manorial courts. At Ingoldmells cases of felony ceased to be tried;¹ and as time goes on less and less space is given on the rolls to police cases, and, though the custom of the manor is declared to be that a customary tenant should not implead another tenant outside the manor for any matter which could be determined in the manorial court, in the sixteenth century tenants had made complaints concerning the common sewers or sea-banks of the manor before a justice of the peace.

Amongst other duties laid by Parliament upon justices in quarter sessions was that of fixing the wages for their district, and we have records of statute wages as early as 1388 and 1444, but not for the county of Lincoln. The Statute of Labourers, which followed a proclamation of the king that no one was to give or take higher wages than were given before the Black Death, provided that prices should be regulated as well as wages, but the labourers were masters of the situation, and the attempt failed. There were certainly disturbances in Lincolnshire at this time: in 1383 bondmen at Cadney and Howsham had rebelliously withdrawn their services due to the prior of Newstead;² in 1384 information is given that certain disturbers of the peace intend with an armed force to enter and keep the manor of Lea;³ and in 1385 John de Feriby, a J.P., escheator, and lord of Bonby, complains that certain persons have prevented him from executing his office of escheator at Fillingham, and from, as a justice, attaching a man there, and his deputy in his court at Bonby from holding the court.⁴ But men of position were as lawless as their inferiors; in 1380 John Pouger, sheriff of Lincolnshire, complains that, when he, as escheator, intended to hold his session at Caistor for taking inquisitions, William Gascryk of Barton, Peter vicar of Cadney, and others, devising to kill him, came there and assaulted him and his men, and took away his goods: and Ralph Paynell, late sheriff, complains that John Byron, knight, and others, assaulted him at Kelsey and Howsham, laid in wait to kill him, rescued a notorious malefactor at Kelsey, hunted in his free warren there, took away hares, rabbits, pheasants, and partridges, depastured his corn, and assaulted his servants.⁵ But the worst case was the feud between Sir Robert Tirwhit and William Lord Ross. Sir Robert, who was a justice of the King's Bench, in 1411 laid waste, with a retinue of 500 followers, the manor of Melton Ross; he was eventually forced to confess his fault before the king, and agree to the award of the archbishop of Canterbury and the king's chamberlain, which enjoined that on a certain day he should prepare at Melton Ross

'2 tunnes of Gascoygne wine, 2 fatt oxen, 120 fatt sheep, and other preparation fit therefor, and that hee should bringe thither all knightes, esquires and yeomen that were of his crew, when they should all confess theire faults to ye Lord Rosse, and crave pardon, and further offer to ye Lord Rosse 500 marks in recompence, and ye Lord Rosse should refuse ye money, grant them pardon, and take ye dinner only.'⁶

There is evidence that the law concerning servants was enforced, but not to the extremity provided, for a man had pardon of outlawry in 1386, and another in 1387, for not appearing before the justices of the Bench to

¹ *Ct. R.* xvii, 294.

² *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, p. 262.

³ *Ibid.* 503.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1385-9, p. 87.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1381-5, pp. 465, 467.

⁶ *Arch Inst. Linc. Rep.* (1848), p. 66. Quoting *Lans. MSS.* 2,076 (B.M.), fol. 593.

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answer for leaving their service before the time agreed upon,¹ and in 1391 a woman had pardon of her waiver for not appearing before the justices of the Bench to answer to Thomas de Welby of Kirton for refusing to serve him in accordance with the conditions contained in an ordinance concerning servants, she having surrendered to the Flete Prison.²

It cannot be said that Lincolnshire prospered during the great changes of the Tudor period. Trade was steadily leaving the county, the towns were constantly proclaiming themselves 'decayed,' many county families were in straitened circumstances, and at times the wage-earning class suffered severely. On the other hand villeinage was becoming extinct, and yeomen families were increasing their wealth and even rising to the position of gentry. The Wars of the Roses had comparatively little effect upon the social life of the people. Some great lords were slain or beheaded, and their estates forfeited, but for the most part these³ were recovered by their heirs. Far different was it with the effect of the economic changes of the period upon the fortunes of the county families. Of these, hardly a family maintained its position in the county beyond the middle of the seventeenth century, unless it had by marriage or by trade added to its income. The reasons are fairly evident. As we look through sixteenth-century wills we find that the county gentlemen, though they may possess several manors, have very little personal property to deal with. John Langton of Langton has in 1533 to be content to leave 100 marks, or 10 marks a year at his son's option, to his daughter; John Littylbury of Hagworthingham leaves such a sum as 10s. a year to his brother for life; Charles Yarborough leaves to three sons £7 each.⁴ Then a manor was producing less, a small manor court was hardly worth holding,⁵ the rents of free-tenants did not increase, the villeins, becoming free copyholders, were able to renounce services that used to be profitable, and, if rents anywhere were higher, landlords with encumbered estates could not always take advantage of opportunities in the matter of letting or purchasing lands, or in other ways.

At the same time expenses and demands largely increased. The extravagance of Henry VIII's court is well known; some Lincolnshire knights and gentlemen attended, with, we cannot doubt, no good results. Hitherto the gentry had been content with a rough plenty; now new men, with money obtained by trade, brought in a more expensive style of living,⁶ and were able to indulge in luxuries that before were unknown. It does not appear that the older families attempted to build new houses; Lincolnshire remained 'ill-housed,' notwithstanding such houses as Grimsthorpe and Doddington; but the cost of living must have doubled, and impoverished gentry with their demesnes leased had to mortgage or sell their estates. How very small were the incomes of even gentry of family and position may be seen from examples. John Gedney, of Bag Enderby, left to his son three manors and lands in eleven parishes, yet the total annual value in 1535 was

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1388-92, pp. 183, 362.

² *Ibid.* 1388-92, p. 491.

⁴ Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, i, 9, 10, 42.

⁵ Six consecutive courts at Ormsby in 1471 brought in 6d., 6d., 1s., 8d., 4d., nil. Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 255.

⁶ Fitzherbert writes in *Book of Husbandry*, 102, 'at this time (1523) apparel is twenty times more expensive than 100 years ago'; p. 103, 'men spend four times as much on feasts as they used to do.'

³ e.g. The Ross, Welles, and Percy estates.

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only £43 8s.¹ Sir William Skipwith's net rental in 1579 from six manors, including over £50 from Skipwith in Yorkshire, was only £215 os. 3d. a year,² yet he had been M.P. for the county, and high sheriff twice. The revenue of the Doddington estate of 1,300 acres was £142 7s. 4d. in 1585, and it was sold for £4,850 in 1593.³ The decadence of old families is evident, as Canon Maddison has pointed out,⁴ from a comparison of the 1634 Visitation Pedigrees with those of 1562; but earlier documents give some particulars of what was going on. Andrew Gedney had sold his lands in Ormsby in 1570;⁵ his son, Richard, in his will in 1613,⁶ states that his debts are 'so great that his eldest son will have very small means to live of.' Numerous documents show the Skipwiths mortgaging and selling their estates till, in 1638, their fine Lincolnshire property was gone.⁷ When Henry Ormsby of North Ormsby died in 1612, his personalty was sworn at £56⁸ only, and the estate soon was sold.

But, of course, the greatest changes came through the dissolution of the monasteries and the dispersal of their estates. The annual rent roll of these, as given in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, A.D. 1535, exclusive of tithes and other spiritualities, is over £7,000. The revenues from 5,700 acres⁹ are given as £252, or roughly 10d. an acre. To be quite safe 9d. per acre has been taken as the value of the rest, which gives us 202,742 acres, and a total of 208,442 acres for the county. This is rather less than one-eighth of the modern acreage, and very far short of the third, of which we hear so much. But these lands cannot have passed into lay hands without causing a social and economic upheaval. Instead of a number of ecclesiastics, always resident, and interested in their lands and their people, there were a few lay owners, often non-resident, and with little interest in their tenants or their lands, except for what they could be made to produce. Still, it is easy to exaggerate the effects of the change; the grantees of monastic lands were not the only landowners who did not know their tenants personally; and it is possible that more of these lands came into the hands of resident landlords than would appear at first sight. The magnificent chartularies of Kirkstead and Bardney in the British Museum tell of gifts to these abbeys of small quantities of land in many different parishes; the *Valor* shows how abbeys and priories, besides their home farms, had small scattered properties in many places, to the value of 10s. in Stickney, of 4s. in Swaby, of 19s. in Hogsthorpe,¹⁰ &c., and it seems that these outlying freeholds, though granted out together to large purchasers, were eventually dispersed, and came into the hands of the lord of the manor or of other landowners in the parish.¹¹

It is, however, beyond doubt that a new type of landowner arose in the sixteenth century with new ways, and money to carry them out on business principles. New works were written on 'Husbandry,' stress was laid upon manuring, weeding, and stock-keeping, and a farmer is advised to fence some closes to put his cattle in, and so save the cost of shepherd and herdman,

¹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 210.

² Ibid. 297. But there were other manors in reversion, or settled on his eldest son at marriage.

³ Cole, *Hist. of Doddington*, 55, 56.

⁵ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 210.

⁷ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 104, 105, 111, 113.

⁹ 'Dominicales terrae.'

⁴ Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, ii, Introduction.

⁶ Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, ii, 94.

⁸ Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, ii, 65.

¹⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 35.

¹¹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 230.

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even if he has only a 20 years lease,¹ and ‘then shall his farm be twice as good in profit to the tenant as it was before, and as much land kept in tillage, and the rich man shall not over-eat the poor man with his cattle.’ Thus we are brought to the question of enclosures. It might be expected that wealthy landlords would attempt to increase their incomes from their newly bought manors by overstocking the commons, or enclosing arable land and converting it to pasture. But it does not appear that in Lincolnshire there was much to complain of as regards enclosures. The report² for the county in 1517 of ‘decays of houses, hamlets, and arable lands enclosed by hedges, dikes or other enclosures, and also of parks new made or enlarged,’ shows that the enclosures up to that time only comprised 471 acres, of which nearly half belonged to ecclesiastics. There is no case of a lord of a manor evicting a number of tenants, and enclosing and grazing their lands; and with our modern notions it is a little difficult to understand why a freeholder at Tattershall should not enclose an acre of arable land and turn it into pasture,³ or the lord of Scrivelsby enclose 13 acres of arable land into two pasture closes, when in neither case was a house or building rendered desolate nor in decay; still less why tenants or freeholders should not enclose arable land. Where, as at Ashby by Horncastle, two messuages and ploughs are in decay, the objection is more obvious, for there is a diminution of the king’s people. But, so far, the movement was chiefly on the part of freeholders and tenants. As the century went on, it can hardly be doubted that lords of manors took part in the enclosure movement, but no evidence has come to light of unjust proceedings.⁴ Thomas Cony, of Bassingthorpe, esq., merchant of the staple at Calais, and merchant of the Adventurers of England, had, in 1569, 58 cattle, 17 horses, and more than 1,000 sheep⁵; of these 40 sheep were in closes to feed, and some of the cattle were in closes also, but the fact that there were nearly 1,000 sheep in the unenclosed fields shows that nothing illegitimate had been done in the way of enclosure. At Gunby, in 1588, the ‘Town Book’⁶ shows that in one furlong all the rigs of a whole ‘wong’ belong to the lord of the manor, in another furlong a great wong is his, containing 21 rigs, and closes of his are mentioned, while the parson and a freeholder have made enclosures also. At Ormsby, 296 acres of the demesne were probably enclosed and let before 1600, as they were in 1636,⁷ the owner in this case being, it would seem, too impoverished to stock his demesne, and so losing the profits which richer men obtained from the higher prices of corn and wool.

A word seems necessary about the families which rose to importance. Some, as Canon Maddison points out,⁸ had been in Lincolnshire in a less important position, others migrated from other counties. Then there were such families as the Carrs of Sleaford, and the Dightons, Welcomes, and Tailors of Lincoln, who had made money by trade, and invested it in land. The rise of families of the yeoman class is from a social point of view especially worth

¹ Fitzherbert, *Book of Husbandry*, 27, 29, 41, 76.

² Leadam, *Domesday of Inclosures*, 243.

³ Of course the objection was that less corn would be grown.

⁴ At North Kelsey, because of the inconvenient state in which their lands were situated, the lords of the manor and the freeholders had agreed in 1591 to enclose the parish and compensate the cottagers, but a large landowner objected. Chan. Proc. temp. Eliz. B. b. i, 58.

⁵ *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 115. The numbers seem doubtful.

⁷ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 299.

⁶ *Ibid.* vii, 244, 245.

⁸ *Linc. Wills*, ii, xxi, xxv, xxvi, i, 1.

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attention. The Broxholmes of Owersby, who were enriched by grants of monastic property, and the Thorndikes, who were also of the yeoman class,¹ and purchased monastic lands, rose to the rank of gentry. But no one can read the wills and documents² of the period without being convinced that many yeomen were gradually improving their position. The rise in prices benefited them, especially in the rich fen and marsh districts, hence the rise of Pureys, Custs, Palmers, who all ranked as gentry in 1634. Others, like the Hobsons and Thorys, improved their position by trade as well as by farming, perhaps³ the Trollopes did the same, for Thomas Trollope in 1561 submitted a scheme to Cecil 'for setting up a mill to knocke hempe for the making of canvas and other linen clothes.'⁴

The actual number of freeholders probably did not increase. A middle class was rising up and buying land, but on the other hand wealthy landlords were adding field to field, and poorer ones were making efforts to do the same,⁵ as it became clearer that only by owning the lands of the manor could they at all keep pace with the times. A few instances will show how far the process of buying up the freeholds had been carried; at Mareham on the Hill the manor and 1,512 acres there and in Thornton and Ashby are mentioned in 1570, there being now in Mareham 1,380 acres; at Covenham St. Bartholomew in 1571 the manor and 1,250 acres there and in Covenham St. Mary are mentioned,⁶ there being now 1,340 acres; at Covenham St. Mary in 1572⁷ the manor and 1,110 acres there and in the other Covenham and Grainthorpe are mentioned, there being 950 acres in that Covenham now; at Miningsby in 1573⁸ the manor and 2,606 acres are mentioned, there being 1,230 acres there now; at Revesby, Wilksby, and Wood Enderby in 1575⁹ the three manors are mentioned, and 6,160 acres, there being there now 6,320 acres; at Swinhope in 1577¹⁰ the manor and 1,700 acres there and in Wold Newton are mentioned, there being now in Swinhope 1,307 acres. In the marsh and fen, where now there are the most freeholders, this process did not go on, and, if small freeholds were purchased, it would be by prosperous yeomen or merchants.

The history of villeinage at this time requires only a few words. It simply died out. On the small wold manors it was mostly extinct before 1485, and even copyholders became unknown. In Kesteven it was much the same, but in Holland and in some of the marsh parishes of Lindsey the villeins became by degrees free copyholders. At Ingoldmells in 1566¹¹ eleven names appear on the inquisition of bond-tenants, and some account is attempted of villeins and their progeny; in 1568 there are six names on the inquisition of bond-tenants, and in 1578 two; thenceforth we hear no more of this inquisition, though as late as 1604 bond-tenants are mentioned.¹² At Ingoldmells and other manors where the fines were small¹³ and certain the villeins and their successors obtained the increased value of the land, while on

¹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 230.

² Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, and Lady Elizabeth Cust, *Records of the Cust Family*, *passim*.

³ Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, ii, xxxiii.

⁴ Feet of F. 12 & 13 Eliz.

⁵ Ibid. Trinity, 14 Eliz.

⁶ Ibid. Hilary, 17 Eliz.

⁷ Ibid. Hilary, 17 Eliz.

⁸ Ibid. Hilary, 17 Eliz.

⁹ Ibid. Hilary, 17 Eliz.

¹⁰ Ibid. Hilary, 17 Eliz.

¹¹ *Ingoldmells Ct. R.* xxxi, 286, 288.

¹² In 1582, John Copledike directs that two 'villeynes regardant' belonging to his manor of Freiston be manumitted. (Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, i, 122.)

¹³ 2s. an acre.

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other manors, as Bolingbroke and Candlesby, where the fines were uncertain, and usually two years' rent, the lords had some share in the increased value. An inventory¹ of an Ingoldmells bond-tenant in 1569 gives some idea of his condition. He had 2 heifers and a calf (63s. 4d.), 15 ewes (66s. 8d.), and 5 hogs and 1 tup (20s.), 'one swyen' (2s.); a feather bed, 2 mattresses, &c. (20s.); 1 'huge' in the chamber (2s.); a cupboard and meatboard with a form in the hall (10s.); 12 'putter dublers,' 2 saucers, 1 candlestick, 1 salt (5s.); 3 brass pots, 4 pans (15s.); 1 dish shelf, 1 cheese press, 1 chair with all other 'husshyllment' (6s. 8d.); his debts were for rent unpaid £4 4s., for money borrowed £2 14s. 8d., for Easter tithes 3s. 4d., for 'beymes' 2s.; so that the total balance was £3 16s. 8d. Evidently he was not one of the more prosperous tenants, or he would not have been still a bond-tenant, and he was considerably in debt, but he had stock of his own, and was able to rent land of other persons than the lady of the manor.

The decay of the towns of Lincolnshire during the sixteenth century is undoubted. The position of Lincoln in 1503 and 1524 requires some explanation. After all the complaints of impoverishment, Lincoln's assessment in 1503 at £114 places it as the fourth town of England, and 796 payers there in 1524 were assessed at over £148.² One reason for this high position was that in 1524 the villages of Bracebridge, Canwick, Waddington, and Branston, which had been annexed³ to the city in 1466, were included in the assessment, as were also the Bail and Close, but in the Wards alone there were rather more payers with a somewhat higher assessment than in 1332. After this the complaints of decay are continued, it being stated⁴ in 1528 that '200 houses are clearly decayed, and the sheriffs have not of certainty where they can gather £30 towards their charges.' In 1589 the payers at Lincoln⁵ towards the subsidy only number 98, so that the decline of the town was then undoubted. We find 'clothiers' in Lincoln in 1551,⁶ but it was unable to compete with the rising towns of the west and north in cloth-making. In 1541 Lincoln, Grantham, Grimsby, and Stamford were among the 'decayed' towns;⁷ and of Boston, Leland writes: 'at last the Esterlinges left their course of marchandice to Boston, and syns the towne sore decayed.'

The question of rents is enormously complicated by the variations in the value of land in different districts and parishes, and even in different parts of the same parish. There is evidence of the value of monastic lands in many parts of the county in 1535.⁸ The Swineshead lands were the most valuable at 2s. 5d. per acre, pasture being rented at 3s., meadow at 2s. 8d., arable at 1s. 7d., and marsh in Holland Fen at 1s. 3d. per acre; the lands of St. Katherine's Priory, Lincoln, were the least valuable, only a little over 2d. an acre; land in Bracebridge between the top of the hill and the Witham was 5d., arable on the hill 2d., arable on the heath at Canwick 1d., meadow there 3d., pasture at Boultham 4d., and moor 1d. per acre. After that in Holland came land in the Lindsey marsh, the lands of Hagnaby averaging 1s. 8d. per acre; pasture in Sutton and high pasture in Hagnaby was worth 2s. 8d., pasture flooded in the winter 1s. 4d., meadow 1s. 4d., and arable 1s. 1d. per acre. At

¹ At Ormsby Hall.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 11.

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 44.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), vol. iv.

² Lay Subs. R. $\frac{138}{816}$, a 10th.

⁴ *Ibid.* 31.

⁵ Lay Subs. R. $\frac{138}{816}$.

⁷ Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, iv, 108.

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Revesby 42 acres in 4 closes, belonging to a cow-house in the hands of the monks, are valued at 2*s.* 8*d.* per acre; but the average value of their lands is 11*d.*, though most of it was enclosed, as indeed was the case in a large proportion of the monastic home-farms, for the monks in Lincolnshire were not behindhand in this matter. The rent values given do not give the idea of a rise in rents. The Preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Temple Bruer was let to Hamo Sutton for £183 10*s.*, which shows a very small increase upon the receipts in 1338, which were £177 7*s.* 8*d.* There was a loss in the matter of perquisites of courts, which at Willoughton were £10 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1334, besides smaller sums in other places, none of which are mentioned in 1534. In the latter half of the century a rise in rents was established, though without evidence of the rents at different periods of actually the same lands the amount of the rise cannot be given with any certainty. In 1535 a messuage and 100 acres in Ormsby were valued at £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, 8*d.* an acre;¹ in 1558 a messuage and 10 acres were let for 13*s.* 4*d.*,² 1*s.* an acre taking the messuage as worth 3*s.* 4*d.*; and in 1579 8 acres of arable land in Ketsby were let for 10*s.*,³ 1*s.* 3*d.* an acre; while in 1596⁴ a sheep-walk of 230 acres in Ketsby, 83 acres in closes, 3 tenements, the 'inne howse' and the 'kilne howse' were let for £41 13*s.* 4*d.*, or 2*s.* 8*d.* an acre, though in 1706 the sheep-walk only let for 1*s.* an acre. This looks as if the rents at the end of the century were double what they were at the beginning. The rise in land values may be proved also by the prices of land sold in another part of Lincolnshire. In 1494 two acres of pasture in Pinchbeck were purchased for 50*s.*, and in 1501 an acre and a half of land for £5;⁵ but in 1579 6 acres of pasture were sold for £42,⁶ in 1580 2 acres for £10, in 1592 4 acres and 3 roods for £20,⁷ in 1595 4 acres of pasture for £24, and in 1599 10 acres and a rood of land for £110. In 1574 15½ acres, of which four were pasture, in Bicker were sold for £60;⁸ while in 1600 the same property, with some addition,⁹ was sold for £100.

For wages the evidence is scanty, though an instance of statute wages fixed by the Lincoln justices can be given. In 1497-1501, at Stamford, masons, carpenters, and thatchers were paid 5*d.* a day, a servant 2*d.*, 3*d.*, 4*d.*, and a man hedging 5*d.*; in 1502 carpenters, masons, and slaters were paid 6*d.*, servants 4*d.*, 3*d.*, and a hedger 3*d.*¹⁰ At Louth, 1501-16, a master mason was paid 8*d.*, an apprentice 6*d.* a day, assistant masons 3*s.* 4*d.* for six days.¹¹ At Leverton, in 1528, a plumber was paid 8*d.*, a man 4*d.* a day, and ploughing an acre of land cost 6*d.*¹² In 1533 Lord Hussey paid a man 6*s.* for winding wool 14 days, besides 2*s.* 8*d.* for board; a woman picking locks 14*d.* for 14 days and 2*s.* for board, and a man working about the house 4*d.* a day with board also; in 1534 he paid a man for six days at 6*d.* a day and meat 3*s.* 3*d.*, a man cutting wood two days 1*s.*, and to several men 6*s.* 8*d.* to 10*s.* per quarter for wages, these men being also boarded.¹³ In 1597 men working on the Ingoldmells seabanks are paid 6*d.* to 8*d.* a day.¹⁴

¹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 209.

² *Ibid.* 295.

³ *Ibid.* 297.

⁴ *Ibid.* 298.

⁵ *Records of the Cust Family*, i, 23.

⁶ *Ibid.* 76, 77.

⁷ *Ibid.* 111, 112.

⁸ *Ibid.* 161.

⁹ The acreage is 16a. 1r.

¹⁰ Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, iii, 617, 618.

¹¹ Louth Churchwardens' Accounts. The spire was built for £305 8*s.* 5*d.*

¹² Peacock, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 18, 19.

¹³ Exch. T.R. Misc. Bk. 95. He paid Sir Robert Hussey's servant who brought a fat goose and 2 pheasants 1*s.*, a servant bringing a letter 4*d.*, four players 2*s.*, for cloth for 2 shirts for the boy in the kitchen 2*s.*, for candles 18*d.* a dozen.

¹⁴ Ormsby Papers.

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In 1563 the Lincoln city justices met, in obedience to an Act of Parliament of the preceding 12 January to settle the rates for wages, being charged by the queen to see and cause the said rates to be kept, and all persons within the city being charged to observe them on the pains and forfeitures appointed by the said statute. The certificate¹ was made 12 June by the mayor and four justices, who had consulted other discreet persons, and had respect to the scarcity and dearth of all kinds of grain and victuals, the quarter of wheat being sold for 40s., of rye for 36s. 8d., malt 22s., beans, peas, and barley, 26s. 8d., the quarter of mutton and veal 20d., of beef 16s., 5 eggs 1d., the butter-cake of 1½ lb. 5d., the stone of cheese 20d., and other necessities and victuals very dear. Masons, carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers, &c., were to have from mid-September to mid-March with meat and drink 4d., without 8d. a day, and from mid-March to mid-September 5d. or 10d.; their labourers to have 3d. or 6d. and 4d. or 7d. for the same periods. Servants were to have by the year:—dyers, tile-makers, butchers 40s. with meat and drink; tanners, glovers, and braziers 40s. with, and £4 without meat and drink; bakers, parchment-makers, and fishmongers 33s. 4d. with meat and drink; smiths 33s. 4d. with, and £4 without meat and drink; pewterers 33s. 4d. with, and 66s. 8d. without meat and drink; brewers 30s. with meat and drink; glaziers, millers, saddlers, cutlers or armourers, and drapers 26s. 8d. with meat and drink; fletchers 26s. 8d. with, and 66s. 8d. without meat and drink; tailors 26s. 8d. with, and 53s. 4d. without meat and drink; shoemakers 26s. 8d. with meat and drink, and hired by the day 4d. with, and 8d. without meat and drink; and walkers or fullers 20s. with meat and drink. Every ‘bailey of husbandry’ was to take by the year 40s. with, and £4 without meat and drink; every other servant of husbandry or shepherd 26s. 8d. or £4. Apprentices or servants in husbandry above 16 and under 24 were to have 20s. and meat and drink; those of 10 and under 16, 10s. Mowers were to have 5d. a day with meat and drink, 10d. without; or ‘by the great’ 8d. per acre of meadow, 5d. of barley or oats. Shearing an acre of wheat or rye was to be 14d., and by the day 3d. with meat and drink and 8d. without; thrashing a quarter of wheat or rye 12d., of barley, peas, beans, and oats 5d.; reaping an acre of beans or peas 6d.; making hay by the day 2d. with meat and drink, 5d. without; ditching, setting, hedging of ‘newdyk’ of 6 ft. breadth and 4 ft. depth, 6d. per rod; plashing and hedging by the day 2d. with meat and drink, 5d. without, from mid-September to mid-March. The early part of 1563 must have been a time of famine, but before Michaelmas there was an improvement, for the jurors then said on oath that wheat of the best kind was worth 16s., of the second kind 15s. 6d., of the third kind 15s. a quarter, beans and peas 12s., oats 5s.²

These wages show a large increase since the middle of the fourteenth century, and with corn about 6s. a quarter, 1500–1540, the agricultural labourer would be better off than at any period before the present time, being able to purchase a quarter of corn in 2 weeks and 2 days if the wages were the same. Even when corn had risen, 1543 to 1582, to an average of 15s. 9d. for wheat and 8s. 9d. for peas,³ he was still comparatively well off, except in such dear

¹ *Linc. City Records*, Register i, fol. 181.

² *Ibid.* fol. 183.

³ Lincoln Corporation Register. For seven years, 1593 to 1595, 1597 to 1599, and 1602, wheat averaged 29s. 7d. and peas 11s. 8d.; in 1586 wheat was 36s.; in 1594, 33s.; in 1595, 36s.; in 1597, 40s. a quarter.

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years as 1563, and 1557, when at Easter wheat was 36s. 10d. and peas 30s. a quarter, though at Michaelmas, 1556, wheat was only 23s. 6d. and peas 18s.

On the whole the labourers were better off than we had feared. But this does not apply to those who were left unemployed at the dissolution of the monasteries or to the aged poor. The villein could and did make some provision for his aged relatives, the labourer could not, and the monks were no longer there to offer hospitality and relief. At first, while sturdy beggars and vagabonds were repressed by severe laws, an attempt was made to provide for the impotent and aged poor through the alms of church-people. Thus in 1569 the archdeacon of Lincoln, by warrant of the queen's command, directs the curates of his archdeaconry 'earnestlie to exhorte their parishioners to give their common almes at their churches according to the statute for the relief of the pore, and to procure remedie againste such as have wealthe and will not contribute there accordinglie.'¹ As might be expected, further legislation became necessary, which, however, belongs to the general history of England, and the consideration of the administration of the poor laws in Lincolnshire may be postponed until we have before us the local evidences. But churchwardens' accounts at South Kelsey prove that something was done; in 1590, while 1s. was 'payde forthe to one which destroyed the foxes,' 8d. was paid to three poor men; and in 1594 6d. was paid to certain poor in the church, 4d. to a poor man and a lame lad, 20d. for maimed soldiers.

Some account of domestic life now becomes possible. In the house of John Asfordby,² a small squire, we find in 1527 a hall, parlour, little parlour, low parlour, chamber over the parlour, gallery chamber, buttery, and kitchen; in the hall was a folding table, a long carved settle, a throne chair, a form, and a painted hanging of canvas at the high dais; in the parlour was a bed, in the little parlour two, in the chamber over two, in the gallery chamber two, and two with a tester in the low parlour; the furniture was scanty, a chest or two and a chair, 'one bason and ewer of pewter,' but at the same time a cupboard of plate, which may well excite our envy. Very different was the house and furniture of Thomas Cony, a prosperous landlord and merchant, in 1577;³ he had at Bassingthorpe a house with hall, 3 parlours, 7 chambers, high garret, maids' garret, 5 chambers for yeomen, hinds, shepherd, &c., 2 kitchens, 2 larders, milk-house, brew-house, buttery, and cellar; and tables, carpets, cushions, pictures, beds, curtains, chairs, chests, and the numerous kitchen and other necessities for a large house, besides a quantity of plate. A prosperous yeoman was comparatively better off than a poor squire; thus in 1554 Richard Cust of Pinchbeck, though his house was small, consisting⁴ of a hall, parlour with chamber over, kitchen with chamber over, brew-house, milne-house, and milk-house, had ample furniture, a folding table, 4 chairs, 6 cushions, 27 pieces of pewter, 10 candlesticks, 4 basons and 1 'laver,' 6 beds, sheets, chests, pans, &c.; while in 1532 William Gaunte of Theddlethorpe had⁵ 18 silver spoons, a silver goblet, a silver salt, and also 'certen inglysh bokes, Legenda aurea, Crownacles, Canterbury tales, lyttlylton teners.'

¹ *Linc. N. and Q.* vi, 115.

² See Maddison, 'Domestic Life in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries,' in *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* 1888, p. 21.

³ *Linc. N. and Q.* i. ⁴ *Records of the Cust Family*, i, 56.

⁵ Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, i, 8.

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For 1562-7 there are returns of the number of families in the arch-deaconry of Lincoln¹ which seem to show that the population has decreased since 1332 ; in Holland there is no change, in Kesteven a decrease of 2,000, in the north riding of Lindsey a small increase, in the south riding a decrease of 4,000, taking our calculations to be correct.

The seventeenth century brought no improvement to the trade of Lincolnshire. The wool trade had gone ; Lincoln and Boston had lost their importance. The prospects of agriculture, however, improved, though the rise in rents did not save the falling fortunes of decaying families, and it is sad to think that the rise in prices, which benefited landowners and tenants, brought to the labourers increased poverty. The changes amongst the county families still went on. The Ayscoughs of Blyborough were succeeded² before 1633 by the Southcotes, who had made money by trade ; Lawrence Caldwell, a London merchant, purchased in 1617 the manor of North Willingham ; at Burton by Lincoln the Monsons took the place of the Suttons. On the contrary, the fortunes of the Meres family were revived by success in trade at Lincoln. The ruin of royalist families, such as the Skipwiths, was completed by the exactions of Parliament. But the rise of yeoman families continued ; Henry Cust is a yeoman in 1617, Samuel Cust an esquire in 1662, Richard Cust a baronet in 1677 ; William Welby of Denton describes himself as a yeoman in 1610, his grandson is described as a gentleman in 1643, and was a member of Parliament in 1654 ; the Trollopes purchased the manor of Casewick in 1621.

About the improvement in agriculture and the rise in rents there can be no doubt. The greatest advance was reclaiming and securing from the sea by banks over 25,000 acres in South Holland. South Holland consists of three districts : (1) the central portion, about 5 miles wide, north and south of the main road from Spalding to Sutton, between the Roman and the Raven banks, on which are situated the villages ; (2) a tract of low fen-land, which was often flooded by the waters of the Welland and the Nene ; (3) the marsh north of the Roman bank. This last portion has been gradually raised by alluvial accretions until it has become 13 ft. to 14 ft. above the level of the sea, and about 3 ft. higher than the land between the Roman and Raven banks, and before the seventeenth century the process had been completed sufficiently to enable a large acreage to be reclaimed. In 1632 a marsh of 1,121 acres in Tydd St. Mary was enclosed, in 1660 Sutton and Lutton Marshes of 6,760 acres, and 17,374 acres in Gedney, Whaplode, Holbeach, and Moulton.³

The systematic drainage of the fens was a much larger question, with many difficulties, and causing long and bitter disputes. It is easy to exaggerate the evils that undoubtedly existed. A large acreage consisted of meres, a still larger was flooded in the winter and in wet seasons ; the Fen Slodgers, who lived with their families in huts on isolated mounds surrounded by water, gained only a precarious subsistence, and suffered from ague and other diseases caused by the damp ; yet they were violently opposed to attempts to drain the fens, where they were used to fish and hunt, and even their neighbours in the villages that were free from floods asserted that the undertakers 'misinformed many Parliamentary men,' and that it was not true that the fens

¹ *Linc. N. and Q.* iv, 247.

² Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, ii, Introd.

³ Wheeler, *Fens of S. Linc.* 100, 101.

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were of little value, for they bred numbers of horses, cattle, and sheep, produced fodder for winter keep, and reeds for many uses. One chief obstacle, moreover, to drainage schemes was, besides the natural difficulties, the impossibility of reconciling the conflicting claims to the reclaimed lands of those who provided the money and those who asserted common rights. It must not be supposed that nothing had been done before the seventeenth century; the monks of Crowland and Selby, and many lay lords had at times cut drains and raised banks, and the Court of Sewers had enforced repairs to banks and drains; but there was now a movement which, though thwarted for the time, was bound to be ultimately successful. Several attempts at drainage were made, but for the most part the works were pulled down during the civil wars. The earl of Lindsey,¹ under an agreement with the Court of Sewers, drained 72,000 acres in the Witham fens, and was in 1636 put in possession of 14,000 acres as recompense for his expenses, but ultimately the works were ruined owing to the lawlessness of the fen men. In 1631 Sir Anthony Thomas² and other adventurers began to drain the east and west fens, and it was in 1634 adjudged that the work was so done that the lands were fit for arable, meadow, and pasture, and certain lands were in 1635 confirmed to the adventurers for their expenses; for seven years their tenants occupied and cultivated their land, but in 1642 the commoners broke the sluices, threw down the fences, and took possession of the land. About 1641 the earl of Exeter and others undertook certain drainage works in Deeping Fen. Dugdale³ says the land was so improved that it yielded quantities of grass and hay, and would soon have made winter ground had not the common people in the times of confusion taken possession and allowed it to be overflowed again. In 1664 the earl of Manchester and others⁴ were by Act of Parliament appointed undertakers to drain this fen, which they were to do in seven years, and to have one-third of the land as payment; the work was done, and they obtained their lands, though later improvements in the drainage became necessary. The first drainage of Bourn South Fen and of Thurlby Fen was effected by the adventurers of Deeping Fen. At Crowland some land was reclaimed by the Bedford Level adventurers.⁵ In the Isle of Axholme, Cornelius Vermuiden, a Dutchman, undertook in 1627 to drain Hatfield Chase Level and lands adjoining in the isle, and for this to take one-third of the drained lands; but the commoners, claiming the land under a deed of Sir John Mowbray, and asserting that the scheme would injure rather than benefit them, burnt his carts and tools and wounded his workmen. In 1642 they renewed their riotous proceedings, much litigation followed, and more rioting; moreover, the drainage works were of little value, and the participants obtained little or no profit.⁶ Under an agreement with the Commissioners of Sewers, Sir John Monson undertook to drain the level of the Ancholme from Bishop's Bridge to the Humber, consisting of 18,871 acres, and in 1639 it was adjudged that he had fulfilled his undertaking, and was entitled to 5,827 acres of the recovered land for his expenses and the cost of maintaining the drains, but during the Civil War the commoners and freeholders entered upon these lands, and the works were neglected and the sluices decayed.⁷

¹ Dugdale, *Imbanking*, 418.

² *Ibid.* 423.

³ *Ibid.* 208.

⁴ Wheeler, *Fens of S. Linc.* 320

⁵ Petty Bag, Bedford Level Decrees, part 3, No. 40, A.D. 1667.

⁶ Stonehouse, *Hist. of the Isle of Axholme*, *passim*; Dugdale, *Imbanking*, 141-9.

⁷ Dugdale, *Imbanking*, 152.

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The rise in rents and land values was large. At Ormsby the demesne lands in 1579 were worth £17 a year; in 1636, 296 acres of these, being enclosed, were let for £100 a year; and besides, there were 107 acres in the two fields and sheep runs for 35 score sheep, while the whole value of the estate was £238 18s. 8d.; and in 1698-9, the whole parish having been enclosed, the rental was £380 19s. 6d. a year.¹ A close in Ketsby, called the Carrs, containing 8 acres of arable land, which had let for 10s. in 1579 let for £1 in 1706, while its improved value was £2. Wold land about 1650 was worth £3 to £4 an acre to sell, and 3s. to 4s. per annum to let,² a rate that increased towards the end of the century, for in 1687 over 6s. 6d. an acre was given at Ormsby as rent for 84 acres, of which 50 were arable,³ and 7s. an acre for 17 acres of pasture in Tetford in 1686. In the fens amongst the thriving freeholders there was a like advance in values. At Bicker, in 1601, 6½ acres of land were sold for £71, in 1624 two acres for £20, while in 1640 nine acres, including these last two, were sold for £194. At Skirbeck, in 1609, four acres of pasture were sold for £104, which in 1642 were bought for £208. At Fishtoft in 1601 nine acres of pasture were bought for £80, in 1624 for £86, in 1649 nineteen and a half were sold for £400. On another class of land the rise was also maintained: in 1624 forty-eight acres at Gunby sold for £100, in 1647 two acres for £8; in 1623 58½ acres at Bratoft sold for £305, in 1634 twelve acres sold for £80, in 1648 thirty-one acres, including these, sold for £300.⁴

But it must not be supposed that there were no bad times for landlords during the century. Sir William Pelham of Brocklesby writes,⁵ in 1623, that

manie insufficient tenants have given upp theyr farmes and scheepwalks, soe as I am forced to take them into my own hands, and borrow munnie uppon use to stocke them. Our cuntry was never in that wante that now itt is, and more of munnie than corne, for there are many thousands in thease parts whoe have sould all they have even to theyr bedd straw, and cann not gett worke to earne any munny. Dogg's flesh is a dainty disch, and the other day one stole a scheepe, whoe for meere hunger tore a legge out, and didd eate itt raw.

Sir Ralph Maddison also, in 1640 and 1655, complains of the want of money and the fall in the price of wool to the undoing of tenants, turning up farms, and the impoverishing of trades.⁶ Agriculture on the whole was being improved on more modern lines, hedge-rows were appearing, and attention was paid to manuring and winter forage.

At Eagle, in a petition to the lord of the manor before 1656, the tenants and copyholders mention the great charges they have incurred for the improvement of the lordship, and that it would be 'at the leaste 300^{li} damage to the inhabytants and to the hazardinge of their ruinge and undoinge' if these were not perfected. The state of the town and inhabitants is thus described. Out of 1,300 acres 700 are not worth 6d. an acre per annum as it has been and is now used; out of 60 families, containing 330 persons, 18 have need of and receive relief; not six families have corn or provisions but what they buy; above twenty small farms 'will not yelde stufer and sumer meat for six draught cattle and foure kine upon which small proportion of stock no husbandman is able to subsiste and defraye charge'; no land

¹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 297, 299, 302.

³ Leases at Ormsby.

⁴ Gunby Documents.

² *Ibid.* 162, 175, 303.

⁵ *Linc. N. and Q.* i, 16.

⁶ *Ibid.* 40.

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hath been held two generations, but the owners have been forced to sell or borrow on mortgage; most of the land now tilled is more proper for grass, and that moor ground now eaten as common fitter for corn as is proved by experience amongst our next neighbours; the corn many times yields little more than half again because of the barrenness and leanness of the ground,

which we are not able to menor by reason wee have not winter meate for our stock also it beinge subject to destruction through ill neyberhoud it being infenced and lyinge mixt one with another; our mores and coman not able to keepe halfe the stinte our stock pine and selves much wronged, the keeping and seeking our catle more then the worke the continuall charge labor and vexation that wee are at with our catle trespassinge upon others is intolerable, and without enclosing unavoydable; for these causes we are inforsed to improve, which wee suppose neyther reason or law can or will denye.

The lord of the manor consented, and in 1665 it is agreed that the three fields and two moors belonging to Eagle be inclosed, when plotted out, at the common charge of lord and tenants; everyone to have his lands in two plots, one of good and the other of bad ground, as near his crew-yard as the plotters think fit.¹

At Ormsby the enclosure of the parish was made 'in the late times of confusion,' 1650 or 1651, the allotment of lands to different owners being set out by the sworn jurors of the manor court.² The number of freeholders in the county probably decreased during this century, as prosperous squires and yeomen³ were buying land. Where the residentiary properties are now the process of buying out the freeholders went on. At Ormsby the last freeholder was bought out in 1639,⁴ at Gunby in 1647.⁵ The process was nearly completed by the middle of the century, but in Holland, the Lindsey Marshes, the Isle of Axholme, and in many 'open' parishes freeholders are numerous still.

Evidence concerning prices is difficult to obtain. In 1603 a quarter of malt sold for 23s., a lamb for 5s., a ewe for 6s. 8d., a steer for 33s. 4d., a mare for £3 1s.; in 1661 coarse wheat was 11s. to 12s. a bushel, so that the poor 'perish for want of bread.'⁶ In 1637 a quarter of oats was 16s. 8d., an ox £5 10s., a young beast 33s., a yearling £1, a saddle mare £13 6s. 8d., a ewe 12s., a hog 9s., swine £1 each.⁷ In 1652 wheat was 30s., peas 20s. a quarter, young beasts 14s., sheep 6s. 6d.⁸ In 1679 wheat was 26s., peas 12s., oats 10s. a quarter, a yearling beast £1, a two-year-old 30s., a wether 7s., a ewe 6s., a hog 3s. 6d.⁹ In 1672 sheep sent to London sold for 7s. 9d. each; in 1690 a steer sold for £3, a heifer and calf for 30s., another for £2, a wether for 10s., a ewe and lamb for 8s. 6d.; in 1699 an ox was £4 15s., a heifer 45s., a ewe and lamb 5s., a wether 5s. 6d., a mare and foal 3 guineas.¹⁰ At last we get again some prices of wool: in 1672, 555 fleeces of wool were sold at 8s. 6d. per stone, it taking 4, 5, 6, and even 7 fleeces to weigh a stone; in 1673 361 fleeces were sold at 7s. 6d. a stone, weighing better, there being no 7 and some 3 fleeces to the stone.¹¹ The evidence for wages is sad reading. The average price of wheat for the century is 41s. according to Thorold Rogers, and even if it was somewhat less here the wages by no means

¹ Cracroft Muniments.

² See *Records of the Cust Family*, i.

³ Ormsby Muniments.

⁴ *Records of the Cust Family*, i, 104, 173.

⁵ *Gent. Mag.*

⁶ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 309, 310.

⁷ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 285.

⁸ Gunby Muniments.

⁹ Cracroft Muniments.

¹⁰ *Old Lincolnshire*, 205.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 309.

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correspond. In 1609 a man is paid 6*d.* a day for ‘felling of the common thornes.’¹ In 1638, in accounts of repairs of Saleby church a man’s wages are 1*s.* a day, a boy’s or woman’s 4*d.* In 1667, a man working with a carpenter, mending gates, is paid 6*d.* a day.² In 1668 men are paid 5*d.* a day, and 6*d.* a day for plashing. It was the custom at Ormsby to let a cottage and a few acres of land to a labourer upon condition that he worked for the landlord at certain specified rates; these were from 11 November to 2 February, 1684-7, 5*d.* a day, and 6*d.* a day for the rest of the year, except at harvest; for mowing or reaping corn or hay 12*d.* a day and 3 pints of small beer, or 13*d.* and no beer, and 8*d.* a day and 3 pints of beer, or 9*d.* without beer for all other harvest work.³

The statute wages in Holland were considerably higher. The Holland justices, at the General Quarter Sessions held at Spalding and Kirton 2 and 3 April, 1680, fixed these rates of wages: a bailiff of husbandry £4 a year and his livery, or £1 for his livery; hinds £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, £2 13*s.* 4*d.*, and £2, and their livery or 3*s.*, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 1*s.* 6*d.*; a common servant £1 6*s.* 8*d.*; an apprentice of 18 meat, drink, and apparel, and £1, over 21 £2; a woman-servant as dairy maid £2 and livery; other women-servants £1 13*s.* 4*d.* or £1 10*s.*, 16 to 20 23*s.* 4*d.*, 16 £1; journeymen clothiers, tailors, saddlers, etc., £4. Winter half-year, mid-September to mid-March: ditcher from mid-September to Allhallows-tide, with meat and drink, 6*d.* a day, without 10*d.*, from thence to mid-March 4*d.* or 1*s.*; hedger with meat and drink 6*d.*, without 1*s.*; thrasher with meat and drink from September to Martinmas 5*d.*, without 8*d.*, from thence to mid-March 4*d.* or 9*d.*; master carpenter, mason, tailor, bricklayer, etc., with meat and drink 6*d.*, without 1*s.* a day; journeymen 4*d.* or 10*d.*; apprentices 2*d.* or 4*d.* Summer half-year: mower with meat and drink 8*d.*, without 1*s.* 2*d.* a day, per acre not above 16*d.*; mowing peas and beans 14*d.*, barley 12*d.*, oats 10*d.* per acre; reaper or shearer of corn or rape by the day, with meat and drink 8*d.*, without 16*d.*; per acre of wheat, reaping and making ready to cart 3*s.* 6*d.*; haymaker with meat and drink 6*d.*, without 12*d.* or 10*d.* a day; weeder with meat and drink 2*d.*, without 4*d.* a day; thrasher per quarter for beans and peas 10*d.*, barley 11*d.*, oats 8*d.*, wheat and rye 14*d.*; ditcher per rod 12 ft. wide 3 spit deep 13*d.*, 7 ft. wide and 2 spit deep 6*d.*; shearer of sheep by the day 8*d.* with, and 16*d.* without meat and drink, or 1*s.* per score.⁴ The parish constables are to take copies of these rates to be read every quarter in their parish church or some other convenient place upon Sunday or festival day after morning prayers. Possibly the difference in the crops may explain why less was paid on the Wolds, for at Oxcombe only 9*d.* an acre was paid in 1690 for mowing barley.⁵ At Ormsby in 1699 a mason was paid 2*s.*, a carpenter 1*s.* 3*d.*, a labourer 8*d.*, a woman 6*d.* a day; servants were paid for a year—a nurse £2, girls £1 2*s.* and 9*s.* 4½*d.*; and a lad 15*s.*⁶

Quarter Sessions Minutes now enable us to take a view of local government and the administration of justice by the magistrates. A careful perusal of these minutes happily, and somewhat unexpectedly,⁷ leaves a strong

¹ ‘Denton Papers,’ by Col. Welby.

⁴ Thompson, *Boston*, 760-2.

⁶ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 311.

² Ormsby Papers.

³ Ibid.

⁵ *Linc. N. and Q.* vii, 86.

⁷ Considering what has been written.

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impression that Lincolnshire justices did their duty with fairness and impartiality, as English gentlemen. It has been said that 'in each county a few magistrates made revenge the chief duty of their office'¹ in enforcing the Conventicle Act, but no instance has been found in these minutes of imprisonment for holding an illegal conventicle, though in a few instances small fines were inflicted for this upon Protestant Dissenters, and in Kesteven the Thimblebys of Irnham and some others were constantly fined as Romish sectaries who had not attended their parish churches for three months. Thorold Rogers asserts that justices had 'the power to consult their own interests and consulted nothing else';² but, though their interest was to keep down the rates, Lincolnshire justices constantly enforced the law in justice to the poor; at East Keal the parish authorities were attempting to get out of their obligations, and in 1674, when a poor man with his wife and children was sent there from Wrangle by order of the Kirton Sessions, it was found that no overseers had been appointed, and there were no officers to receive them, and for want of harbour they were obliged to lie in the streets, whereupon the Lindsey justices ordered the inhabitants to provide harbour, and fined them £10 for not electing officers. Further, in 1677 the overseers of East Keal are ordered to allow 5 poor people 12*d.* a week each whom they had neglected to relieve. In 1688 some poor persons of Crowland complain that they are almost starved, not having received any relief for 13 weeks for want of an assessment for the poor, and the Holland justices order the overseers to relieve them forthwith. In 1694 the overseer of North Rauceby is fined 20*s.* by the Kesteven justices for neglecting to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* weekly to a widow with 4 children as ordered by the court.

The Lindsey Minutes begin in 1665, but those for several years after 1677 are wanting. The Kesteven and Holland Minutes begin in 1674, and are better kept and continuous, seemingly being written by the same scribe. In Lindsey the practice was to hold general sessions at Horncastle, Louth, Caistor, and Gainsborough or Spittal every quarter; thus in 1677 sessions were held on 23 April at Horncastle, 24 at Louth, 25 at Caistor, 27 at Gainsborough; 9 July at Horncastle, 10 at Louth, 11 at Caistor, 12 at Spittal. In Kesteven the sessions were held at Sleaford and at Folkingham or Bourn every quarter. In Holland the sessions were held every quarter at Spalding and Kirton.

About the criminal business there are few details. In 1676 the sheriff is requested to take speedy care to transport a Spalding prisoner to the Barbadoes. In 1672 a man required to find securities for good behaviour obstinately refuses, and is committed to the sheriff, who is to convey him to gaol at Lincoln, there to remain until he willingly does so. In 1668 two men, apprehended at Gainsborough for fighting, appearing to be dangerous and suspicious people, with no certain habitation or lawful business, are sent to Lincoln Castle, there to be whipped as vagrants, and to be sent from constable to constable the 'ready' way to Coventry, where they affirm they were last legally settled. In 1691, three men were committed to the house of correction at Folkingham for 3 months for killing several 'bunnies' out of the earl of Lindsey's warren. At the sessions held 16 January, 1674, at Boston, for Kirton, there are several indictments for

¹ Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 342.

² Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, v, 628.

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wages due, and two men are indicted for harbouring certain vagabonds and beggars and persons unknown in their houses. In 1673, William Styles, of Crowland, clerk, and a yeoman are indicted for assaulting the rector of Crowland in the churchyard, and impeding him in saying divine service and burying the body of the wife of Nicholas Beales, calling him 'Raskall Knave,' and snatching the Book of Common Prayer from his hands. In 1678, Thomas Tunnard, of Frampton, is indicted for keeping a dog called a 'mungrell greyhound,' and hunting hares in the snow in winter, and leverets in the summer, not having lands according to the statute; Thomas Graves is indicted for keeping a 'turbulent woman' in his house, and a butcher for buying a cow and calf in Boston market, and selling them the same day. In 1683, John Woods, of Gedney Hill, gentleman, was indicted for permitting persons to sit in his house, taking tobacco, and drinking a wine called brandy, on the Lord's day, and in time of divine service, to the evil example of others, and against the statute. At Kirton, in 1688, it was ordered that the late rate of wages be confirmed for this ensuing year, and that the privy sessions be kept only once a year, and that copies of the rates be sent to the constables of every parish. The indictments against keepers of alehouses are numerous; thus, Thomas Askewe, of Wood Enderby, is indicted for keeping a disorderly alehouse, and suffering idle and disorderly persons to sit drinking and gaming in his house at unseasonable hours, and this was proved in court at Horncastle, 11 January, 1669; therefore the churchwardens and overseers of Wood Enderby were ordered to levy of his goods by distress and sale, 20s. to the use of the poor of the parish, and to discharge him from tippling or selling ale or beer any more during the space of three years. In 1674, William Norman, of West Keal, kept a disorderly alehouse, and harboured loose, idle, and suspicious persons; therefore the churchwardens and overseers are ordered to levy of his goods, 20s. for the use of the poor, and to discharge him from tippling or selling ale any more.

In 1669 the judges of assize order the Lincolnshire justices to raise £100 towards the repair of the Middle Part of the Shire Hall House in the Castle of Lincoln; of this Lindsey is to pay half. In 1677 the court is informed by credible persons that the parts of Lindsey are much annoyed with a number of idle, loose, unknown persons wandering up and down under several disguises, some pretending to be seamen who have suffered shipwreck, others to be pedlars, petty chapmen, fiddlers, and fortune tellers, amongst them many Scotchmen, who lately have and do increase, whereby the peace of these parts is much endangered, and many burglaries and felonies are like to be committed, for preventing which the justices unanimously agree that they will be very diligent in putting the laws in execution against such persons, and all constables are to be very careful to put the laws into execution, and every person apprehending a vagrant shall have a reward of 2s., while a constable neglecting his duty shall answer for his contempt.

It will be to many a surprise to learn that poor and disabled officers and soldiers who had fought for King Charles I were given a small allowance by the county authorities.¹ In 1668 William Coxhead, gentleman, who had faithfully served his late Majesty of Blessed Memory, in the late unhappy wars, and ascended to the command of a troop of horse in the regiment of

¹ Under the Maimed Soldiers' Act.

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Colonel Sir Peregrine Barty, until the surrender of Newark, now being grown into years, and reduced to a low condition, made his address to the earl of Lindsey for a yearly pension, who has recommended his case to the justices, who have ordered that he should have the pension; this we find later to be £6, and it is augmented by 40s. yearly. The applications from disabled soldiers are rather numerous, and they are allowed £2 to £3 yearly.

In 1669, a Horncastle woman of a 'lude lyfe,' a dangerous and disorderly person, who will not continue in service, but lives by pilfering and stealing, is, unless she go immediately to service and there abide, to be conveyed by the constables and overseers of Horncastle to the house of correction at Louth, there to be set on work, and to receive such punishment as the law provides. It should be said that there were four houses of correction in Lincolnshire, at Louth, Gainsborough, Folkingham, and Spalding, and a very important part they played in the administrative system. In 1671 Charles Kilbourne, who had kept the house at Louth a year for his brother, setting the persons committed to him to work, and giving them correction, being willing to give good security to provide a stock of £40 to be laid in for setting up a school to set young people to work, and laying in of hemp and other provisions to keep prisoners at daily work, is appointed master of the house of correction for the several sessions of Horncastle, Louth, and Caistor, during good behaviour. In 1669 it is ordered that £100 be raised to establish a house of correction at Gainsborough, that part of the county being without one to its great inconvenience. In 1682 it is ordered that £10 be raised in Holland to repair the house of correction and gaol at Spalding. In 1685 a Nottinghamshire man in the Folkingham house of correction, as a loose and disorderly person, is to be whipped and sent away from town to town till he come to his place of settlement.

Bastardy cases are numerous with the parish authorities as complainants, because the child may become chargeable to the parish, and the woman has to contribute to the child's maintenance as well as the father, and is sent to the house of correction for a year to be set to work and punished. In 1667, at Horncastle, a man who has begotten a male bastard child is to pay to the churchwardens and overseers of the parish of its birth 14d. weekly, and the mother 4d. weekly towards its maintenance until the child be 12, then the father is to pay 40s. to put the child to be apprentice; and the woman is to be sent to the house of correction for a year to be punished and set to work.

The poor law cases take up much space. Poor persons apply for relief, usually successfully, parishes dispute at great length concerning the place of settlement of paupers, apprentices are ordered to go to their places, and masters to receive them. In 1667 a servant, hired at the Wragby Statutes, is to go to his master and serve out his year, or be sent to the house of correction to be punished and set on work as a disorderly person, and his master is to receive him or answer at his peril. In 1668 a man having come to Horncastle who may become chargeable to the parish, not farming a tenement to the value of £10, or giving sureties to free the parish from charges, is on the complaint of the overseers sent back to his last place of settlement. A tenant of Edward Maddison, esq., complains that he must leave his present house, and will be destitute of harbour, and have to lie in

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the streets, and it is ordered that, as the common houses of Caistor are full of poor people, the churchwardens and overseers, with the consent of the guardians of Edward Ayscoghe, esq., the lord of the manor, build a house on the waste for the habitation of the petitioner and his wife. In 1672 'a rude dissolute fellow,' a 'night walker,' who will not work for his living, is sent to the Louth house of correction, there to be set on work until he find sureties for his good behaviour. At Folkingham, in 1674, a woman is to be found work by the overseers of her parish, or sufficient harbour. At Spalding, in 1690, the treasurer of the maimed soldiers is ordered to pay £2 to a miller with wife and three children, formerly an English subject, who has been forced out of Ireland by the tyrannical usage and oppression of Lord Tyrconnel.

In 1671 seven persons, who have served their apprenticeships as mercers and milliners, complain that several Scotchmen, under pretence of being pedlars, travel up and down the country selling divers wares and merchandise to the great prejudice of those who have served their apprenticeships to the said trades, and all Lindsey constables are ordered to apprehend these Scotchmen, and convey them before some justice.

We find orders for repairs to bridges and roads, and amongst their many duties the justices had to enforce precautions against the plague. In 1665 the justices were ordered, at the Lincoln Assizes, to send forth warrants to all petty constables, because of the fear of the spread of the plague, to apprehend vagrants and wandering persons, not to permit unnecessary meetings of strangers at fairs, to examine all travellers and strangers, and not allow them to receive entertainment in houses unless they can show they are free from infection. At a sessions at Lincoln Castle, 5 October, it was ordered that guards be set day and night in the ways and passages of the city, bail and close, and persons be appointed to go round to see the warders do their duty. A pest-house was erected in the fields of Gainsborough to harbour infected persons and suspicious cases, and a letter was written to the bishop, setting forth how grievously Garthorpe, in the Isle of Axholme, was infected by the plague, 64 persons being attacked, and requesting that they might have a weekly allowance out of the monthly contribution of the county for people infected.

The justices, besides regulating the rates of wages, regulated the rates of carriage and the prices of salt. At Sleaford in 1696 the justices agreed upon the following rates for carriage of goods per cwt.: from London to Stamford and Deeping 5s. 6d., to Bourn 5s. 10d., to Grantham 6s., to Sleaford and Spalding 6s. 8d., to Donnington 6s. 10d., to Boston 7s., and for every parcel of 7 lb. and under 6d., and it was ordered that the prices of salt should be not more than 12d. the peck of 14 lb. of Newcastle salt, or 8d. the peck of other sorts. How the poor laws were carried out in the different parishes may be seen from churchwardens' accounts. But first it seems well to notice how frequent were bequests to the poor in wills of the beginning of this century, and what provisions were made by testators for the benefit of the poor. In 1609 the rector¹ left £11 for the poor of Fleet, which the parson or the collectors for the poor were to hold, paying 20s. for the use thereof, which the parson was to divide amongst the poor, especially

¹ Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, ii, 32. He left a large library of books.

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poor widows and fatherless children. The same year Baruch Whittingham left to the poor of Sutterton £10, which is to be 'letten by the overseers to such poore men as can put in sufficient securitie' for the payment of the stock and the rent, which rent is to be distributed amongst the poorest people.¹ In other cases legacies are to be used to buy coal or corn to be sold to the poor at cost price, or to buy cows to let out to poor people at a rent, which is to be distributed amongst the poor.² Turning to churchwardens' accounts we find that at South Kelsey in the years,³ 1619-32, the average sum spent was £5; in 1606 the churchwardens receive 27s. 8d., of which 20s. is for the poor man's box; in 1625 there was found in this box 13s. 4d., whereof 18d. was given to Helen Osgerbie by the church to buy her a pair of shoes; in 1622 a widow, maintained by the parish, was buried; in 1634 collection bills were 'made straight,' and 6s. 8d. given to the churchwarden for the relief of an orphan; in 1654 the overseers have collected 21s. 8d., whereof they have distributed to Robert Leeming 16s., and paid 4d. for a warrant; in 1655 their monthly collection is 5s. 4d., their distribution 4s. 8d.; in 1693 George Slight takes a poor child to keep for a year, being paid by the parish 6d. a week; another man takes Jane Fetherby for a year, and is to have 1s. 2d. a week; in 1695 a female orphan is sent to a farmer as an apprentice until twenty-one, the parish paying him £3; in 1696 £3 is paid with a boy apprentice, who is to be kept, clothed, and taught to read, write, and keep accounts.

Though the 1801 census tells of an increase of population, there is no evidence of any considerable increase of prosperity in Lincolnshire towns in the eighteenth century, but agriculture made a progress which became rapid towards the end of the period, a very large acreage of fen lands was reclaimed and drained, most parishes were enclosed, winter keep for sheep and cattle was grown, the breed of both was improved, and rents and land values rose, and wages also, though not sufficiently to make the labourer prosperous again.

The changes amongst the country gentlemen continue. No longer do we hear of Ayscoughs, Copledikes, Skipwiths, Thimblebys, Armines as high sheriffs, but of Trollopes, Custs, Chaplins, Boucheretts, Turnors, Andersons, Cholmeleys, Sibthorps, though a few names appear again as before, Dymoke, Amcotts, Maddison, Thorold. Enterprising landlords, with a little ready money, bought land on purpose to enclose. The young owner of Ormsby, just of age, thought⁴ of buying Ketsby and enclosing the sheep walks; his rental at Ormsby, enclosed by his father, increased to £646⁵ a year from £380 19s. 6d. in 1698; in 1774 the rents were £1,045 19s. 5d. A lease in 1703 gives these rents of lands in Ormsby, 3s. 9d., 7s. 8d., 10s. per acre. Ketsby was valued in 1706, the actual rent being £120 for 860 acres, 2s. 9d. an acre; it was reckoned that the improved rent might be £146 7s.; some of the land that was enclosed let for 10s., but two sheep-walks of 576 acres let for under 1s. an acre. This prepares us for the report in 1801 of a well-known agriculturist upon the state of Mareham on the Hill. He says that of 1,370 acres 800 are arable in open fields,⁶ which are not expected to

¹ Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, ii, 43.

² Not quite consecutive.

³ Ibid. 303.

⁴ Ibid. 51, 118, 138.

⁵ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 307.

⁶ The rest are old enclosures.

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produce more than a crop to a fallow, and one acre in five is so poor and weak for want of turnips and seeds that it is not capable of producing more than one crop of corn in four acres ; the improvement will come from saving of labour through laying the present dispersed lands together, from increased produce through the introduction of turnips and seeds, and from grass lands being used for pasture instead of continuous meadow; and he estimates that, while the present value of the open fields is not more than 5s. an acre, it will, when enclosed, be worth 18s.¹

The enclosure awards are so well known that very little need be said on the subject. The number for Lincolnshire in George I's reign is very large. The valuers appointed under the particular Act of Parliament proceeded to mark out the roads and allot the lands amongst the owners as conveniently as possible, in many cases, too, lands were allotted to the tithe owners in lieu of tithe. In most parishes, where there were no commons or waste lands, everything went smoothly, to the great benefit of the owners and their larger tenants. The case of cottagers who lived in houses with a right attached to turn out a cow on the open fields is more doubtful. A proposal to compensate them has been mentioned, and the best landlords would find no difficulty in giving them a fair equivalent for their lost custom; if they were leaseholders, it would be a legal right so long as the lease lasted. They might either be given a small quantity of land with their cottages, as was the case at Ormsby at the beginning of the eighteenth century,² or a pasture field might be set apart for them, into which they might have 'cow gates,' as in some Kesteven parishes. In the few parishes, chiefly in the fens, where there were commons, common marshes, moors and waste lands, the complications were much greater, and the claims advanced most difficult to satisfy. Enclosures and drainage were most important, for the reclaimed fens are amongst the most fertile soils in England, and the part they took in providing food for the increased population during the scarcity of the early nineteenth century must have been very great. Moreover, the old system was by no means always fair to the poorer cottager; Arthur Young tells us³ of much 'oppressing' or over-stocking of the common; one cottager, whose rental was £5 a year, kept 1,500 breeding geese in the fen; another, paying £1 for his cottage and croft, had in Holland Fen 400 sheep, 500 geese, 7 cows, 10 horses, and 10 young beasts; after the enclosure he rented 50 acres of the enclosed land at 25s. per acre, and greatly preferred his new situation, not only for comfort, but for profit also. The chief question was, what was the just share of the reclaimed lands of the lord of the manor? When it was proposed to drain and allot the East and West Fens⁴ the proprietors of estates having rights of common met at Stickney in 1800 to protest against the allowance of one-twentieth⁵ proposed to be given to the duchy of Lancaster in lieu of manorial rights, and it was stated afterwards, in a letter, that in Deeping Fen the allowance had only been one-fortieth; but the Act of Parliament approved the proportion claimed, and it must be remembered that the rights of the lords of Bolingbroke in the fens

¹ Mr. W. Cragg's papers.

² Leases at Ormsby Hall.

³ *Survey of the Agriculture of Linc.* 262, 273.

⁴ Wheeler, *Fens of South Linc.* 222, 227.

⁵ It was only in a few cases that a lord of a manor got large compensation for his rights in the common and waste lands. At North Witham two lords got just over three acres each.

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were in early days very valuable. No doubt the lords of manors got a very good bargain, and so did the country.

The drainage of the fens was indeed a great triumph of perseverance and skill. It seems that altogether over 330,000 acres in the county have been reclaimed from the sea or the waters of the fen to a greater or less extent since the Conquest, including more than two-thirds of Holland.¹ Over 50,000 acres have been reclaimed from the sea in Holland, 127,800 acres have been drained in the Witham Fens, besides 34,000 in the Black Sluice district, 80,700 by the Welland Trust, 34,000 in Deeping Fen, 850 in Bourn South Fen, and 1,500 in Thurlby. And this does not include some reclamations in Lindsey² or in the Isle of Axholme. The state of the fens before these great drainage works was terribly bad. Acres of land, which now bear heavy crops, were then under water all the year round, and still more in winter and especially rainy seasons. Near Chapel Hill³ the sheep had to be carried to their pasture in boats, and the cattle swam from island to island, and large districts were nothing but an unwholesome swamp. Various reports showed how bad the drainage of the Witham valley was, and in 1761 an Act of Parliament was passed for 'draining and preserving certain low lands, lying on both sides of the river.'⁴ Before this, in 1734, the Court of Sewers had constructed a new Maud Foster sluice, and cleaned and deepened the drains of the West Fen, and thereby effected some improvement, and in 1784 the Mill Drain in the East Fen was deepened and enlarged, but the fenmen complained that the commissioners had 'imbibed such a rage for drainage that exceeds both utility and justice,' and the result was that a sluice was built and the water retained at an agreed height.⁵ In 1794 an Act⁶ was passed for improving the outfall of the River Welland and the better drainage of the lands discharging their waters into this river. In 1738 an Act was passed for the improvement of the drainage of Deeping Fen.⁷ Thus throughout the fens the engineer was at work, though much money might have been saved had the outfalls been deepened and straightened at first, instead of miles of unnecessary banks being built after the Dutch custom.

Some more particulars about rents and land values may now be given. In 1700 arable land at Castle Bytham⁸ was let at 3*s.* 4*d.* an acre, sixty years later 3 acres on changing hands was raised to 5*s.* 6*d.* an acre, a smaller piece was let at 4*s.*, and in 1778, the last year of the old account book, two tenants who had had their land 38 years still had it at 3*s.* 4*d.* per acre, all the others being charged 4*s.* 6*d.* The purchase value of wold land may thus be shown:⁹ In 1714 52 acres at Sutterby were bought for £290, £5 12*s.* an acre; in 1715 Driby was bought for £4,600, £3 10*s.* an acre; in 1730 475 acres at Ketsby were sold for £2,800, £5 15*s.* an acre; in 1792 735 acres in Walmsgate and Ketsby were sold for £14,400, nearly £20 an acre. In 1759 land at Ormsby was valued at 7*s.* 6*d.*, 10*s.*, and 15*s.* an acre; in 1775 12½ acres in the marsh at Theddlethorpe let for £13 a year.¹⁰

¹ Calculations from Wheeler, *Fens of South Linc. passim*.

² In Ancholme Level 18,871 acres were drained.—Dugdale, *Imbanking*, 152.

³ Wheeler, *Fens of South Linc.* 395.

⁴ Ibid. 152.

⁵ Ibid. 209, 210, 211, 222.

⁶ Ibid. 208.

⁷ Ibid. 322.

⁸ Wild, *Hist. of Castle Bytham*, 133.

⁹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 175, 176, 240, 242.

¹⁰ Ibid. 312, 313

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Arthur Young's *General View of the Agriculture of Lincolnshire* affords much information concerning rents in 1797. He gives¹ the rent of the Lowlands as 23s. an acre, some land in the marsh being worth 40s.; the Wolds as 9s., the Heath as 8s. 4d.; other lands as 14s. He tells of estates that have doubled, or even trebled in value, in 50 years.² The benefit of enclosures is shown by Navenby Rectory having become³ more valuable than the total rent of the lordship before, the farmers being in better circumstances, and the poor employed; and by the rents at Dalby, Driby, Langton, &c., on the Wolds having trebled⁴ since the enclosures. He considers warping the greatest of all improvements, and greatly to the honour of the county.⁵ He is agreeably surprised at the change since he was in Lincolnshire 30 years before⁶; then there was hardly a turnip, and now there are thousands of acres of them, and the enclosure of heaths and wastes are signs of meritorious progress. The glory of Lincolnshire is in his eyes the grazing land,⁷ he notes its richness, the quantity of stock it will keep, and the reasonable rents.

How a gentleman of small means lived may be seen by an example: Peregrine Langton, who was the uncle of Bennet, Dr. Johnson's friend, lived at Partney, in the house opposite the church, which with two or three small fields he rented for £28. On his death in 1766 the Doctor wrote to his friend to give him particulars of a life that 'certainly deserves to be known and studied; he lived in plenty and elegance upon an income which to many would appear indigent and to most scanty.' Mr. Langton tells how his uncle had an annuity of £200 a year; his family consisted of a sister, who paid him £18 annually for her board, and a niece; the servants were two maids and two men in livery, his table in common had three or four dishes, and when, as frequently, he entertained company, was well served with as many dishes as other gentlemen in the neighbourhood; he had a post-chaise and three horses, he always had a sum of money by him, and set apart a tenth of his income for charity; the main particular that enabled him to do so much with his income was that he paid for everything as soon as he had it, every Monday morning he settled his family accounts, and gave notice to the tradesmen of the neighbouring market towns that they should no longer have his custom if they let any of his servants have anything without their paying for it.⁸

It must not be supposed that the eighteenth century was without its times of agricultural depression. A letter at Ormsby shows that in 1728 the estate was unlet or came into the hands of the widow of the late owner at Lady Day, except the lands held by small tenants, Skegness being also unlet; she let all she could without abating two-thirds of the rents it had been raised to, but was unable to let it all.⁹

The poll book for the election of a knight of the shire in 1723 gives us some idea of the number of freeholders at that time. The number of freeholders who polled was 4,990. As there were only thirteen booths for the whole county in 1818, and probably not more in 1723, it may be concluded that a considerable number of freeholders did not vote because of the distance, though they had the necessary qualification, and there were also free-

¹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 57.

² *Ibid.* 46.

³ *Ibid.* 99.

⁴ *Ibid.* 105.

⁵ *Ibid.* 326.

⁶ *Ibid.* 113, 163.

⁷ *Ibid.* 201, 220.

⁸ Walker, *Hist. of Partney*, 130-3; Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (1887), ii, 17 n.

⁹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 307.

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holders whose lands were not valued at £2 a year, but after making allowances for these there is still a large diminution in the number from the 10,820 sokemen in 1086. In Holland the voters were almost 900, so that the freeholders there had more than doubled: in the Isle of Axholme the increase is still more striking; there were over 400 freehold voters there in 1723 to 84 sokemen in 1086. The decrease is in those parishes where resident gentlemen have been rounding off their estates. A few small freeholders still remained in parishes where we should hardly expect them, but the lack of freeholders in some marsh parishes, as Ingoldmells, Skegness, and Addlethorpe, can only be explained by the supposition that, while several had not the necessary qualification, many would not travel miles to vote. Of the Isle of Axholme Arthur Young writes,¹ almost every house you see is inhabited by the owner of 4 to 40 acres, where, cultivating land of uncommon fertility, he grows an endless succession of corn, potatoes, hemp, flax, beans, etc.; these men do nearly all the work themselves, working like negroes and not living so well as the inhabitants of the poor-house, yet all is made amends for by possessing land.

Evidence concerning prices continues difficult to obtain until the end of the century. In the account book² of George Langton for 1707 we find 43 ewes and 2 tups sold for £14, 4 steers and a heifer for £6 10s., a cow and calf for 50s.; he grew turnips and fed them off with sheep, and we find the interest on money to be 5 instead of 10 per cent. at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1725 Mr. Langton sold wheat at 32s. a quarter in March; in April he sold 30 shear hogs for £21, 20 hogs for £11; 27 May he began to mow clover; in June he bought 2 heifers for £6; he sold in November a stone horse for £4, and bought a horse for £16; he pays £6 to a woman for a year's wages and £5 to another. In 1718 some goods landed at Skegness are distributed amongst friends at these rates, green tea 14s., bohea £1 a lb., muslin 6s. 6d. and 9s., calico 2s. 6d. and 3s. per yard; in May, 1740, shearling ewes and wethers are valued at 14s. each, hogs at 11s., ewes and lambs at 13s. 6d., steers at £4 10s., cow and calf £5 5s., heifer £4, horses £12 and £15 15s., colt 3 years £8, filly 2 years £5.³ In January, 1781, tuppings ewes are valued at 10s. each, shear hogs and wethers 13s., lamb hogs 10s., cows and calves £4, steers and heifers 3 years £3, bull £4, milch cow £7, calf 30s., work horse £8.⁴ But Arthur Young tells of much higher prices c. 1797, 3 year-old steers at £19,⁵ bullocks bought for £15 sold for £26, cows sold at £27 10s.; wethers bought at £2 sold at £3, hogs at 30s., drape ewes at 30s. 6d., 16 years before at 8s. 6d., lambs 12s. in 1781, 24s. in 1794; hogs 18s. in 1781, 34s. in 1794; shearlings 26s. in 1781, 50s. in 1794; tups let at £4 each. He gives much information about wool;⁶ in Holland Fen 2½ fleeces will weigh a tod; on the Wolds 3, sometimes 2, would weigh a tod; prices 30s. a tod in 1728, £1 in 1758, 16s. in 1761, 15s. in 1768, 18s. in 1774, 12s. in 1779, 11s. in 1782, 15s. 6d. in 1784, 23s. 6d. in 1792, 18s. in 1794.

For wages in 1721 we have an agreement⁷ at Ormsby between the landowner and his labourers; they are to have 7d. a day for 'every statutable dayes

¹ *Gen. View of Agriculture of Linc.* 19. ² At Ormsby Rectory. ³ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 311-13.

⁴ *Hist. of Doddington*, 176. ⁵ *Gen. View of Agriculture of Linc.* 340, 341, 342, 345, 349, 363, 386, 389.

⁶ *Ibid.* 348, 355, 361.

⁷ *Linc. N. and Q.* vi, 92.

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work, and also the further sum of 6*d.* per day for 58 days between 1 July and 7 September, and also 1*d.* a day from 1 May to 29 September in lieu of small beer, item the labourers do agree readily to come at y^e rates abovesaid at three dayes warning'; their wives and children to work as the agent thinks they deserve and none to work for anybody else; 4*d.* per rood for a dyke 4 feet wide and 3 feet deep, scouring an old dyke half price; mowing saintfoyne 13*d.* per acre, grass 15*d.*, barley 1*s.*, oats 10*d.* But the wages had doubled before the end of the century,¹ men on the roads were paid in 1774 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, and in 1791 a labourer was paid 1*s.* 2*d.* a day, and 2*s.* a day for mowing grass; in 1794 a woman-servant's wages were 9 guineas a year. In 1754 the statute wages fixed at Boston were²—artificers' servants £3 to £6; ploughmen £5 and £3; boys under 18 £2; artificers 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* per day in summer, with meat 10*d.*, in winter 1*s.* 4*d.*, with meat 8*d.*; labourers in husbandry in summer 1*s.*, with meat 6*d.*, in winter 8*d.* to 10*d.*, with meat 5*d.*, mowers 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* according as they work by the acre; oats and barley 1*s.* 6*d.*; wheat by the acre, reaping, binding, and shocking 5*s.*, oats and barley the same; reaper 2*s.* per day, with meat 1*s.* 6*d.*, woman 1*s.* 6*d.*, with meat 1*s.*; harvest-man, best, 2*s.* per day, 2nd 1*s.* 6*d.*; thrashing and dressing wheat and rye 2*s.*, oats 6*d.*, barley 1*s.* 2*d.*; the price of wheat was in July 24*s.*, and in August and November 26*s.*, and by the Assize of Bread the 6*d.* wheaten loaf was to weigh 5 lb. 12 oz. 11 drs., and the 6*d.* household loaf 7 lb. 11 oz. 9 drs. in July, and 5 lb. 7 oz. 13 drs. and 7 lb. 5 oz. 1 dr. respectively in August and November.

Arthur Young³ considered that labour was probably higher in Lincolnshire than in any other county in the kingdom. The average he gives at 10*s.* a week for 26 weeks, 10*s.* 9*d.* for 9 weeks in spring, 13*s.* 6*d.* for 9 weeks in summer, 20*s.* for 8 weeks in harvest;⁴ about Burton upon Stather the day's wages are—winter 1*s.* 3*d.*, spring 1*s.* 6*d.*, hay 2*s.* 6*d.*, harvest 3*s.* 3*d.*; twenty years ago they were—winter 10*d.* a day, spring 1*s.*, haytime 1*s.* 6*d.*, harvest 2*s.* Mutton was 6*d.* a lb., beef 6*s.* a stone, butter 10*d.* a lb.; in 1759 butter was 3*d.* per lb., in 1786 beef 2½*d.*⁵ He says it is impossible to speak too highly⁶ in praise of the cottage system of Lincolnshire, where land, gardens, cows, and pigs are so generally in the hands of the poor; it is gratifying to every honest heart to see the people comfortable; and the poor-rates are low, not one-third of what is paid in Suffolk.

The Lindsey quarter sessions minutes for the eighteenth century become less interesting, and are badly kept, but the diminished entries are in themselves a proof of the better state of the country. In 1704 Spilsby had become a fifth centre for quarter sessions, which in July are held on consecutive days at Horncastle, Louth, Caistor, Spittal, and Spilsby; in 1787 the system of holding the court four times a year, but keeping it open by adjournment to different places has come in. Thus a court is held at Gainsborough on October 2, and by adjournment on October 3, then adjourned to Louth to October 5 and 6, and to Spilsby on October 18 and November 12 and 26. The Kesteven Quarter Sessions are in April, 1724, held at Bourn, and

¹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 317, 313.

² Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 766.

³ *Gen. View of Agriculture of Linc.* 451, 447; corn prices are lower (p. 73).

⁴ Supposing the labourer to pay 60*s.* a quarter for corn he could, in 1798, purchase a quarter in 5 weeks: 20 years before corn was cheaper, and he might purchase a quarter with his lower wages in the same time.

⁵ *Ibid.* 451-2.

⁶ *Ibid.* 468.

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by adjournment, at Sleaford, and it became the practice for many years to hold them the first day at Bourn or Folkingham and the next day by adjournment at Sleaford.

A few cases will show the business without, however, repeating instances similar to those given before. In 1700, at Sleaford, the high sheriff was ordered to 'forthwith provide an instrument for to affix those malefactors heads in who shall be convicted of larcenies, and sentenced to be burnt in the cheeke, and do cause the same to be affixed in the Town Hall at Sleaford to be used for that purpose, under the penalty of £50.' In 1705 at Gainsborough the new-built house at Beltoft in the Isle of Axholme is licensed, and allowed to be a public meeting house for Protestant dissenters, commonly called Quakers. In 1710, at Gainsborough, John Juett, D.D., treasurer for the county for the relief of prisoners in Lincoln Castle, is to appoint a fit person to look over the poor prisoners on work from time to time, as he shall think fit, and to pay such person a reasonable allowance. This was before John Howard was born, and shows the Lincolnshire magistrates not altogether unmindful of their duties towards prisoners even thus early. Appointments of gamekeepers nominated by lords of manors now become common, a nomination at Spilsby in 1740 is given in full: Lord Willoughby de Broke, lord of the manor of Gayton le Marsh, nominates Alexander Emerson, of Hackthorn, gentleman, to be his gamekeeper, with full authority to kill game for his use, and take and seize all such guns, greyhounds, setting and other dogs, nets or engines for taking hares, pheasants, partridges, or other game, kept or used by any persons not legally qualified to do the same, and do all that belongs to the office of gamekeeper. At Bourn, in 1726, a contract is mentioned, made by the county authorities with a London merchant to convey and transport eleven convicted felons to some of His Majesty's plantations in America, the charge being £120, of which Kesteven is to pay £30. In 1727, at Sleaford, an apprentice is ordered to be discharged because he has married contrary to the contract between him and his master, a tailor. In 1730, at Lincoln, the grand jury presented a man for extortion in taking 8 lb. of wheat and rye out of one strike of Edward Beresford's, esq., for grinding it at Nettleham mill. At Louth, in 1733, the keeper of the house of correction is fined 5s. for suffering Jonathan Parrott to escape; and the treasurer is to provide hemp to the value of £5 to set prisoners on work, the keeper of the house of correction giving security to be answerable for the same. At Folkingham, in 1733, William Wright is presented for suffering his fences to be unrepaired; and for stealing 7 hens William Harrison is ordered to be whipped, and committed to Folkingham gaol for two months. In 1735, at Lincoln, a man is presented as a common trespasser in over-stocking Brattleby Common. At Folkingham, in 1736, a disorderly public-house is ordered to be suppressed, and the keeper is discharged from selling for the future any ale or other strong liquors in the said house, of which the sign is to be pulled down by the constables. In 1741, at Sleaford, Thomas Searson is committed to the house of correction at Folkingham for 3 months, there to be kept to hard labour, for returning from Eaton, in Leicestershire, being sent there by an order of the justices as to the place of his last legal settlement. At Caistor, in 1741, a man was indicted for keeping scabbed horses on Market Rasen Common; at Spital a man is

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indicted for selling flax under weight. At Sleaford, in 1742, a Leadenham labourer was indicted for setting up and exercising the trade of butcher to which he had not been apprenticed for 7 years. At Kirton, in 1746, a Haxey wheelwright is to answer for drinking the Pretender's health.

At Folkingham, in 1746, it is ordered that only such cattle are to be exposed for sale at the next fairs of Corby and Folkingham, as are certified to have been kept in Lincolnshire, where the distemper amongst horned cattle is not yet raging; in 1747, at Horncastle, £300 is ordered to be raised for expenses relating to the infection now raging amongst horned cattle; at Spilsby, in 1748, horned cattle are forbidden to be sold at any fair or market until further order, and at Horncastle 12 inspectors are appointed to cause cattle dying on the East, West and Wildmore Fens, to be buried immediately at the cost of the owners.

At Folkingham, in 1748, it is stated that the county magistrates had agreed to allow the keeper of the gaol at Lincoln Castle £153 8s. 2d. yearly for 7 years for maintaining the county gaol and county house, and for allowing every felon 8 lb. of good household bread and 1 lb. of beef weekly, and to debtors the same, paying also land-tax; £2 yearly for coals for the use of debtors and felons; for oatmeal for felons £2 yearly; the apothecary what is needful; for pots, buckets, &c., £3; and whereas the county has been much imposed upon by debtors, who lie in gaol and receive the county's allowance, but are handicraftsmen, and work at their business, and get a sufficient maintenance, therefore no debtor shall have the allowance unless they produce a certificate from their parish officers that they are necessitated persons; and the keeper of the gaol shall have £8 8s. for transporting every felon, and a fee of 13s. 4d. for every felon. At Folkingham, in 1755, a woman convicted of obtaining goods by false pretences is ordered to be publicly whipped, receiving ten lashes on her naked back.

At Bourn, in 1757, an order is made regulating the weight of bread sold; a 3d. wheaten loaf is to weigh 1 lb. 13 oz. 13 drs.; a 3d. household loaf, 2 lb. 7 oz. 12 drs.; a 6d. wheaten loaf, 3 lb. 11 oz. 10 drs.; a 6d. household loaf, 4 lb. 15 oz. 8 drs.; and the poor are recommended to buy only household bread, being one-third more in weight than wheaten.

At Sleaford, in October, 1796, the inhabitants of New Sleaford applied that a watch be kept by night and ward by day, until 6 April, and the petty constables of the parish were ordered to cause this to be done, and apprehend all rogues, vagabonds, and other wandering, idle and disorderly persons, and carry them before some justice. At Spilsby, in 1787, the clerk of the peace is directed to distribute £630, the amount of the bounty allowed for the growth of hemp and flax within these parts, amongst the persons found entitled thereto; at Caistor a vagrant, brought from the house of correction at Gainsborough, is re-committed thereto until the next sessions or he enters His Majesty's land or sea service. At Spilsby an apprentice to a cordwainer, complaining of not being instructed in trade, and misusage, and the master failing to clear himself, is discharged.

In January, 1788, an adjournment is made to Lincoln to consider the present allowance to the keeper of the county gaol in lieu of profits heretofore derived from the sale of liquors in the gaol, and the best means for employing prisoners, when the justices are of opinion that no allowance ought

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to be made, but they give the gaol keeper an additional salary of £46. At Lincoln, in September, 1788, it is ordered that the apartments of the new gaol appropriated to free debtors be also used for the confinement of militia deserters; that fees taken by the gaoler for the use of furniture in debtors' rooms be abolished; that Cobb's Hall be fitted up for the reception of vagrants apprehended within the Bail and Close of Lincoln; and that justices be requested to inspect the internal management of the gaol, and give such directions from time to time as they think fit. At Caistor, in 1789, it is ordered that the house of correction at Gainsborough be inspected, as to additions and alterations to make it more useful, having regard to the classing of inmates according to the nature of their crimes, providing proper places for the employment of persons committed to hard labour, and keeping every part of the prison clean and wholesome; when it was found that the average number of persons annually committed was 24, of which three-quarters were males, and that the house was thoroughly insufficient; 11 persons were crowded into a small, dark, close day-room, so extremely offensive as to be scarcely supportable, the supply of hemp so scanty and precarious as to furnish no regular system of employment, and no mills or looms; the appearance of prisoners forlorn, desperate and abandoned, the gaoler a sensible, worthy man unable to employ or keep them in order, no places for washing, no provision for the sick or filthy. The committee viewed with great concern so large a number of their fellow-creatures thus confined in a place injurious to health, and daily becoming more profligate from idleness and vicious conversation, and recommended an entirely new system; and the court-house at Caistor being so low and damp that it must be rebuilt, or justices will not continue to risk their lives, they recommended that one general Bridewell for this district be erected at Kirton, with a house for the keeper, and a court-house. In 1789-90 plans and contracts for the Bridewell at Kirton are considered and approved.

In 1800, at Bourn, the sale of finer bread than the standard wheaten bread is forbidden, except 1*d.* or 2*d.* loaves, and every loaf is to be marked S. W., and the quartern wheaten loaf is to weigh 4 lb. 5½ oz. In the Holland Statute Book 20 April, 1796, yearly wages are entered, £4 to £15 1*s.* for lads, 5*s.* to £5 5*s.* for girls, being the rates.

Parish accounts now give information concerning the actual working of the poor law. At first the sums expended are quite small; about 1780 they increase largely, and before the end of the century they become excessively heavy. At Ormsby,¹ in 1715, the overseer's disbursements were £9 17*s.*; in 1722 they were £16 19*s.*, and the constable and surveyor's £8 6*s.*; in 1760 they were £29 14*s.*; in 1783² they were £69, and in 1803 £305.

At Baumber³ the disbursements were in 1776 £23 15*s.*, in 1780 £64, in 1782 £109, in 1786 £83, in 1791 £72, in 1795 £107, in 1797 £142, in 1799 £242, in 1800 £347. Amongst the expenses in 1797 were £5 1*s.* 4*d.* for county stock; £3 for rent of poor-house; 51 weeks' collection for 5 persons at 1*s.* to 5*s.* each, £44 18*s.*; to 4 others, £16 4*s.*; coals and kids, £6 14*s.* 11*d.*; 2 pairs of stockings, 3*s.* 10*d.*, and a blanket 5*s.* 6*d.* for a blind boy; the constable's bill, £7. At Tetney,⁴ in 1774, instead of

¹ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, 314-15.

² *Poor Law Returns*, 1803.

³ Parish Accounts.

⁴ Tetney Parish Books, from Paper by Rev. J. Wild.

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collections each ratepayer undertook to pay according to his assessment one or more poor, thus Robert Young paid a woman 2s. a week, Mr. Ludlam paid 2 persons 4s. and a third 2s. 6d. a week; in 1781 cloth made by paupers was sold for £6 11s. at 13d. to 16d. a yard; in 1786 a workhouse was built for £131, and in 1790 two men undertook for £105, and a piece of land and the lanes, to maintain the poor there for a year; in 1792 the payment was £90; in 1798 the cost of maintaining the poor was £180.

Several apprenticeship agreements are preserved at Baumber. In 1765 the churchwardens and overseer with the consent of two justices apprentice a boy with a blacksmith until he is twenty-four; he is to serve faithfully and obediently, and his master covenants to provide him with sufficient meat, drink, and apparel, and that he shall not be any way a charge to the parish, and to teach him 'the art, mystery or occupation of a blacksmith,' and provide him at the end of the term, double apparel of all sorts, namely, a good new suit for holidays, and another for working days. In 1720, the churchwardens and overseer of Horncastle acknowledge that Anne Elsey and her family, who desire to remove to Baumber for convenience and work, are legally settled at Horncastle, and that if they become chargeable to the parish, they will receive them again.

The larger Lincolnshire towns prospered greatly and continuously in the nineteenth century. Lincoln, besides being a great agricultural centre, now sends agricultural implements all over the world, while Grantham and Gainsborough manufacture agricultural implements on a large scale. Grimsby from little more than a fishing village has risen to be the greatest fishing town in England. Boston made rapid progress during the first half of the century, chiefly because of the prosperity of the rich district around, but, notwithstanding enterprising efforts to revive the trade of the port, it has of late failed to keep pace with other large towns. The smaller towns prospered so long as agriculture prospered, but many of them have suffered since the agricultural depression set in, Spalding, Sleaford, and Spilsby seeming to be exceptions, as also Barrow upon Humber. The discovery and working of iron at Frodingham has brought a new source of wealth.

The beginning of the century witnessed agricultural improvements that were signal proofs of the enterprise and skill of all classes. In 1801 an Act was passed for draining the East, West and Wildmore Fens, containing over 32,000 acres, which were under water every winter, and 4,000 acres at all seasons of the year.¹ Mr. Bower reported² in 1814 that 'every wished for object in the drainage of the whole of the fens was effectually obtained, and the lowest land brought into a state of cultivation,' and that now 'when the low lands in every part of the kingdom are overflowed by floods, these fens are perfectly free.' These fens were also enclosed by separate Acts, and in 1812, seven new townships were formed, Eastville, Midville, Frithville, Carrington, Westville, Thornton le Fen, Langrville. The complete drainage and cultivation caused, however, the spongy soil to subside one to two feet, especially in the East Fen, and in 1864 an Act was obtained to improve the outfalls.³ Drainage by steam pumps was also inaugurated in

¹ Wheeler, *Fens of South Linc.* 216, 222.

² Ibid. 226.

³ Ibid. 231, 359.

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1867¹, the benefit being found very great. All over the county, too, 'undergripping' with tiles was undertaken, the owners usually providing the tiles, and the occupiers the labour.

The early years of the century were prosperous for landlords and tenants. Wheat at 154s. a quarter in March 1801, and averaging 69s. 1802-6, 88s. 1807-16, 74s. 1817-21,² made farmers gallop after one another to obtain a vacant farm, but in October, 1822, wheat was down to 38s., barley 14s., mutton 3d. a lb., prices said to be 'ruinous to the farmer.' In 1833, wheat in Lincolnshire was 55s. a quarter, and yet there were complaints, though it is asserted that in Lincolnshire agriculture is doing better than elsewhere, because the people are industrious and painstaking and the land is better.³

Of the state of affairs in Lincolnshire, Mr. Cragg writes, in 1831, that owing to the dry season in 1826, and wet ones since, the employment of labourers was affected, for nobody would do more than he could help, and a great number were 'sent out of the way' upon the roads, and paid the lowest justices' wages out of the poor rates, whilst the corn was thrashed out by machinery, so that through want and vexation, riots began in the south of England, and stacks were burnt, but now happily these outrages have ceased, and employment in draining land and other improvements have brought better things.⁴ Thus early Mr. Cragg protests against the depopulation of villages by the accumulation of large farms, so that there is only one family instead of two or three, and less opportunity for an industrious man to improve his position by obtaining a small farm.⁵

Rents followed the course of events. A farm at Threckingham was let for £1 an acre in 1795, 36s. in 1814, 34s. in 1830, 29s. in 1831.⁶ At Ormsby the rental had advanced to £1,956 in 1808, and a re-valuation came to £2,725; in 1864, another re-valuation came to £3,482. At Driby, 668 acres were let in 1808 for £630, the re-valuation being £840; the rent was £750, 1840-51; in 1865 it was £880, about 27s. an acre; in 1878, a farm here was let at 36s. an acre. At Ormsby the rents 1840-51 were higher, a farm of 229 acres letting for 34s. an acre, a rate which remained the same in 1865, but rose to 39s. in 1878.⁷ Never was Lincolnshire so prosperous as c. 1870. Farmers were again galloping after one another to hire or purchase land. Rents on the Wolds were 35s. an acre or more, feeding pasture in the marsh let as high as £5. Wold land sold for £50 up to £80 an acre, and marsh land for over £100. Prices were high, and the labourer earned the highest rate of wages ever known. In 1879 came a wet and disastrous harvest, and land values have gone down ever since, for, if now farms are somewhat easier to let, an estate on the Wolds can only be sold at a price which is little more than the cost of buildings and improvements. At Saltfleet, good land, which made £1,000 in 1872, sold for £410 in 1904; land at Alvingham sold for £545 in 1863, but in 1904 for £200; a farm at Binbrook, bought in 1881 for £6,000, sold twenty years later for £3,000.⁸ At Brinkhill on the Wolds, land purchased in 1871 at £80 an acre, and let at the request of the

¹ Wheeler, *Fens of South Linc.* 235.

³ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁷ Ormsby Papers.

² *Rep. Agriculture* (Select Committee), 1833.

⁴ Cragg Papers.

⁶ Ibid.

⁸ *Standard*, Nov. 2, 1905.

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seller to him at 38s. an acre, is now let at 25s., and the rest of the estate has been sold at under £30 an acre.

Altogether, the affairs of the Lincolnshire squire never were so low compared with those of other classes as at present. While fortunes are being made in the towns, he has to watch his patrimony diminishing in value through no fault of his own, and his expenses, if he is to maintain his position, are increasing. The yeomen are becoming fewer, though fortunately a few still survive, while the tenant-farmers, notwithstanding lower rents, are by no means prosperous as a rule.

The smaller freeholders certainly became more numerous during the century. At the beginning, lands in the fens were sold in small lots to pay the expenses of drainage and enclosure, and some copyholders got their lands enfranchised, but the largest increase of freeholders came from the sale of large estates in lots, to suit small purchasers, anywhere where the land and circumstances were suitable. In South Holland the estates of Lord Eardley, Lord Saye and Sele, and others, were sold in this manner, with the result that the district has become one of small proprietors, without resident squires. Some twenty years ago, both here and in the Isle of Axholme, mortgagees in possession held much of the land, but now they have sold out, and small holders have purchased the land, and on the whole are prosperous. In other parts, too, landlords have sold land in the good times in small plots, wherever possible, and so diminished their charges, and benefited the community. The poll book of 1818 shows that 608 more freeholders voted than in 1723, the voters in Lindsey being 3,124, in Kesteven 1,417, in Holland 1,057. The voters' lists in 1905 give 4,000 owners in Gainsborough division, 2,205 in Brigg, 2,034 in Louth, 2,308 in Horncastle, 1,684 in Sleaford, 1,873 in Stamford, 5,272 in Spalding—19,376 in all, nearly double the number in 1086, or at any other period, the great increase being in Holland and the Isle of Axholme, while in Kesteven there is hardly any. The Wolds and Cliff and Heath are better cultivated by larger farmers, but even here there are in 'open' parishes some small freeholders in suitable places.

The same causes have affected allotments; there are instances of them in 1833, and earlier, and in the fens and elsewhere on suitable land they have been a success, but on the Wolds large gardens adjoining the cottages seem preferable.

As regards prices of corn, the enormous ups and downs, and the difference in different places in the same county are noticeable. In August 1812, wheat was 150s. a quarter; in October 1822, 38s.¹; in January 1801, at Lincoln, wheat was 131s., rye 94s., barley 80s., oats 48s. a quarter; at Spalding, wheat was 110s., rye 84s., barley 61s., oats 45s.² How prices have diminished of late years is well known; wheat was sold in January 1868 at 74s. a quarter, in September at 50s., and barley at 49s.; in 1894, wheat was sold at 17s.³ The prices of meat have not varied so much; in 1804-10, beef was 6½d., bacon 6½d. a lb.;⁴ in 1860, butcher's meat was 7¾d., bacon 9¾d.; in 1887 both were 7d.⁵ In 1867 fat ewes were sold at

¹ *Rep. Agriculture* (Select Committee), 1833.

³ Ormsby Accounts.

⁵ Prothero, *Pioneers of Engl. Farming*, 281.

² *Provincial Literary Repository*.

⁴ Young, *op. cit.*

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6½d. a lb.,¹ and the price is much the same now, while bacon is 6d. a lb. Wool, however, has gone down about as low as corn, much to the detriment of the high districts where the fertility of the land depends upon the sheep, and at one time a farmer could nearly pay his half-year's rent with the produce of his clip. In 1814 wool sold for 44s. a tod;² in 1872 it sold for 56s. 6d., in 1875 for 43s., 1877 for 35s., 1885 for 22s., 1899 for 17s. 6d., 1901 for 13s. 6d.³ As Lincoln sheep sometimes clip 14 lb. of wool, and will average 10 lb., the loss to the farmer, who has 500 to 1,000 sheep, has been very great.

Articles of general consumption, and clothing have become cheaper, much to the benefit of the poorer classes. In 1815, the quartern loaf was 1s. 4d., tea 6s. a lb., sugar 9½d., candles 7½d.; in 1860, the loaf was 7¾d., tea 4s. a lb., sugar 4¾d., candles 6d.; in 1881, the loaf was 4½d., tea 2s. 3d., sugar 2½d., candles 4d. a lb.⁴ At the end of the century tea was 1s. 6d., sugar 2d. a lb. The question of wages and the condition of the people is a difficult one. With agricultural wages at 12s. a week in 1813, and 15s. in 1816,⁵ and wheat averaging 88s. a quarter 1807-16, it would take a labourer six or seven weeks to purchase a quarter, and would make his condition worse than ever known. But times were good for farmers, and at Ormsby, in 1811, labourers were paid 3s. 6d. a day, and there is abundant proof of a liberal, if mistaken, administration of the poor law, moreover, there is evidence that the labourers were better satisfied during the war than in 1833, because no good labourer was unemployed.⁶ The young men boarded with the farmers certainly did not suffer, being paid in 1806 £6 up to £18 a year, while the girls had from £4 to £7.⁷ In 1833, with wages at 13s. 4d.,⁸ and wheat at 53s. one expects an improvement, but the witnesses of 1833,⁹ while admitting that the labourer is better off¹⁰ in proportion to prices of food and clothing, do not on the whole bear out this conclusion, though Mr. Peyton thinks the Lincolnshire labourer better off than others he knows of, because of the practice of allowing him to keep a cow, giving a carter so much and the keep of a cow. In 1836 wages were 12s. a week, and remained the same in 1837 and 1838.¹¹ In 1851 wages are lower (10s.), with wheat at 38s.¹² In 1867 they are 15s.,¹³ but wheat is 64s.; in 1872 they are 18s. in summer, and 16s. 6d. in winter; in 1873-4 they are 18s.; in 1875 they are down to 16s. 6d. in December; in 1879 they are 15s.; in 1881-3 15s. in summer, 13s. 6d. in winter; in 1885 13s. 6d., and 12s. in December; in 1888 12s.; 1890 13s. 6d.; in April 1891 15s.; in 1894 13s. 6d., but 12s. in November; April 1895 to April 1898 13s. 6d., then to July 1900 15s.; in summer 1900-1 16s. 6d. In 1851 wagoners were paid £5 to £12 a year;¹⁴ in 1868 £15; in 1875 £18 10s.; in 1876 £6 10s. to £20 10s.; in 1883 £6 to £14; in 1885 £5 to £17; in 1895 £9 to £17; in 1900 £18.¹⁵ Those high (1872-5)

¹ Ormsby Accounts.

² *Stamford Mercury*.

³ Ormsby Accounts. But it has risen to 30s. in 1906.

⁴ Prothero, *Pioneers of Engl. Farming*, 281.

⁵ Bowley, *Wages in the Nineteenth Century*; table at end.

⁶ *Rep. Agriculture*, 1833. In 1829 wages were 12s. a week (Cragg Papers).

⁷ Spalding Stat. Book.

⁸ Bowley, *Wages in the Nineteenth Century*; table at end.

⁹ *Rep. Agriculture*, 1833.

¹⁰ If employed.

¹¹ Bowley, *op. cit.*

¹² Caird, *Engl. Agriculture*, 480.

¹³ Ormsby Accounts.

¹⁴ Haggard, *Rural Engl.* 147.

¹⁵ Ormsby Accounts. All the weekly wages are exclusive of harvest and piecework.

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wages would purchase a quarter of wheat in three weeks, but the present wages of 15s. would purchase it in a fortnight. Certainly the Lincolnshire agricultural labourer, however some may wonder how he and his wife are able to manage so well on so little, is better off than ever before. He lives in a house of brick instead of a hovel, he considers what were unknown luxuries necessities, famine and plague are things of the past, he has sufficient food for himself and his family, he can go where he likes for his work, and has no difficulty in finding it. The inventions of the age have lessened his labours, for he no longer mows corn or grass, or thrashes with a flail. His children have free education, and he himself can obtain a book and a newspaper.

The rates for skilled labour are difficult to obtain. A carpenter in the seventies received in the country 5s. a day, he now receives 4s. At Lincoln he has 30s. a week, and a foreman 40s. In the engineering works there, iron turners and fitters received in 1886 26s. to 30s. a week, pattern-makers 28s. to 30s., moulders 28s. to 32s., blacksmiths 28s. to 34s., boiler-makers 30s. to 34s., labourers 18s. to 19s.; now the wages are respectively 28s. to 32s., 30s. to 36s., 30s. to 34s., 30s. to 36s., 32s. to 36s., 18s. to 20s.; and men can earn considerably more by overtime and piecework.

The facts concerning the administration of justice and local government are easily accessible. Everyone knows how petty sessions have, since 1828, been established at convenient centres; how quarter sessions have come to be held for Lindsey at Lincoln only; for Kesteven at Bourn and Sleaford; for Holland at Spalding and Boston; how county councils and district councils have taken over the local government. There seems no doubt that serious crime has greatly decreased since the establishment of the county police in 1857, the improvement in the condition of the people contributing thereto. At Lincoln assizes, March, 1816, six men and one woman were sentenced to death—three men for sheep stealing, one for horse stealing, one for burglary, one for assault and robbery, and the woman for the same; now sheep and horse stealing have practically ceased, and night burglaries are very rare. Altogether the conduct of the people has vastly improved, their honesty is undoubted, and, with a few unhappy exceptions, the country people are extremely sober.

The population returns show an increase for every decade, but, looking closer, we see that while up to 1851 the population has almost doubled, and the increase has been both in town and country, after 1851 both Kesteven and Holland show a loss, and Lindsey's increase of over 98,000 is accounted for in Grimsby (including Cleve) and Lincoln, leaving Gainsborough and Frodingham to make up the losses in the country districts, where, until 1881, the population was almost stationary, followed by a drop in 1891, and a still greater one in 1901. It would almost seem as if the population employed in agriculture was little greater in 1801 or 1901 than in 1086, for the Domesday population of the whole hundred of Hill, a purely agricultural district, equals that of 1801, and is only slightly below that of 1901, and many parishes give similar results. It will be noticed that the largest increases and decreases for the country districts are in the 'open' parishes; the fact is that some of these became overcrowded, men had to walk several

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miles to their work, some actually riding six or seven miles on donkeys,¹ and in winter-time many were out of work ; now landlords have had to build the necessary cottages for their farms.

The poor-law reports and parish accounts are for too many years sad reading, but it is well to remember that the sums ratepayers spent in the relief of the poor show an intention to do right, and that the poor laws saved England the horrors of the French Revolution. Modern ideas of a 'living wage' were then unknown, and when a working-man could not maintain himself and his family on his wages they were supplemented out of the rates. As early as 1803 the amount spent in Lincolnshire in the relief of the poor had doubled since 1783-5, being £95,575 against £43,024 ; in 1813 the amount was £129,343 ; in 1829 £172,427 ; in 1823 £156,184 ; in 1829 £171,565.² The poor-law returns for 1803 show a large increase of paupers in most parishes since 1783-5, but there are a few exceptions ; Brothertoft spends £60 against £74, there being a friendly society with 91 members, and 61 children in a school of industry employed in knitting stockings and making worsted. The overseer of West Firsby remarks that the parish being wholly occupied by himself accounts for there being no chargeable poor. At Cuxwold are four families for which a cow is kept ; they have gardens and potato grounds, and kill two or three pigs a year ; their children are employed in agriculture as soon as able to work, and they preserve their independence and live more comfortably by far than if they had an allowance of three times the amount they cost the parish. Caistor has united with twenty parishes and built a house of industry on the common ; the children begin to spin woollen yarn very well, the old are employed in such work as they can perform. Turning to the Baumber accounts again for the ordinary working of the poor law, we find the expenses in 1805-6 £278 ; there are the usual 'collections,' and there are bought for a pauper and his family, seemingly sent to Baumber to be maintained, 2 bedsteads 11s., 2 chairs and table 3s., chaff bed 1s., 2 blankets 12s., bed-cord 2s. 6d., kettle and pot 7s., 7 yards harden 7s., thread 2d., rack-hooks and teapot 1s., cups and saucers 1s., dishes 10d., 4 basins 8d., saucepan 3d., washtub 4s., pail 3s., 'beesom' 3d., 1 sack coals and 5 wood-kids 5s. 4½d., board for a shelf 1s., 5½lb. mutton 2s. 9d. ; in 1812-13 the disbursements are £375, 1814-15 £419, 1815-16 £616, 1816-17 £505, 1817-18 £452, 1818-19 £362, 1823-4 £282, 1835-6 £249 ; 1837-8 £213,³ several paupers having been sent to the Horncastle Union House ; 1840-1 £253, 1861-2 £122 ; the parish loses by the Union Chargeability Act, for in 1866-7 the payments are £276, and it is not until 1882-3 that there is a considerable decrease, the payments being £210. At Ormsby the payments are £486 in 1825-6, £270 1838-9, £134 1854-5. In 1824 the practice of giving labourers part of their wages out of the rates had mostly been discontinued in Lincolnshire, but those who had children received assistance, in some parishes where they had four or more, in others according to their circumstances.⁴ A search of the union accounts of Horncastle and Spilsby, which probably give a fair idea for the county, shows

¹ Caird, *Engl. Agriculture* (1850-1), 197.

² Parl. Rep.

³ Horncastle Union Accounts.

⁴ *Accounts and Papers* (Parl. Ret. to Com. on Labourers' wages, 1825), xix.

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there was a large increase in the expenses in 1854-5,¹ which continued² until 1882-3, when there was a large decrease at Horncastle, and still larger at Spilsby. Since that time Horncastle expenses have remained stationary, while those of Spilsby have largely decreased. The conclusion seems obvious that the condition of the people has improved largely since 1872, not through any legislation but through the rise of wages, and the fall in prices of food and clothing. The improvement since 1803 is of course still greater, as shown by the percentage of paupers being three instead of nine.³

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801 TO 1901

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Area

The county taken in this table is that existing subsequently to 7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61 (1844). By this Act detached parts of counties, which had already for parliamentary purposes been amalgamated with the county by which they were surrounded or with which the detached part had the longest common boundary (2 & 3 Wm. IV, chap. 64—1832), were annexed to the same county for all purposes; some exceptions were, however, permitted.

By the same Act (7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61) the detached parts of counties, transferred to other counties, were also annexed to the hundred, ward, wapentake, &c. by which they were wholly or mostly surrounded, or to which they next adjoin, in the counties to which they were transferred. The hundreds, &c. in this table are also given as existing subsequently to this Act.

As is well known, the famous statute of Queen Elizabeth for the relief of the poor took the then-existing ecclesiastical parish as the unit for Poor Law relief. This continued for some centuries with but few modifications; notably by an Act passed in the thirteenth year of Charles II's reign which permitted townships and villages to maintain their own poor. This permission was necessary owing to the large size of some of the parishes, especially in the north of England.

In 1801 the parish for rating purposes (now known as the civil parish, i.e. 'an area for which a separate poor rate is or can be made, or for which a separate overseer is or can be appointed') was in most cases coextensive with the ecclesiastical parish of the same name; but already there were numerous townships and villages rated separately for the relief of the poor, and also there were many places scattered up and down the country, known as extra-parochial places, which paid no rates at all. Further, many parishes had detached parts entirely surrounded by another parish or parishes.

Parliament first turned its attention to extra-parochial places, and by an Act (20 Vict., chap. 19—1857) it was laid down (a) that all extra-parochial places entered separately in the 1851 census returns are to be deemed civil parishes, (b) that in any other place being, or being reputed to be, extra-parochial overseers of the poor may be appointed, and (c) that where, however, owners and occupiers of two-thirds in value of the land of any such place desire its annexation to an adjoining civil parish, it may be so added with the consent of the said parish. This Act was not found to entirely fulfil its object, so by a further Act (31 & 32 Vict., cap. 122—1868) it was enacted that every such place remaining on the 25 December, 1868, should be added to the parish with which it had the longest common boundary.

The next thing to be dealt with was the question of detached parts of civil parishes, which was done by the Divided Parishes Acts of 1876, 1879, and 1882. The last, which amended the one of 1876, provides that every detached part of an entirely extra metropolitan parish which is entirely surrounded by another parish becomes transferred to this latter for civil purposes, or if the population exceeds 300 persons it may be made a separate parish. These Acts also gave power to add detached parts surrounded by more than one parish to one or more of the surrounding parishes, and also to amalgamate entire parishes with one or more parishes. Under the 1879 Act it was not necessary for the area dealt with to be entirely detached. These Acts also declared that every part added to a parish in another county becomes part of that county.

	£	£
¹ 1840-1, Horncastle	6,767	Spilsby 7,837.
1854-5, Horncastle	8,141	Spilsby 10,291.
1882-3, Horncastle	6,213	Spilsby 5,702.
1904-5, Horncastle	6,131	Spilsby 3,535.

² Probably the decrease began earlier, but the accounts 1872-3 do not show it.

³ North Midland Tables. There were 18,845 paupers in Lincolnshire in 1803, in 1895 15,333, in 1905, 15,116.

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Then came the Local Government Act, 1888, which permits the alteration of civil parish boundaries and the amalgamation of civil parishes by Local Government Board orders. It also created the administrative counties. The Local Government Act of 1894 enacts that where a civil parish is partly in a rural district and partly in an urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish; and also that where a civil parish is situated in more than one urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish, unless the county council otherwise direct. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical parishes had been altered and new ones created under entirely different Acts, which cannot be entered into here, as the table treats of the ancient parishes in their civil aspect.

POPULATION

The first census of England was taken in 1801, and was very little more than a counting of the population in each parish (or place), excluding all persons, such as soldiers, sailors, &c., who formed no part of its ordinary population. It was the *de facto* population (i.e. the population actually resident at a particular time) and not the *de jure* (i.e. the population really belonging to any particular place at a particular time). This principle has been sustained throughout the censuses.

The Army at home (including militia), the men of the Royal Navy ashore, and the registered seamen ashore were not included in the population of the places where they happened to be, at the time of the census, until 1841. The men of the Royal Navy and other persons on board vessels (naval or mercantile) in home ports were first included in the population of those places in 1851. Others temporarily present, such as gipsies, persons in barges, &c. were included in 1841 and perhaps earlier.

GENERAL

Up to and including 1831 the returns were mainly made by the overseers of the poor, and more than one day was allowed for the enumeration, but the 1841-1901 returns were made under the superintendence of the registration officers and the enumeration was to be completed in one day. The Householder's Schedule was first used in 1841. The exact dates of the censuses are as follows:—

10 March, 1801	30 May, 1831	8 April, 1861	6 April, 1891
27 May, 1811	7 June, 1841	3 April, 1871	1 April, 1901
28 May, 1821	31 March, 1851	4 April, 1881	

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE TABLE

This table gives the population of the ancient county and arranges the parishes, &c. under the hundred or other sub-division to which they belong, but there is no doubt that the constitution of hundreds, &c. was in some cases doubtful.

In the main the table follows the arrangement in the 1841 census volume.

The table gives the population and area of each parish, &c. as it existed in 1801, as far as possible.

The areas are those supplied by the Ordnance Survey Department, except in the case of those marked 'e,' which are only estimates. The area includes inland water (if any), but not tidal water or foreshore.

† after the name of a civil parish indicates that the parish was affected by the operation of the Divided Parishes Acts, but the Registrar-General failed to obtain particulars of every such change. The changes which escaped notification were, however, probably small in area and with little, if any, population. Considerable difficulty was experienced both in 1891 and 1901 in tracing the results of changes effected in civil parishes under the provisions of these Acts; by the Registrar-General's courtesy, however, reference has been permitted to certain records of formerly detached parts of parishes which has made it possible approximately to ascertain the population in 1901 of parishes as constituted prior to such alterations, though the figures in many instances must be regarded as partly estimates.

* after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that such parish (or place) contains a union workhouse which was in use in (or before) 1851 and was still in use in 1901.

‡ after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that the ecclesiastical parish of the same name at the 1901 census is coextensive with such parish (or place).

o in the table indicates that there is no population on the area in question.

— in the table indicates that no population can be ascertained.

The word 'chapelry' seems often to have been used as an equivalent for 'township' in 1841, which census volume has been adopted as the standard for names and descriptions of areas.

The figures in italics in the table relate to the area and population of such sub-divisions of ancient parishes as chapelries, townships, and hamlets.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION

1801—1901

	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ancient or Geographical County ¹	1,693,550	208,625	235,224	283,058	317,288	362,602	407,222	412,246	436,624	469,947	472,907	498,868

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF HOLLAND												
<i>Elloe Wapentake</i>												
Cowbit †	4,590 ^o	366	351	511	556	664	686	649	648	637	577	571
Crowland † . . .	13,450	1,425	1,713	2,113	2,268	2,973	3,183	3,148	3,168	2,929	2,800	2,747
Deeping Fen (part of) Extra Par. ²	15,033	370	463	398	448	540	591	1,180	1,270	1,364	1,325	1,255
Fleet ³	6,836	551	680	776	794	960	1,162	1,172	1,187	1,164	1,039	1,017
Gedney :—	12,377 ^o	1,307	1,378	1,786	1,862	2,277	2,519	2,459	2,482	2,228	2,214	1,965
Gedney † . . .	—	1,042	1,113	1,442	1,491	1,797	1,950	1,993	2,017	1,884	1,836	1,642
Gedney Hill Chap. † ‡	—	265	265	344	371	480	569	466	465	344	378	323
Holbeach* ³ . . .	21,469	2,683	2,962	3,621	3,890	4,637	5,191	5,096	5,520	5,357	4,932	4,909
Moulton	11,840	1,228	1,273	1,629	1,850	2,038	2,058	2,143	2,272	2,248	2,088	2,017
Pinchbeck † . .	11,640 ^o	1,538	1,663	2,099	2,391	2,780	3,062	2,933	3,149	2,995	2,746	2,725
Spalding* † . .	12,070 ^o	3,296	4,330	5,207	6,497	7,778	8,829	8,723	9,111	9,260	8,986	9,381
Sutton, Long, or Sutton St. Mary :—	21,636 ^o	2,935	3,155	3,955	5,233	5,845	6,591	6,124	6,406	6,952	6,395	6,505
Sutton St. Mary †	—	1,723	1,801	2,390	3,510	3,736	4,416	4,051	4,253	4,901	4,443	4,629
Sutton St. Edmund Chap. † ‡	—	397	433	549	626	776	757	730	734	676	670	614
Sutton St. James Chap. † ‡	—	308	307	343	391	535	569	526	557	605	596	560
Sutton St. Nicholas or Lutton Bourne Chap. †	—	507	614	673	706	798	849	817	862	770	686	702
Central Wingland (part of) ⁴	1,658	—	—	—	—	—	—	112	111	143	93	113
Tydd St. Mary † .	4,954	607	629	776	960	920	1,107	977	974	928	837	821
Weston †	5,566	328	406	498	567	681	759	750	807	846	808	773
Whaplode † :—	10,688	1,271	1,317	1,744	1,998	2,357	2,564	2,462	2,601	2,375	2,216	2,150
Whaplode . . .	8,581	935	962	1,204	1,418	1,614	1,719	1,618	1,666	1,592	1,451	1,473
Whaplode Drove Chap.	2,107	336	355	540	580	743	845	844	935	783	765	677
<i>Kirton Wapentake</i>												
Algarkirk † . . .	6,050 ^o	517	587	602	651	754	843	772	721	733	658	622
Bicker ⁵	4,068	485	541	644	{ 645 67	859 66	819 70	839 50	781 65	746 45	681 45	675 23
Ferry Corner Extra Par.	53											

¹ *Ancient County*.—The area is taken from the 1901 Census volume, and does *not* include a part of Crowle with Ealand Township included for convenience of comparison. There was no change in area notified under the Act 7 and 8 Vic. c. 61. The population given for 1811 excludes 2,410 militia, who were not assigned to their respective Parishes (see also note to Falkingham).

² *Deeping Fen* is partly in Elloe Wapentake and partly in Ness Wapentake. It became a Parish as Deeping St. Nicholas by a special Act (19 & 20 Vic. c. 65), and is entirely entered in Elloe Wapentake, 1801–21, and 1861–1901, where the area is shown.

³ *Holbeach Union Workhouse* is situated partly in Holbeach and partly in *Fleet* Parish. It is entirely entered in Holbeach Parish.

⁴ *Central Wingland* is first returned in 1861. It was then described as Extra Parochial, and consists of land reclaimed from the sea. The remainder is in Norfolk.

⁵ *Bicker* includes part of Copping Syke. This part of Copping Syke became a Civil Parish under the Act 20 Vic. c. 19; but, for convenience, is shown with Bicker Parish.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF HOL- LAND (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Kirton Wapentake</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Donington † . . .	5,835	1,321	1,528	1,638	1,759	2,026	1,867	1,690	1,753	1,666	1,547	1,486
Fosdyke † . . .	2,761 ^o	271	301	424	401	601	592	549	631	600	543	527
Frampton † ¹ . . .	6,200 ^o	542	628	688	706	784	801	843	825	886	821	777
Gosberton † ‡ . . .	8,820 ^o	1,189	1,301	1,618	1,951	2,120	2,091	2,107	2,167	2,104	1,815	1,808
Hall Hills ² . . .	133	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	4	31	7
Hart's Grounds Extra Par.	576	—	52	67	43	58	63	61	63	79	60	52
Kirton :—	10,300 ^o	1,340	1,643	1,803	1,886	2,092	2,299	2,265	2,437	2,474	2,312	2,384
Kirton ³ . . .	9,400	1,238	1,531	1,692	1,763	1,970	2,176	2,141	2,295	2,344	2,187	2,247
Brothertoft Chap. † ‡	900 ^o	102	112	111	123	122	123	124	142	130	125	137
North Forty Foot Bank Extra Par.	63	123	66	342	261	343	350	300	238	198	159	163
Pelhams Lands Extra Par.†	740 ^o	—	—	—	41	42	55	54	54	43	48	46
Quadrang † ‡ . . .	4,210 ^o	506	622	704	858	971	993	1,001	938	900	866	825
Skirbeck (part of) ⁴ :—												
Skirbeck Quarter Hamlet	1,019	171	237	325	323	416	457	642	782	854	854	975
Surfleet † ‡ . . .	3,500 ^o	609	658	812	871	951	945	953	1,069	941	975	941
Sutterton † . . .	6,550 ^o	737	860	1,014	1,093	1,303	1,445	1,338	1,436	1,314	1,194	1,208
Swineshead † ⁵ . . .	6,125 ^o	1,555	1,561	1,696	1,994	2,079	2,044	1,903	1,923	1,747	1,672	1,724
Drainage Marsh Extra Par. ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	9	7	5	3	3	9	4
Forty Foot Bridge Extra Par. ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	32	12	} 49	52	52	63	47
Gibbet Hills Extra Par. ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	8	26					
Rakes Farm Extra Par. ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	7	6	4	11	12	5	—
Royalty Farm Extra Par. ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	2	4	0	0	0	8	9
Wigtoft . . .	3,587	536	555	637	697	713	741	732	699	672	653	693
Wyberton † ‡ . . .	3,231 ^o	477	353	487	530	584	647	608	617	646	659	627
<i>Skirbeck</i> <i>Wapentake</i>												
Bennington † . . .	3,090 ^o	362	335	406	500	539	603	588	620	618	553	527
Butterwick † . . .	1,370 ^o	229	240	482	504	579	625	605	619	628	582	550
Fishtoft † . . .	4,580 ^o	267	293	456	463	562	640	586	683	843	595	656
Freiston † . . .	3,980 ^o	734	801	862	1,089	1,276	1,240	1,239	1,298	1,239	1,101	1,074
Leake † . . .	5,880 ^o	911	922	1,417	1,744	1,859	2,062	1,912	1,952	1,843	1,720	1,660
Leverton † . . .	3,390 ^o	339	387	544	631	687	790	770	818	724	651	598
Skirbeck (part of)† ⁴	3,001	368	477	982	1,255	1,515	1,972	2,236	2,376	2,588	3,063	3,649
Wrangle † . . .	6,295	732	843	995	1,030	1,132	1,196	1,198	1,279	1,165	1,084	1,028
Boston Borough and Parish * †	5,073	5,926	8,180	10,373	11,240	12,942	15,132	15,078	15,156	15,465	15,132	16,174
PARTS OF KESTEVEN												
<i>Aswardhurn</i> <i>Wapentake</i>												
Asgarby † . . .	838 ^o	55	59	55	55	77	91	83	92	126	88	75
Aswarby . . .	1,625	113	108	116	113	119	107	128	142	129	142	122

¹ *Frampton* includes Bridge Piece, which seems to have, at one time, been deemed to be Extra Parochial

² *Hall Hills* was not distinguished prior to 1871. It was described as a Civil Parish in that year, but seems to have been at one time Extra Parochial. It includes Shuff Fen.

³ *Kirton Township* includes Simon's Weir, which was at one time Extra Parochial, and became a Civil Parish under the Act 20 Vic. c. 19. There were a large number of men temporarily present in 1871, engaged in reclaiming a marsh.

⁴ *Skirbeck Ancient Parish* is situated partly in Kirton Wapentake and partly in Skirbeck Wapentake.

⁵ *Swineshead* includes Great and Little Brand End Plots, which appear to have been at one time Extra Parochial.

⁶ *Drainage Marsh, Forty Foot Bridge and Gibbet Hills, Rakes Farm, and Royalty Farm* were returned with *Swineshead* Parish, 1801–31, where their areas are included.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF KESTEVEN (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Aswardhurn Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Aunsby	1,269	84	100	105	117	117	133	140	139	138	129	104
Burton Pedwar- dine †	1,898	94	89	124	106	125	136	135	161	202	163	154
Evedon †	1,651	86	86	89	86	91	66	62	71	73	90	80
Ewerby	2,923	223	281	315	345	433	508	473	461	451	384	358
Hale, Great :—	6,184	627	710	863	966	1,003	1,008	1,059	1,086	1,070	901	838
Hale, Great . .	3,696	404	448	577	667	722	661	687	759	708	615	568
Hale, Little Township	2,488	223	262	286	299	281	347	372	327	362	286	270
Haydor (part of) ¹ :—	1,953	120	146	185	213	246	248	219	188	184	161	140
Culverthorpe Chap.	899	49	43	61	109	139	135	120	101	85	77	72
Kelby Chap. . .	1,054	71	103	124	104	107	113	99	87	99	84	68
Heckington † . . .	5,302	1,042	1,261	1,438	1,480	1,558	1,581	1,725	1,865	1,766	1,686	1,604
Helpringham † . .	3,410	518	550	693	750	774	829	912	911	941	758	767
Howell † †	1,650 ²	75	62	67	71	72	85	72	86	89	61	83
Ingoldsby †	2,367	254	253	360	345	402	407	427	407	365	361	261
Kirkby-la-Thorpe .	2,578	160	156	166	170	213	235	208	230	256	257	234
Kyme, South (part of) ²	4,892	292	389	516	493	581	610	549	520	530	456	432
Quarrington † . . .	1,620 ²	101	109	132	184	236	264	299	340	364	454	865
Scredington † . . .	2,634	222	253	256	306	364	364	397	394	341	319	285
Sleaford, Old † . .	1,150 ²	126	176	215	272	345	357	372	397	526	515	669
Swarby	997	108	119	143	142	200	208	188	175	171	140	148
Willoughby, Silk †	2,590	225	197	197	193	227	256	237	258	280	275	226
<i>Aveland Wapen- take</i>												
Aslackby †	4,078	338	383	425	455	507	492	534	528	432	415	405
Billingborough † .	2,374	537	669	745	831	999	1,048	1,149	1,227	1,189	1,123	1,018
Bourn * †	10,103	1,664	1,784	2,242	2,569	3,361	3,717	3,730	3,850	3,760	4,191	4,361
Dembleby †	1,101	50	51	58	66	58	84	51	78	72	55	51
Dowsby †	1,905	136	140	201	230	232	215	195	195	186	171	195
Dunsby †	2,671	146	156	190	172	195	203	195	200	223	193	256
Falkingham ³	1,940	531	659	759	744	820	763	650	696	576	502	462
Haceby	733	48	50	65	66	64	79	66	67	53	73	46
Haconby	2,596	260	313	321	381	406	454	408	453	412	363	322
Horbling †	3,143	387	417	491	559	571	550	546	578	501	482	445
Kirkby Under- wood †	1,094	181	168	167	162	192	185	189	214	213	201	169
Laughton	1,160	29	43	76	75	73	69	71	75	82	78	77
Morton	4,851	603	660	765	842	952	938	1,008	973	950	899	794
Newton	1,361	127	150	162	176	221	220	228	196	173	187	159
Osbourneby † . . .	1,471	343	364	428	522	599	654	613	606	496	419	392
Pickworth †	1,474	156	174	186	187	265	261	253	240	227	231	180
Rippingale †	3,544	488	509	611	658	694	661	569	590	551	543	473
Sempringham † :—	4,332	358	415	462	490	556	595	632	569	580	539	519
Sempringham . .	1,949	34	40	43	27	54	49	57	60	85	72	68
Birthorpe Town- ship	532	58	51	56	54	52	56	65	44	57	63	46
Pointon Chap. . .	1,851	266	324	363	409	450	490	510	465	438	404	405
Spanby	1,041	59	54	73	84	96	74	75	115	104	82	84
Swaton	3,274	176	218	298	311	304	301	297	336	288	271	253
Threekingham † . .	1,540	179	207	202	191	197	180	189	183	143	158	155
Walcot †	1,773	127	128	152	183	173	152	201	193	149	147	129
Willoughby, Scott †	578	9	15	12	24	22	23	19	23	36	34	29
<i>Beltisloe Wapen- take</i>												
Bassingthorpe † . .	1,811	158	136	115	122	137	487	154	144	136	138	129

¹ Haydor Ancient Parish is situated partly in Aswardhurn Wapentake and partly in Winnibriggs and Threo Wapentake.

² South Kyme Ancient Parish is situated partly in Aswardhurn Wapentake and partly in Langoe Wapentake (1st Division).

³ Falkingham.—The population for 1831 does not include the prison population (39 persons) confined in the Castle.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF												
KESTIVEN (cont.)												
<i>Beltisloe Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Bitchfield † . . .	1,357	95	117	144	135	160	209	159	169	167	161	101
Burton Coggles † .	2,676	219	231	245	246	260	456	288	280	257	236	202
Bytham, Castle ¹ :—	7,171	506	515	736	781	855	1,250	1,024	921	853	998	786
Bytham, Castle †	4,080	372	407	577	597	672	989	813	721	654	815	618
Counthorpe Hamlet	1,155	35	30	43	65	85	130	62	78	73	66	40
Holywell-with-Aunby Chap.	1,936	99	78	116	119	98	131	149	122	126	117	128
Bytham, Little † ² .	1,233	189	212	223	237	311	573	362	324	305	482	378
Careby	1,501	65	44	51	75	73	108	107	138	168	149	129
Corby ³	2,906	436	464	581	654	714	958	818	786	783	745	718
Creeton ⁴	1,049	62	47	51	66	64	103	79	88	51	75	66
Edenham †	7,930	513	657	657	777	699	670	644	635	563	528	503
Gunby St. Nicholas †	666	113	136	149	152	166	172	164	135	110	92	92
Irnham	3,809	299	370	413	394	436	349	347	366	284	316	265
Lavington (or Lenton) † :—	4,265	280	283	330	341	329	362	330	327	301	252	261
Lavington } Hanby Hamlet }	1,880	159	137	{ 123 } 32 }	177	{ 130 } 44 }	152	108	142	178	136	143
Keisby Township	1,272	66	77	80	65	73	77	84	78			
Osgodby Township	1,113	55	69	95	99	82	79	71	64	61	49	49
Skillington † . . .	2,240	244	270	364	389	434	490	466	454	393	369	354
Stainby	1,459	108	145	158	186	190	180	168	163	153	141	108
Swayfield † ⁵ . . .	1,553	173	140	206	260	265	383	263	255	253	204	178
Swinstead ⁶	1,789	306	312	319	402	451	490	396	358	349	343	309
Witham-on-the-Hill † :—	4,577	453	476	563	530	573	635	548	527	459	456	379
Witham-on-the-Hill ⁶	2,167	162	168	246	236	235	298	236	221	195	226	196
Lound and Toft Township	1,432	196	194	210	194	225	231	205	207	168	137	107
Manthorpe Hamlet	978	95	114	107	100	113	106	107	99	96	93	76
Witham, North † †	2,373	186	194	209	273	300	309	278	236	238	269	181
Witham, South † .	1,764	343	325	345	410	506	544	531	488	410	575	396
<i>Boothby Graffoe Wapentake—</i>												
<i>Higher Division</i>												
Boothby †	2,086	174	161	155	173	214	208	218	200	168	188	166
Coleby †	2,773	301	314	322	415	427	423	458	423	435	426	395
Eagle † ⁷	2,450	203	211	308	467	466	517	533	500	455	391	340
Eagle Hall Extra Par.		21	20	45		58	60	81	71	69	68	65
Harmston †	2,571	235	251	333	405	429	414	414	368	345	328	327
Navenby †	2,677	479	542	625	778	942	1,057	1,170	1,000	957	803	779
Skinnand	663	12	11	14	24	26	30	24	22	39	30	30
Swinethorpe Extra Par.	1,048	15	55	55	54	67	75	64	48	42	45	46
Welbourn †	3,305	360	383	489	494	512	592	664	677	550	546	504
Wellingore † . . .	3,208	559	613	727	752	850	914	943	801	790	602	592

¹ Castle Bytham Ancient Parish included, in 1851, 342 labourers on Great Northern Railway works.

² Little Bytham included, in 1851, 164 labourers on works in connexion with Great Northern Railway.

³ Corby included, in 1851, 184 labourers on works in connexion with Great Northern Railway.

⁴ Creeton included, in 1851, 30 labourers on works in connexion with Great Northern Railway.

⁵ Swayfield and Swinstead. The decline in these parishes in 1861 is attributed mainly to the removal of labourers temporarily employed on railway works in 1851.

⁶ Witham-on-the-Hill Township included, in 1851, 38 persons employed on Great Northern Railway works.

⁷ Eagle is stated to be partly in Boothby-Graffoe Wapentake (Lower Division), but the whole is shown in the Higher Division.

⁸ See note (2), p. 362.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF KESTEVEN (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Boothby-Graffoe Wapentake— Lower Division</i>												
Aubourn :—	2,909	272	309	275	356	374	365	376	309	249	243	222
Aubourn . . .	1,860	179	203	222	233	308	304	308	246	213	201	178
Haddington (part of) Township ¹	1,049	93	106	53	123	66	61	68	63	36	42	44
Bassingham † . .	3,057	413	489	613	704	792	892	928	853	725	648	614
Boultham † . . .	1,330	73	60	74	79	72	74	95	99	114	527	671
Carlton-le- Moorland	2,252	258	264	294	328	331	409	384	339	310	277	254
Doddington † :—	4,204	189	209	227	223	220	264	264	275	274	233	232
Doddington . . .	2,527	140	145	159	165	157	175	174	177	156	147	149
Whisby Township	1,677	49	64	68	58	63	89	90	98	118	86	83
Eagle Woodhouse Extra Par. † ²	80 ⁰	—	—	10	—	9	6	11	11	7	4	5
Hykeham, North †	1,979	254	273	296	317	367	443	464	468	455	499	551
Hykeham, South :—	1,201	87	118	157	116	147	141	155	118	149	140	134
Hykeham, South	1,201	87	118	102	116	85	77	92	90	103	96	94
Haddington (part of) Township ¹	—	—	—	55	—	62	64	63	28	46	44	40
Morton Extra Par. ³	498	5	13	9	—	6	6	8	4	8	9	7
Norton Disney † .	2,341	184	235	214	210	206	234	196	186	171	181	171
Scarle, North † . .	2,020	303	356	434	479	490	595	595	577	515	482	433
Skellingthorpe †	5,946	193	244	370	417	533	584	662	726	722	650	772
Stapleford . . .	2,725	175	164	213	185	193	182	204	189	154	147	154
Swinderby † ³ . .	2,192	254	307	365	449	490	541	572	548	503	470	423
Thorpe-on-the Hill †	1,835	190	175	235	273	342	379	427	350	286	322	293
Thurlby † . . .	1,847	78	99	102	145	154	156	142	139	118	112	109
<i>Flaxwell Wapentake</i>												
Anwick †	1,820 ⁰	209	203	246	235	314	307	277	324	348	274	262
Ashby-de-la- Launde †	2,689	127	124	155	178	157	170	176	161	169	167	210
Bloxholm (or Blox- ham)	1,415	81	116	109	76	67	104	115	84	97	114	98
Brauncewell with Dunsby ⁴ . . .	2,682	30	37	77	134	125	131	112	139	173	148	128
Cranwell †	2,535	88	102	155	229	230	240	233	219	206	188	138
Digby	2,494	242	227	277	319	364	340	330	307	304	344	351
Dorrington † . . .	1,978	225	239	284	371	379	443	467	495	398	366	357
Haverholme Priory Extra Par. ⁵	312	—	—	—	—	22	21	15	11	21	24	27
Leasingham † :—	3,017	264	329	346	358	472	428	473	505	505	466	432
Leasingham . . .	2,082	215	263	259	—	397	367	381	390	366	340	314
Roxholm Hamlet	935	49	66	87	—	75	61	92	115	139	126	118
Rauceby, North . .	3,211	150	178	252	262	270	277	279	279	270	269	252
Rauceby, South . .	2,608	137	194	255	255	351	367	474	412	388	390	392
Rowston (or Roulst- on) †	1,879	100	100	123	156	206	228	224	233	226	225	202
Ruslington † † ⁶ . .	4,750 ⁰	483	556	678	782	957	1,027	1,089	1,156	1,191	1,082	1,188
Sleaford, New † :—	2,409	1,596	1,904	2,220	2,587	3,382	3,539	3,467	3,735	4,075	3,686	3,934
Sleaford, New * † ⁶	—	1,483	1,781	2,094	2,450	3,184	3,372	3,325	3,592	3,955	3,593	3,824
Holdingham Hamlet †	—	113	123	126	137	198	167	142	143	120	93	110
Temple Bruer Extra Par. ⁷	3,785	49	56	52	73	73	97	104	149	201	192	155

¹ *Haddington Township* is situated partly in *Aubourn Ancient Parish* and partly in *South Hykeham Ancient Parish*. The entire area, and the population in 1801, 1811, and 1831, are included in *Aubourn*.

² *Eagle Woodhouse* was probably returned with *Eagle Parish* (*Boothby-Graffoe Wapentake—Higher Division*) in 1801, 1811, and 1831.

³ *Morton* returned with *Swinderby Parish* in 1831.

⁴ *Brauncewell with Dunsby*.—*Dunsby* seems anciently to have been a separate Parish.

⁵ *Haverholme Priory*, included with *Ruslington Parish*, 1801–31.

⁶ *New Sleaford Township*.—The increase of population in 1871 is mainly attributed to the presence of a large number of labourers engaged in constructing a railway.

⁷ *Temple Bruer* probably included *Temple High Grange* (*Langoe Wapentake—2nd Division*), 1801–31, and does include it 1861–1901. The two together became a Civil Parish under the Act 20 Vic. c. 19, the area of which is shown against *Temple Bruer*.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801-1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF KESTEVEN (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Langoe Wapentake—First Division</i>												
Billinghay † :—	7,860 ^o	1,132	1,239	1,554	1,787	2,095	2,375	2,247	2,358	2,234	2,027	1,954
Billinghay . . .	3,671	579	668	851	1,058	1,245	1,462	1,403	1,501	1,440	1,315	1,283
Dogdyke Town- ship †	850 ^o	192	195	231	215	217	296	239	248	200	181	175
Walcot Town- ship	3,339	361	376	472	514	633	617	605	609	594	531	496
Kirkby Green .	446	62	67	68	74	87	134	175	141	123	103	106
Kyme, South (part of) ¹ :—												
Kyme, North, Township †	3,490 ^o	215	198	283	322	361	448	455	700	696	636	576
Timberland :—	8,466	751	891	1,183	1,278	1,649	1,638	1,618	1,635	1,438	1,369	1,268
Timberland . .	2,760	358	370	498	511	597	639	589	563	503	443	447
Martin Town- ship ² †	3,777	303	412	589	640	926	894	909	914	822	777	723
Thorpe Tilney Township	1,929	90	109	96	127	126	105	120	158	113	149	98
<i>Langoe Wapentake—Second Division</i>												
Blankney † . . .	6,781	410	394	495	543	640	600	560	568	658	627	579
Dunston † . . .	3,372	279	344	406	423	518	594	575	598	782	652	572
Metheringham †	5,899	536	601	626	880	1,205	1,522	1,532	1,652	1,857	1,614	1,517
Nocton †	5,968	287	314	376	445	553	510	537	518	628	578	482
Potter Hanworth †	3,573	303	364	374	402	439	458	413	447	435	430	480
Scopwick	3,537	183	201	232	278	388	413	383	404	399	349	320
Temple High Grange Extra Par. ³	—	—	—	—	—	21	21	—	—	—	—	—
Washing- borough † :—	5,080	645	675	874	1,124	1,099	1,180	1,213	1,154	1,476	1,254	1,302
Washing- borough †	—	324	352	478	572	573	597	589	580	729	621	662
Heighington Chap. †	—	321	323	396	552	526	583	624	574	747	633	640
<i>Loveden Wapentake</i>												
Ancaster †	2,869	336	381	439	491	530	589	682	646	650	600	557
Beckingham . . .	1,964	357	392	430	401	462	450	431	388	346	282	272
Bennington, Long.	4,333	723	805	881	982	991	1,100	1,066	941	910	804	737
Bennington Grange Extra Par.	281	—	—	—	—	16	9	13	6	14	9	9
Broughton, Brant †	2,990	567	530	596	627	650	749	755	685	679	657	558
Carlton Scroop .	1,372	136	143	148	199	219	271	266	212	227	231	223
Caythorpe † . . .	4,272	437	475	567	720	821	889	822	850	897	897	903
Claypole* † ⁴ . .	2,915	486	484	605	586	663	853	774	783	678	593	542
Doddington, Dry .	1,603	191	196	227	230	215	252	283	245	225	178	149
Fenton	1,231	84	88	99	102	120	131	103	87	84	76	62
Foston	2,068	243	384	426	441	497	519	479	393	357	342	297
Fulbeck † † . . .	3,900 ^o	397	481	555	650	690	743	728	695	645	664	636
Maiden House Extra Par. † ⁵		—	—	—	—	4	6	—	—	—	7	9
Hough-on-the- Hill †	4,028	385	442	533	565	582	605	655	640	619	509	522
Hougham	2,477	175	205	290	304	337	345	349	298	271	287	200
Leadenham † ⁵ . .	2,260 ^o	517	530	574	565	598	735	706	696	673	634	605

¹ See note (2), p. 360.

² *Martin Township* included, in 1841, 79 visitors at the annual feast.

³ See note (7), p. 362.

⁴ *Claypole*.—The increase of population in 1851 is attributed to the presence of labourers engaged in constructing a railway.

⁵ *Maiden House* was annexed to *Leadenham Parish* under the Act 20 Vic. c. 19, and there included 1861-81. *Leadenham* also includes, 1851-1901, Bayard's Leap—an Extra Parochial Place, which became a Civil Parish under the Act 20 Vic. c. 19.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF												
KESTEVEN (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Loveden Wapentake</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Marston	2,470	326	337	393	419	434	488	403	356	307	302	244
Normanton . . .	1,509	160	151	189	204	200	179	172	155	143	143	149
Stragglethorpe .	729	79	92	100	82	85	84	90	85	90	73	69
Stubton † . . .	1,177	118	128	174	182	170	186	157	169	132	127	110
Westborough . .	2,070	181	183	227	215	250	236	245	217	181	138	153
<i>Ness Wapentake</i>												
Barholm	1,104	145	151	154	155	165	251	192	188	179	188	173
Baston †	2,514	457	518	682	709	765	863	787	763	774	656	558
Braceborough † .	1,767	148	161	198	219	231	210	220	228	184	174	161
Carlby ¹ † . . .	1,020 ²	162	185	186	206	216	349	183	175	163	149	103
Deeping St. James†	4,293	1,160	1,220	1,385	1,587	1,733	1,849	1,763	1,720	1,648	1,501	1,513
Deeping Fen (part of) Extra Par. ²	—	—	—	—	342	433	507	—	—	—	—	—
Deeping, Market †	1,548	803	899	1,016	1,091	1,219	1,294	1,337	1,235	1,212	1,079	978
Deeping, West . .	1,296	216	244	302	301	306	361	349	328	285	265	318
Greatford † :— . .	2,356	320	317	360	296	264	271	280	265	301	266	263
Greatford	1,447	240	225	258	227	194	205	219	213	220	182	186
Wilsthorpe Chap.	909	80	92	102	69	70	66	61	52	81	84	77
Langtoft ³ † . . .	2,133	386	464	485	606	778	701	746	698	584	533	477
Stowe	419	24	16	21	25	11	14	11	29	23	21	18
Tallington † . . .	1,791	236	205	240	220	246	267	239	258	245	253	238
Thurlby †	3,936	508	551	622	632	699	799	833	844	814	782	726
Uffington † . . .	4,165	456	445	466	481	530	573	510	441	462	439	425
<i>Winnibriggs and Threo Wapentake</i>												
Allington, East }	2,066	243	310	357	{ 275		280	275	267	213	291	239
Allington, West }					{ 82		120	136	141	118		
Barrowby † . . .	4,440	465	524	671	687	799	801	862	869	807	817	905
Boothby Pagnell †	1,817	100	98	110	116	132	120	112	133	130	129	156
Haydor (part of) ⁴ :—												
Haydor Town- ship	2,892	199	278	337	362	401	400	346	346	363	399	380
Honington † . . .	1,486	106	126	156	177	149	152	157	171	177	183	189
Ponton, Little † .	1,987	102	124	180	200	212	180	208	212	229	216	211
Ropsley † :— . . .	3,740 ⁵	402	440	554	578	673	777	845	856	751	715	672
Ropsley †	—	321	371	489	502	604	686	746	766	647	593	590
Little Humby Hamlet †	—	81	69	65	76	69	91	99	90	104	122	82
Sedgebrook † . .	1,676	207	201	230	252	250	279	269	245	221	208	194
Somerby † † . . .	2,990 ⁵	194	219	246	282	267	297	234	271	1,189	1,717	1,770
Stoke, South (part of) ⁵ :—												
Stoke, North Township	1,873	114	112	128	124	118	129	104	150	156	115	111
Stroxtan †	993	95	110	140	124	94	112	107	112	100	101	86
Syston †	1,653	137	97	188	203	226	325	238	221	224	196	187
Welby †	2,817	236	275	377	399	475	481	499	490	390	376	385
Wilsford †	3,007	251	298	341	393	429	484	641	647	689	687	656
Woolsthorpe † . .	1,949	372	456	566	650	674	632	615	656	598	594	640
Wyville-with-Hun- gerton †	1,635	89	112	124	128	137	135	155	137	116	125	112
<i>Grantham Borough, with the Soke</i>												
Barkston †	2,118	276	270	416	430	413	551	540	521	499	476	413
Belton †	1,745	147	165	178	160	176	182	142	176	183	193	160
Braceby	951	71	91	97	123	155	151	168	138	115	96	77

¹ *Carlby* included, in 1851, about 140 persons employed on Great Northern Railway works.

² See note (2), p. 358.

³ *Langtoft*—A club feast held here on Census Day, 1841.

⁴ See note (1), p. 360.

⁵ *South Stoke Ancient Parish* is situated partly in Winnibriggs and Threo Wapentake and partly in Grantham Soke.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF KESTEVEN (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Grantham Borough, with the Soke (cont.)</i>												
Colsterworth † . .	3,624	649	806	776	889	1,017	1,345	1,163	1,068	986	894	804
Denton †	2,644	446	473	577	553	626	650	637	572	547	546	642
Gonerby, Great † .	2,943	559	610	743	916	1,049	1,433	1,145	1,212	1,202	1,053	1,218
Grantham :— . . .	5,516	4,288	4,777	6,077	7,427	8,691	10,870	11,116	13,225	16,442	15,700	16,467
Grantham Township ¹	408	3,303	3,646	4,148	4,590	4,683	5,375	4,954	5,028	6,080	5,715	5,762
Manthorpe-with- Little Gonerby Township	1,304	446	552	1,175	1,720	1,968	2,344	2,241	2,777	3,567	3,467	3,767
Harrowby Town- ship	1,543	51	41	45	54	60	67	118	116	336	272	244
Spittlegate, Houghton, and Walton Town- ship †	2,261	488	538	709	1,063	1,980	3,084	3,803	5,304	6,459	6,246	6,694
Harlaxton † . . .	2,683	297	351	389	390	428	494	488	441	383	396	389
Londonthorpe . .	1,722	125	139	195	187	182	222	228	227	183	173	162
Ponton, Great † .	2,744	411	410	418	446	469	680	561	500	477	456	400
Sapperton	679	79	70	55	62	62	61	51	49	40	53	40
Stoke, South (part of) ² :—	3,213	205	243	300	314	338	272	290	332	353	306	300
Stoke, South . .	1,429	51	75	94	93	159	127	140	144	134	136	123
Easton Hamlet . .	1,784	154	168	206	221	179	145	150	188	219	170	177
<i>Stamford Borough</i>												
All Saints † † . .	1,839	1,131	1,114	1,388	1,769	1,978	2,246	2,070	2,010	2,612	2,615	2,591
St. George † † . .		877	867	1,191	1,410	1,600	1,976	1,881	1,833	2,092	2,067	2,146
St. John the Bap- tist † †		765	844	1,003	1,109	1,211	1,350	1,199	1,180	1,262	1,010	888
St. Mary † ³ . . .		383	343	357	365	337	354	359	364	311	306	245
St. Michael † † .		866	1,157	1,111	1,184	1,259	1,406	1,305	1,299	1,325	1,355	1,348
PARTS OF LINDSEY												
<i>Aslaoe (East) Wapentake</i>												
Caenby †	1,456	119	108	121	176	185	146	125	123	129	116	120
Firsby, East :— . .	1,226	52	56	63	59	87	101	108	96	74	65	90
Firsby, East . . .	544	23	30	29	29	40	40	47	40	33	18	31
Firsby, West Township	682	29	26	34	30	47	61	61	56	41	47	59
Glentham †	2,811	258	319	372	399	477	536	516	424	410	369	376
Hackthorn	2,748	218	214	256	244	246	258	234	248	278	280	258
Hanworth, Cold . .	817	36	35	57	63	63	80	91	72	89	81	80
Normanby	1,755	235	290	328	435	471	514	478	458	397	347	307
Norton, Bishop † :—	3,500	319	323	413	426	475	464	459	468	465	422	378
Norton, Bishop . .	2,449	224	254	303	314	333	330	364	370	356	321	283
Atterby Town- ship	1,051	95	69	110	112	142	134	95	98	109	101	95
Owmby	1,721	153	190	196	227	256	249	314	272	266	231	237
Saxby	1,368	69	115	105	124	140	120	112	88	114	129	108
Snitterby †	1,737	183	143	153	182	235	283	286	300	274	284	219
Spridlington † . .	2,298	126	179	199	250	292	313	311	284	291	269	252
<i>Aslaoe (West) Wapentake</i>												
Blyborough † . . .	2,446	157	138	184	201	197	199	209	210	249	213	200
Cammeringham † .	1,820	111	118	142	134	139	141	137	139	156	125	138
Coates †	1,034	33	51	45	55	47	46	54	46	51	54	42
Fillingham † . . .	3,596	242	280	279	308	312	326	316	307	307	283	260
Glentworth † . . .	3,128	193	187	275	298	324	316	340	325	368	316	295

¹ *Grantham* includes *Grantham Grange*, which was formerly Extra Parochial, but which became a Civil Parish under the Extra Parochial Places Acts. *Grantham Grange* contained no population in 1901.

² See note (⁵), p. 364.

³ *Stamford, St. Mary*.—The 1811 population is an estimate based on local information.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801-1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Aslaoe (West)</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Harpwell † . . .	2,165	59	64	79	73	98	103	104	135	125	120	101
Hemswell † . . .	2,663	258	283	271	347	399	436	465	391	373	338	326
Ingham † . . .	2,126	225	250	287	361	514	612	646	617	596	522	473
Willoughton † . .	2,799	320	302	409	477	581	657	620	606	520	457	416
<i>Bolingbroke (East)</i>												
<i>Soke</i>												
Carrington Town- ship † ¹	2,660 ^o	—	—	139	140	229	167	197	192	219	204	194
Eastville Town- ship ¹	2,749	—	—	118	136	142	228	246	304	359	342	287
Halton Hologate †	2,106	410	399	460	520	544	539	531	606	499	427	406
Hundleby * † . .	980 ^o	218	242	348	420	612	824	704	735	690	619	577
Keal, East † . .	1,934	268	278	313	357	382	475	393	424	395	350	319
Lusby †	760 ^o	89	90	126	140	148	143	132	120	122	109	103
Marvis-Enderby †	1,510 ^o	125	140	189	203	211	207	186	176	157	160	143
Midville Town- ship ¹	2,619	—	—	139	162	161	142	152	174	204	198	166
Raithby †	680 ^o	149	149	180	175	167	204	217	202	192	173	155
Spilsby †	2,340 ^o	932	963	1,234	1,384	1,457	1,461	1,467	1,623	1,549	1,556	1,483
Steeping, Little †	1,490 ^o	255	215	278	263	289	326	326	327	272	224	201
Thorpe St. Peter †	2,880 ^o	207	196	381	498	557	626	593	649	550	534	466
Toynton All Saints †	3,120 ^o	229	252	342	475	483	515	471	440	377	352	390
Toynton St. Peter †	2,530 ^o	245	239	394	372	439	486	433	419	398	381	323
<i>Bolingbroke (West) Soke</i>												
Asgarby †	838 ^o	59	49	77	140	131	97	80	95	89	100	81
Bolingbroke † . .	2,570 ^o	283	361	753	725	919	980	1,018	947	707	579	469
Frithville Town- ship † ¹	2,900 ^o	—	—	272	261	333	367	317	316	309	303	276
Hagnaby † † . .	640 ^o	66	52	91	71	85	91	93	85	90	71	88
Hareby †	750 ^o	59	47	71	81	110	97	93	74	60	47	71
Keal, West † . .	2,020 ^o	447	451	502	484	576	549	511	493	415	350	340
Kirkby, East † .	2,050	285	309	347	396	436	481	432	411	354	319	277
Miningsby † . .	730 ^o	105	114	134	354	498	492	477	444	371	281	235
Revesby †	4,660 ^o	498	565	572	646	693	668	614	686	613	587	515
Sibsey † ²	5,460 ^o	948	1,151	1,354	1,364	1,431	1,372	1,297	1,216	1,127	1,022	969
Rowlands Marsh (or Pepper Gowt) Extra Par.	117	—	—	—	—	78	54	38	41	22	11	13
Stickford † † . .	670 ^o	253	271	343	425	426	427	357	389	357	306	300
Stickney † . . .	2,106	495	556	763	809	895	917	851	816	689	641	559
Westville Town- ship ¹	2,042	—	—	102	118	139	137	150	132	127	123	130
<i>Bradley Haverstoe Wapentake</i>												
Ashby cum Fenby †	1,696	132	154	191	179	211	244	274	296	264	227	204
Aylesby †	2,134	90	110	142	144	201	172	130	121	112	120	111
Barnoldby-le- Beck †	1,305	188	201	220	232	292	269	242	208	212	212	150
Beelsby †	2,248	148	164	160	158	181	176	181	187	171	190	182
Bradley †	1,554	84	86	78	98	106	97	108	96	99	85	85
Brigsley †	925	64	77	94	108	125	137	152	165	139	108	112
Cabourne † . . .	2,927	100	75	105	173	166	165	171	184	174	139	161
Clee :—	3,598	387	490	560	674	1,002	1,034	1,555	3,826	14,460	23,081	38,978
Clee with Weels- by Township	2,402	103	115	154	177	199	195	325	2,058	11,620	18,775	26,400
Cleethorpe with Thrunscoe Township ³	1,196	284	375	406	497	803	839	1,230	1,768	2,840	4,306	12,578

¹ Carrington, Eastville, and Midville (Bolingbroke-East-Soke), Frithville, and Westville (Bolingbroke-West-Soke), Langrville, and Thornton-le-Fen (Horncastle Soke) were created Parochial Townships by Parliament (Act passed in 1812) on the occasion of the very extensive drainage of fen lands, and are not dependent on any Ancient Parish.

² Sibsey includes the area of Salt Pits, and the population, 1861-1901. Salt Pits is in Horncastle Soke.

³ Cleethorpe with Thrunscoe.—The increase of population in 1841 is partly attributed to the presence of visitors at the annual feast.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Bradley Haverstoe</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Coates, Great † . . .	2,688	208	216	237	235	245	236	206	228	245	217	294
Coates, Little † . . .	1,049	52	46	47	49	40	42	59	66	60	55	83
Coates, North † . . .	2,348	154	136	154	215	225	239	290	323	266	262	257
Cuxwold † . . .	1,590	72	85	60	79	62	68	83	108	101	111	68
Fulstow † . . .	2,844	332	356	389	448	501	550	577	519	565	467	433
Grainsby † . . .	1,168	85	90	114	116	103	118	124	116	148	143	123
Grimsby, Great ¹ . . .	1,912	1,524	2,747	3,064	4,048	3,700	8,860	11,067	20,244	28,503	33,283	36,857
Hatcliffe † . . .	1,395	88	77	99	96	139	147	159	181	203	180	158
Hawerby with Beesby † ² . . .	1,202	70	56	55	66	87	85	91	87	82	80	69
Healing † . . .	1,336	94	105	94	102	90	92	96	102	117	118	227
Holton-le-Clay † . . .	1,516	134	161	220	207	263	319	297	306	283	306	257
Humberston † . . .	2,994	199	218	217	258	269	259	277	254	264	254	234
Irby-upon-Humber † . . .	1,828	192	196	217	263	215	253	235	189	224	193	176
Laceby † . . .	2,122	368	440	523	616	755	1,001	1,021	1,025	1,017	986	942
Marsh Chapel † . . .	3,175	354	328	411	477	503	659	671	735	658	564	528
Newton, Wold † . . .	1,996	99	87	125	158	146	179	189	180	165	172	146
Ravendale, East † :—	1,588	76	54	95	104	112	135	144	129	165	180	178
Ravendale, East † . . .	817	55	40	63	78	61	76	94	83	108	118	105
Ravendale, West Chap. † . . .	771	21	14	32	26	51	59	50	46	57	62	73
Rothwell † . . .	2,872	138	163	197	231	290	265	267	224	260	219	227
Scartho † . . .	1,252	135	133	148	147	199	211	188	210	224	190	219
Swallow † . . .	2,650	98	108	122	168	221	215	239	243	238	205	180
Swinhope † . . .	1,323	84	118	94	126	117	128	105	117	140	106	79
Tetney † . . .	5,441	440	489	622	647	819	869	917	923	807	775	636
Thoresby, North † . . .	2,571	378	342	484	544	623	733	824	774	745	573	629
Waiithe † . . .	751	41	45	30	31	49	53	43	58	60	55	61
Waltham † . . .	2,196	385	384	526	545	656	782	856	807	743	764	740
<i>Calceworth Hundred—Marsh Division</i>												
Aby	1,493	122	115	192	204	312	394	407	450	352	315	267
Anderby	1,437	167	194	226	217	243	280	276	299	279	230	198
Belleau :—	1,344 ^a	113	124	145	168	193	217	214	188	154	155	122
Belleau † . . .	583 ^a	—	—	88	107	124	133	114	95	65	74	50
Claythorpe Chap. † . . .	761	—	—	57	61	69	84	100	93	89	81	72
Calceby	634	46	46	48	54	52	74	66	54	62	41	45
Cawthorpe, Little † . . .	471	98	95	130	137	196	233	223	204	167	146	140
Cumberworth . . .	1,274	132	151	170	188	183	235	266	261	223	193	166
Gayton-le-Marsh † . . .	2,279	238	229	276	306	312	326	331	317	248	251	209
Haugh Extra Par. . .	585	14	8	7	8	10	13	17	14	26	33	42
Hogsthorpe † . . .	3,325 ^a	451	515	591	698	790	832	874	878	719	651	577
Huttoft † . . .	3,450	286	340	401	470	515	586	710	651	597	535	469
Legbourne † . . .	2,365	280	308	412	449	461	551	512	543	476	464	369
Mablethorpe St. Mary } . . .	3,191	164	{ 180		{ 261		{ 266		{ 336		{ 414	
Mablethorpe St. Peter } . . .												
Mumby †												
Reston, South † . . .	803	56	76	111	139	182	186	235	286	238	203	179
Sutton-le-Marsh † . . .	1,807	120	110	135	183	274	323	368	362	360	495	571
Swaby † † . . .	1,160 ^a	197	200	302	396	391	474	498	467	414	364	305
Theddlethorpe All Saints † † . . .	2,645 ^a	194	187	211	266	326	356	300	358	329	265	231
Theddlethorpe St. Helen † . . .	3,530 ^a	220	207	239	275	347	360	426	422	414	345	322
Thoresby, South † . . .	952	150	146	149	142	138	156	162	148	159	139	108
Tothill †	891	72	58	72	67	73	59	61	60	47	59	45
Trusthorpe † . . .	1,498	198	196	262	286	273	289	332	348	334	304	287

¹ Great Grimsby.—Docks were being constructed in 1851.

² Hawerby-cum-Beesby.—Beesby was anciently a separate parish.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Calceworth Hundred—Wold Division</i>												
Alford	1,138	1,040	1,169	1,506	1,784	1,945	2,262	2,658	2,881	2,894	2,843	2,478
Beesby-le-Marsh †	1,200	131	126	132	159	157	168	174	159	145	127	117
Bilsby †	2,901	337	373	416	453	584	611	572	530	510	450	387
Claxby	1,087	78	87	97	101	132	126	103	95	99	87	87
Farlesthorne † . . .	1,077	88	86	101	94	109	112	135	121	104	114	81
Hannah (or Hannay) †	1,010 ^a	83	84	106	97	122	114	140	124	117	83	81
Maltby-le-Marsh †	1,409	208	210	199	209	229	293	332	334	302	251	234
Markby †	652 ^a	61	59	94	94	102	115	111	127	118	102	89
Rigsby	1,058	104	93	107	99	103	120	102	96	112	90	82
Saleby †	1,789	211	222	235	220	233	248	244	256	223	195	177
Strubby †	2,081	195	215	255	201	268	287	295	281	289	270	215
Ulceby †	1,947	165	166	214	218	204	191	212	179	176	160	169
Well ¹	1,608	105	85	135	76	88	80	99	116	124	108	114
Willoughby † ¹ . . .	5,146	395	456	514	557	661	748	785	752	617	524	513
Withern	2,750	295	323	343	390	435	503	528	452	457	447	403
<i>Candleshoe Wapentake—Marsh Division</i>												
Addlethorpe † † . .	2,006 ^a	190	192	176	175	238	288	302	240	243	210	210
Burgh-le-Marsh . . .	4,399	716	709	903	906	1,095	1,215	1,223	1,236	1,136	969	974
Croft †	5,539	379	390	483	546	649	776	784	858	752	635	656
Friskney †	6,844	691	888	1,268	1,457	1,607	1,695	1,604	1,668	1,477	1,373	1,302
Ingoldmells † † . .	1,857 ^a	137	137	155	206	259	286	319	301	241	204	163
Northolme (or Wainfleet St. Thomas) † †	30 ^a	56	89	155	104	140	173	162	202	201	137	178
Orby † †	2,088 ^a	183	196	282	287	381	405	357	374	410	311	308
Skegness †	1,823	134	132	150	185	316	366	322	349	1,338	1,488	2,140
Wainfleet All Saints † †	1,598 ^a	506	690	878	1,135	1,386	1,365	1,392	1,355	1,349	1,259	1,055
Wainfleet St. Mary †	6,179	421	475	544	660	731	717	730	721	705	718	669
Winthorpe	2,368	221	174	233	244	273	299	305	285	337	326	379
<i>Candleshoe Wapentake—Wold Division</i>												
Ashby-by-Partney †	1,026	114	120	140	170	160	162	148	141	124	99	102
Bratoft	1,833	131	129	179	201	235	266	280	266	218	190	199
Candlesby †	1,061	172	198	251	216	247	245	240	235	247	236	235
Dalby	1,356	50	71	99	98	106	115	115	155	152	135	112
Driby	1,370	66	61	82	89	97	98	79	100	117	115	85
Firsby †	910 ^a	117	118	119	142	196	222	237	270	235	228	213
Gunby St. Peter . .	675	38	47	69	75	58	89	82	80	80	85	63
Irby-in-the-Marsh †	1,090 ^a	87	74	78	96	139	203	169	170	178	141	136
Partney	943	261	296	293	389	468	489	487	495	442	345	302
Scremby †	1,342	185	175	200	204	217	205	184	197	172	187	151
Skendleby † † . . .	1,710 ^a	174	234	210	253	289	326	299	295	270	258	232
Steeping, Great . .	1,746	207	202	278	281	285	343	334	340	266	225	233
Sutterby †	477	28	21	33	34	44	53	40	35	36	36	21
Welton-le-Marsh †	2,600 ^a	184	281	355	363	396	431	468	448	375	322	265
<i>Corringham Wapentake</i>												
Blyton †	2,830 ^a	377	423	504	551	647	716	746	713	705	715	756
Greenhill, or Redhill Extra Par.	412	4	10	11	7	24	18	12	8	26	27	14
Corringham ²	6,366	427	474	479	559	564	684	717	782	744	704	566

¹ *Well* and *Willoughby* should probably be treated as one area, 1801–31, because there seems to have been considerable uncertainty as to which Parish Mawthorpe Hamlet belonged, but from 1841 onwards it has always been returned with Willoughby.

² *Corringham* includes the area, and the population, 1881–1901, of *The Paddocks*.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF												
LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Corringham</i>												
<i>Wapentake (<i>cont.</i>)</i>												
Gainsborough :—	5,957	5,112	5,915	6,764	7,535	7,860	8,293	7,339	8,655	12,307	16,109	19,232
Gainsborough *	3,446	4,506	5,172	5,893	6,658	6,948	7,261	6,320	7,564	10,979	14,468	17,740
Morton Town- ship †	848	390	488	580	543	569	682	623	681	917	1,137	1,048
Stockwith, East Township	488	161	203	224	269	266	290	313	330	324	419	366
Walkerith Town- ship	275	55	52	67	65	77	60	83	80	87	85	78
Grayingham † . .	1,726	94	98	141	137	157	152	135	166	167	158	144
Heapham . . .	1,238	100	105	112	143	125	156	129	141	144	132	121
Kirton-in-Lindsey †	4,690	1,092	1,152	1,480	1,542	1,835	1,948	2,058	1,904	1,851	1,623	1,585
Laughton † :— . .	4,725	346	360	422	441	483	508	515	487	425	418	371
Laughton Town- ship	3,686	—	270	319	309	336	364	365	336	295	300	253
Wildsworth Hamlet	1,039	—	90	103	132	147	144	150	151	130	118	118
Lea †	2,188	180	222	199	197	198	229	194	162	186	188	208
Manton (part of) :— ¹												
Cleatham Town- ship	1,094	43	60	117	76	99	96	109	143	114	101	103
Northorpe . . .	1,837	105	102	127	128	141	179	194	208	182	196	181
Paddocks, The Extra Par. ²	—	—	2	3	0	0	0	0	8	—	—	—
Pilham-with- Gilby † †	1,100 ³	81	91	102	100	96	132	89	91	97	92	77
Scotter † † . . .	4,630 ³	666	764	938	1,043	1,172	1,158	1,167	1,094	1,070	1,062	1,059
Scotton :— . . .	4,920 ³	384	443	515	494	490	488	482	446	403	337	333
Scotton † † . . .	—	242	301	364	353	363	347	320	307	260	235	230
East Ferry (part of) Hamlet † ³	—	142	142	151	141	127	141	162	139	143	102	103
Southorpe Extra Par. ⁴	467	26	26	34	36	41	43	44	48	39	44	43
Springthorpe † . .	1,186	176	167	200	194	209	300	260	237	214	176	163
<i>Gartree (North)</i>												
<i>Wapentake</i>												
Asterby	1,103	154	199	189	231	256	313	304	295	213	166	154
Baumber (or Baum- burgh)	3,361	261	290	319	356	371	407	393	373	391	366	407
Belchford † . . .	2,542	275	416	490	517	554	673	638	571	488	403	362
Cawkewell . . .	687	20	25	34	44	47	40	36	37	45	39	44
Donnington-on- Bain †	1,801	188	203	269	300	344	489	552	485	473	432	343
Edlington † . . .	2,739	137	189	263	216	254	182	212	243	213	199	189
Goulceby † . . .	1,440 ³	191	192	244	252	347	379	344	302	250	198	166
Hemingby † . . .	2,306	231	244	297	366	373	407	473	420	402	401	332
Ranby †	1,291	68	80	121	109	116	115	142	149	132	140	141
Scamblesby . . .	2,002	272	300	347	413	500	532	471	461	364	325	289
Stainton, Market †	1,204	93	130	131	132	184	142	108	100	97	123	84
Stenigot † . . .	1,330 ³	73	99	107	89	97	92	96	93	89	101	98
Sturton, Great . .	1,588	108	130	145	138	127	138	179	130	145	126	109
<i>Gartree (South)</i>												
<i>Wapentake</i>												
Bucknall † . . .	2,543	187	203	241	276	303	339	406	381	336	331	278
Dalderby † . . .	408 ³	31	28	40	42	37	33	40	44	49	38	46
Gautby	1,457	118	122	118	109	99	99	113	128	100	92	88
Horsington † . . .	1,992	183	216	322	323	345	399	418	397	360	266	220

¹ Manton Ancient Parish is situated partly in Corringham Wapentake and partly in Manley Wapentake (East).

² See note (2), p. 368.

³ East Ferry Hamlet is situated partly in Scotton Ancient Parish (Corringham Wapentake) and partly in Owston Ancient Parish (Manley Wapentake—West). The whole area and the entire population in 1801–1831 and in 1881 are shown under Scotton.

⁴ Southorpe was rated for the relief of the poor in 1851, but does not appear to have been connected with any ancient parish. It was probably anciently a parish.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Gartree (South)</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Kirkby-on-Bain:—	5,110 ^o	454	455	591	596	680	734	683	686	580	561	528
Kirkby-on-Bain	1,808	185	201	256	274	336	395	363	344	261	247	219
Tumby Town- ship †	3,302 ^o	269	254	335	322	344	339	320	342	319	314	309
Kirkstead † . . .	1,540 ^o	131	110	132	179	180	175	158	148	128	138	120
Langton near Horncastle †	980 ^o	58	80	100	115	177	231	226	239	203	232	238
Martin †	764 ^o	41	33	55	60	58	74	56	82	70	117	178
Minting †	2,598	190	192	270	301	280	408	422	406	347	336	335
Scrivelsby † . . .	2,142 ^o	92	126	153	129	130	153	168	129	138	136	125
Stixwold †	2,421	200	220	214	221	203	255	269	241	227	219	198
Tattershall:— . . .	4,580 ^o	661	714	896	883	907	987	848	738	782	768	709
Tattershall † . . .	—	496	506	627	599	607	650	547	455	481	491	476
Thorpe Tatters- hall Town- ship †	—	165	208	269	284	300	337	301	283	301	277	233
Thornton †	1,755 ^o	97	107	153	216	236	240	281	208	192	189	176
Waddingworth . . .	941	59	49	59	63	64	71	82	56	66	54	55
Wispington † . . .	1,209	70	73	70	91	84	83	85	96	109	100	97
Woodhall †	2,240 ^o	145	162	191	196	307	275	276	326	281	561	671
<i>Hill Hundred</i>												
Ashby Puero- rum ¹ }	1,631	99	91 11	117	101	102 9	117 20	149	133	147	121	112
Holbeck Extra Par. ¹ }												
Aswardby	744	59	54	80	80	92	67	68	60	58	89	69
Brinkhill	873	94	112	119	116	168	171	175	155	149	148	113
Claxby Pluckacre .	861	16	26	36	25	29	28	39	51	66	63	62
Enderby, Bag . . .	627	80	96	107	114	102	116	81	56	71	59	52
Fulletby †	1,867	190	213	254	250	243	272	303	271	257	161	149
Greetham †	1,280	111	130	148	152	177	179	152	180	147	131	129
Hagworthingham †	2,403	376	442	533	593	600	651	666	612	484	477	395
Hameringham . . .	1,238	129	135	149	158	171	201	188	199	175	144	113
Harrington	1,069	59	65	105	70	107	114	104	133	123	101	102
Langton-by- Spilsby †	1,368	132	175	167	230	194	190	188	223	219	177	150
Ormsby, South . . .	2,456	238	251	261	237	259	261	261	275	294	238	226
Oxcombe †	1,015	32	29	28	32	24	34	27	25	28	33	47
Salmonby †	1,001	77	85	89	90	116	110	101	119	102	95	86
Sausthorpe	748	130	138	167	206	259	193	144	126	141	148	115
Scrafield	692	11	13	23	36	33	38	47	48	53	38	36
Somersby	611	76	73	95	69	59	64	72	54	43	46	33
Tetford †	1,818	326	410	531	690	778	799	793	710	590	481	381
Walmgate	827	51	52	56	72	84	79	77	90	73	55	64
Winceby †	853	44	64	78	65	70	78	67	68	64	61	50
Worlaby	875	13	29	32	34	28	36	37	57	66	56	45
<i>Horncastle Soke</i>												
Ashby, West † . . .	1,590 ^o	297	370	378	391	534	515	526	484	490	461	426
Coningsby † . . . }	5,560 ^o	1,301	1,658	1,651	1,773	1,959	2,098	1,938	1,778	1,544	1,347	1,153
Haven Bank Extra Par.† }												
Langrick Ferry Extra Par. ²	175	—	—	—	—	22	26	20	31	22	21	15
Halham-upon- Bain †	2,610 ^o	115	154	196	143	253	243	215	214	224	216	144
Horncastle*† . . .	2,510 ^o	2,015	2,622	3,058	3,988	4,521	5,017	4,944	4,947	4,885	4,470	4,118
Langrville Town- ship † ³	1,630 ^o	—	—	195	202	221	292	312	300	328	240	249
Salt Pits Extra Par. ⁴	—	—	—	—	—	4	18	—	—	—	—	—

¹ *Holbeck* is said (1851 volume) to be assessed to the Poor with *Ashby Puerorum Parish*

² *Langrick Ferry*.—Three Civil Parishes were created out of this area under the Act 20 Vic. c. 19, viz., Great Beats, Little Beats, and Land south of the Witham; none shown.

³ See note (1), p. 366.

⁴ See note (2), p. 366.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF												
LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Horncastle</i>												
<i>Soke (<i>cont.</i>)</i>												
Mareham-le-Fen †	1,560 ^a	383	487	609	625	713	885	937	822	736	775	674
Mareham-on-the-Hill †	1,380 ^a	110	122	133	193	189	214	215	218	204	179	187
Moorby † . . .	950 ^a	79	105	118	154	152	159	128	117	111	91	83
Roughton † . . .	1,020 ^a	110	106	110	118	146	166	131	166	167	150	123
Thimbleby † . . .	1,770 ^a	224	316	384	364	398	492	477	454	447	354	362
Thornton-le-Fen Township † ¹	380 ^a	—	—	141	156	186	200	193	210	274	227	188
Toynton, High †	1,210 ^a	93	121	159	164	199	212	210	190	189	180	155
Toynton, Low †	950 ^a	49	98	95	108	129	133	155	132	104	104	119
Wilksby † . . .	670 ^a	54	53	58	67	89	66	57	73	51	60	51
Wood Enderby †	990 ^a	153	183	183	210	233	291	244	276	218	225	168
<i>Lawress</i>												
<i>Wapentake</i>												
Aisthorpe (or East Thorpe)	828	71	53	70	89	82	95	100	110	112	108	104
Barlings † . . .	1,686	116	140	245	280	352	433	475	468	469	419	385
Brattleby † . . .	1,142	123	127	157	154	168	169	153	122	148	138	148
Broxholme † . . .	1,351	110	128	148	137	145	113	125	126	114	85	111
Burton-by-Lincoln †	2,390	164	165	186	177	206	204	171	209	282	248	266
Buslingthorpe †	1,096 ^a	48	43	55	56	50	51	55	57	56	48	39
Carlton, North . .	1,840	120	143	171	180	178	147	163	135	163	162	94
Carlton, South . .	1,947	151	168	194	204	166	183	181	172	175	137	181
Dunholme † . . .	2,261	140	171	220	237	310	411	453	450	403	336	289
Faldingworth †	1,820 ^a	226	260	276	296	350	387	365	326	310	281	256
Fiskerton † . . .	2,817	270	318	294	330	410	463	524	515	440	423	386
Friesthorpe † . .	586 ^a	46	46	45	46	53	62	46	44	61	56	48
Greetwell † † . .	1,113 ^a	31	43	45	42	42	37	69	49	86	89	55
Nettleham † . . .	3,491	377	464	572	714	841	944	919	922	958	914	953
Reepham † . . .	1,819	183	196	247	295	341	368	436	377	356	396	387
Riseholme ² . . .	1,547	52	65	73	62	98	102	127	121	134	154	139
Saxilby † . . .	4,432	389	450	561	719	1,058	1,137	1,174	1,158	1,191	1,092	1,055
Scampton † . . .	2,203	133	170	238	242	224	228	235	248	230	231	253
Scothern † . . .	2,445	328	241	366	497	611	572	579	522	495	425	418
Snarford . . .	1,146	39	47	64	61	76	82	97	78	102	105	98
Sudbrooke † . . .	873	86	70	103	84	81	90	75	68	55	86	98
Thorpe-in-the-Fallows (or West Thorpe)	873	56	50	69	62	51	56	54	67	70	39	35
Torksey (part of) ³ :—	2,467	236	240	267	301	485	319	287	273	239	273	285
Torksey . . .	1,489	—	—	—	—	420	243	205	203	160	195	202
Hardwick Township	978	—	—	—	—	65	76	82	70	79	78	83
Welton † . . .	3,910	380	368	484	516	566	604	692	692	682	660	609
Willingham, Cherry † †	980 ^a	77	89	89	102	111	148	173	146	156	123	145
<i>Louth-Eske</i>												
<i>Hundred—</i>												
<i>Marsh Division</i>												
Alvingham . . .	1,794	214	223	264	292	313	317	350	353	267	251	249
Carlton, Castle . .	471	46	44	62	54	52	55	45	32	21	27	20
Carlton, Great †	2,402	202	213	242	280	352	342	338	276	261	245	237
Carlton, Little †	1,006 ^a	75	105	114	131	136	155	181	187	169	138	134
Conisholme † . .	1,240	115	118	127	170	146	153	167	171	138	120	115
Grainthorpe † †	4,955 ^a	408	446	503	517	556	655	738	774	712	619	638
Grimoldby † . .	1,854	246	255	298	311	267	309	321	337	363	321	301
Manby † † . . .	1,460 ^a	144	188	236	207	211	240	210	207	180	162	139
Reston, North † †	703 ^a	50	57	46	39	32	47	44	55	35	23	37
Saltfleetby All Saints † †	1,169 ^a	148	169	218	180	181	200	195	186	169	153	153

¹ See note (1), p. 366.

² Riseholme includes Grange de Ligne, which was formerly Extra Parochial, but became a Civil Parish under the Act 20 Vic c. 19.

³ Torksey Ancient Parish is situated partly in Lawress Wapentake and partly in Well Wapentake.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Louth-Eske Hundred—Marsh Division (cont.)</i>												
Saltfleetby St.	1,030 ^o	114	93	126	110	109	126	139	154	133	115	99
Clement † †												
Saltfleetby St.	2,003 ^o	146	183	185	200	246	251	308	339	327	304	246
Peter † †												
Skidbrooke with Saltfleet	2,404	298	355	365	362	351	404	361	417	415	384	349
Haven †												
Somercotes,	6,005	601	623	684	753	819	1,039	1,178	1,302	1,219	1,125	979
North †												
Somercotes,	2,642	284	290	301	320	375	400	419	455	435	415	392
South †												
Yarborough (or Yarburgh) †	1,330	182	189	207	175	210	245	279	268	206	189	170
<i>Louth-Eske Hundred—Wold Division</i>												
Authorpe † †	921 ^o	85	94	100	121	117	126	134	186	159	119	125
Burwell . . .	2,044	83	155	161	181	174	153	159	153	159	164	143
Calcehorpe † . .	1,103	36	42	60	72	69	87	84	87	82	89	76
Cockerington,	1,880 ^o	148	143	186	214	246	305	300	262	216	229	196
South (or St. Leonard) † †												
Cockerington,	1,750 ^o	170	155	206	202	227	261	265	298	267	226	213
North (or St. Mary) †												
Elkington, North .	1,001	51	56	74	100	91	104	108	96	89	82	95
Elkington, South .	3,085	158	208	268	271	273	281	333	357	356	366	355
Farworth . . .	1,970	52	85	94	91	92	105	103	109	143	134	134
Gayton-le-Wold .	1,161											
Grimblethorpe	632	67	78	122	127	125	114	118	115	151	118	101
Extra Par.						12	10	10	12	11	19	13
Hallington . . .	1,511	55	69	75	67	78	80	82	101	112	115	84
Haugham † . . .	1,908	70	84	100	92	111	117	115	123	132	110	130
Keddington † . .	1,045	150	162	179	172	157	166	138	144	153	119	111
Kelstern † . . .	2,626	154	166	179	200	211	195	196	218	235	221	175
Louth :—	3,620 ^o	4,258	4,761	6,055	6,976	8,935	10,553	10,667	10,610	10,827	10,154	9,619
Louth * . . .	2,749	4,236	4,728	6,012	6,927	8,848	10,467	10,560	10,500	10,691	10,040	9,518
Louth Park	871 ^o	22	33	43	49	87	86	107	110	136	114	101
Township †												
Muckton † . . .	1,025 ^o	91	100	131	118	105	102	106	88	96	98	92
Raithby-cum-	1,963	96	86	120	147	167	163	145	145	169	198	166
Maltby												
Ruckland . . .	734	24	34	33	24	32	30	46	46	63	38	24
Stewton † . . .	1,030	45	55	63	69	55	79	73	99	101	112	100
Tathwell † . . .	4,356	268	326	272	338	365	429	405	410	422	420	372
Welton-le-Wold †	2,690	101	132	144	241	356	368	335	359	334	289	260
Withcall † . . .	2,544	66	64	89	72	90	117	121	168	237	250	209
Wykeham, East ¹	534	23	23	29	31	32	26	35	30	37	30	36
<i>Ludborough Wapentake</i>												
Brackenborough .	736	36	46	54	44	63	54	59	72	67	66	72
Covenham St.	1,340 ^o	170	185	219	222	277	273	298	284	278	226	198
Bartholomew † †												
Covenham St.	950 ^o	114	111	142	163	169	195	196	150	128	129	96
Mary † †												
Fotherby . . .	1,342	141	159	198	207	227	250	267	257	237	228	212
Grimsby, Little .	823	56	64	67	52	61	60	55	44	54	58	43
Ludborough † . .	2,164	254	234	284	322	321	372	401	378	347	284	239
Nun Ormsby (or North Ormsby) †	1,716	79	88	111	128	132	131	155	175	180	183	122
Utterby † . . .	1,577	118	121	165	198	209	246	326	322	275	258	199
Wyham-cum-	1,498	83	87	107	94	115	128	135	100	139	121	112
Cadeby †												

¹ East Wykeham is said (1861 volume) to have been Extra Parochial before the operation of the Act 20 Vict. c. 19.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Manley Wapentake—Eastern Division</i>												
Bottesford :—	6,643	603	654	853	1,055	1,586	1,507	1,616	1,726	2,464	2,659	2,819
Ashby Town- ship	2,235	192	239	288	378	429	456	503	669	1,462	1,634	1,845
Bottesford Township† ¹	1,778	104	71	101	112	153	144	157	144	124	83	71
Burringham Township ²	1,553	233	239	338	410	624	551	632	574	542	565	537
East Butterwick (part of) Town- ship ³	—	—	—	—	—	198	159	144	138	96	75	100
Holme Town- ship ¹	1,077	—	62	39	49	49	51	56	65	72	87	70
Yaddlethorpe Township† ¹	—	74	43	87	106	133	146	124	136	168	215	196
Broughton . . .	6,918 ⁴	729	747	827	915	913	1,240	1,280	1,205	1,308	1,510	1,559
Frodingham :—	8,055 ⁴	550	495	552	599	701	789	910	1,753	4,296	5,920	9,322
Brumby Town- ship	3,024	136	133	128	115	160	159	204	178	203	756	904
Crosby (part of) Township† ⁴	2,981 ⁴	180	140	146	174	179	214	225	288	304	299	299
Frodingham Township	1,019	65	48	68	70	73	113	113	577	1,663	1,384	1,369
Scunthorpe Township	1,031	169	174	210	240	289	303	368	710	2,126	3,481	6,750
Hibaldstow † . .	4,557	443	523	522	632	688	801	775	764	800	818	726
Manton (part of) ⁵ :—	3,420	52	77	81	74	83	102	172	184	195	136	132
Manton . . .	2,176	—	49	48	49	38	52	106	117	139	76	86
Twigmoor Ham- let	1,244	—	28	33	25	45	50	66	67	56	60	46
Messingham :—	6,851	505	888	1,103	1,250	1,548	1,374	1,362	1,342	1,352	1,259	1,289
Messingham Township† ⁶	—	377	697	855	924	1,368	1,117	1,086	1,110	1,132	1,071	1,069
Butterwick, East (part of) Town- ship† ³	—	128	191	248	326	180	257	276	232	220	188	220
Redbourne † . .	3,973	200	215	270	300	377	354	320	336	367	321	303
Scawby cum Stur- ton †	3,930 ⁴	518	658	838	942	1,050	1,606	1,570	1,586	1,549	1,595	1,561
Waddingham † .	3,752	343	377	447	523	678	834	812	723	715	610	562
<i>Manley Wapen- take—Northern Division</i>												
Appleby with Raventhorpe ⁷ †	6,334	394	385	534	517	505	481	579	607	570	610	583
Alkborough . .	3,035	345	368	428	467	528	468	497	487	399	427	420
Burton upon Stather ⁸ †	3,860 ⁴	482	526	762	760	799	899	983	1,099	971	830	820
Flixborough :—	2,651	173	199	216	210	231	221	236	258	229	242	196
Flixborough . .	2,651	173	199	216	210	211	199	214	246	229	242	196
Crosby (part of) Township ⁴	—	—	—	—	—	20	22	22	12	—	—	—

¹ Holme is supposed to have been returned with *Bottesford Township* in 1801. The area of *Yaddlethorpe Township* is included with that of *Bottesford Township*.

² *Burringham*.—The increase of population in 1841 is due to the presence of persons employed in erecting a brick and tile yard, and in 1861 to the temporary presence of men engaged in constructing a railway.

³ *East Butterwick* is partly situated in *Bottesford Ancient Parish* and partly in *Messingham Ancient Parish*. The entire area is included with *Messingham*, under which also the whole of the population is shown for 1801–31.

⁴ *Crosby* is partly in *Frodingham Ancient Parish* (*Manley Wapentake—East*) and partly in *Flixborough Ancient Parish* (*Manley Wapentake—North*). The entire area is included with *Frodingham*, under which also the whole population is shown, 1801–31 and 1881–1901.

⁵ See note (1), p. 369.

⁶ *Messingham Township* included, in 1841, 283 persons attending the annual feast.

⁷ *Appleby with Raventhorpe*.—The increase of population in 1861 is mainly due to the temporary employment of labourers on railway works.

⁸ *Burton upon Stather* extends into *Corringham Wapentake*, but is wholly entered under *Manley Wapentake—North*.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Manley Wapentake—Northern Division (cont.)</i>												
Halton, West † . . .	4,870 ^o	204	322	374	359	424	425	422	431	355	315	330
Roxby-cum-Risby †	4,908	273	269	350	373	339	330	348	374	417	392	389
Whitton	1,369	207	187	212	245	217	190	215	214	201	257	173
Winteringham † . .	3,588	678	709	746	726	694	824	858	779	671	584	595
Winterton †	3,818	773	821	1,015	1,295	1,373	1,665	1,780	1,756	1,601	1,400	1,361
<i>Manley Wapentake—Western Division</i>												
Althorpe :—	5,460 ^o	593	614	877	981	1,184	1,347	1,316	1,432	1,499	1,391	1,559
Althorpe Town- ship	1,352	208	195	252	313	366	335	391	458	527	467	539
Amcotts Town- ship † ‡	2,517 ^o	227	248	346	359	417	410	374	412	397	332	300
Keadby Town- ship	1,591	158	171	279	309	401	602	551	562	575	592	720
Belton †	8,530 ^o	1,259	1,285	1,437	1,597	1,707	1,738	1,871	1,941	1,719	1,445	1,523
Crowle :—	8,239	1,471	1,575	1,961	2,113	2,544	3,008	3,182	3,813	3,353	3,095	3,223
Crowle-with- Ealand Town- ship ¹ †	6,926	1,343	1,424	1,729	1,889	2,262	2,548	2,648	3,122	2,826	2,641	2,769
Eastoft Town- ship	1,313	128	151	232	224	282	460	534	691	527	454	454
Epworth †	8,140 ^o	1,434	1,502	1,763	1,825	1,843	1,944	2,097	2,295	2,178	1,890	1,829
Haxey † ‡	8,470 ^o	1,541	1,627	1,888	1,868	2,071	2,129	2,157	2,213	1,982	1,840	2,020
Luddington † :— . .	3,680 ^o	795	821	962	924	982	1,090	1,264	1,355	1,157	981	973
Luddington † . . .	2,300 ^o	407	402	462	470	511	588	684	775	628	495	532
Garthorpe Township †	1,380 ^o	388	419	500	454	471	502	580	580	529	486	441
Owston :—	5,350 ^o	1,390	1,507	1,969	2,207	2,445	2,613	2,520	2,377	2,040	1,992	1,878
East Ferry (part of) Town- ship ²	—	—	—	—	—	29	27	28	23	—	—	—
Owston Town- ship †	—	917	1,003	1,300	1,409	1,551	1,693	1,585	1,527	1,322	1,325	1,241
West Butter- wick-with- Kelfield Chap. † ‡	—	473	504	669	798	865	893	907	827	718	667	637
Wroot †	3,386	210	261	285	289	335	349	392	391	356	333	356
<i>Walshcroft Wapentake—North Division</i>												
Caistor (part of) ³ :—												
Holton-le-Moor Chap.	1,892	92	117	135	150	160	190	180	195	178	167	163
Claxby	1,728	136	159	184	205	220	262	237	357	325	226	237
Kelsey, South † . .	4,198	449	537	623	632	622	623	633	620	615	583	498
Kingerby †	1,455	30	45	84	95	106	108	106	112	100	76	65
Kirkby-cum- Osgodby	1,761	123	168	214	350	474	492	477	438	374	353	332
Newton-by-Toft . .	1,009	51	63	70	82	85	71	81	95	75	68	64
Normanby-le- Wold	1,981	77	86	96	122	129	149	138	162	142	139	128
Owersby, North . .	3,443	223	242	272	297	356	351	421	359	343	390	305
Owersby, South . .	1,446	89	82	136	110	124	97	76	106	92	71	87
Rasen, West † . . .	3,180	162	194	210	252	286	275	245	248	251	218	204
Thornton-le-Moor †	1,533	50	58	115	99	102	108	127	119	96	83	102
Toft-next-Newton .	1,305	78	75	65	74	71	77	85	78	86	81	52
Usselby †	853	56	68	75	84	92	69	76	68	54	50	37

¹ Crowle with Ealand Township is partly in Yorkshire, West Riding, but is entirely shown, for convenience, in Lincolnshire. The area in Yorkshire seems to have had no population upon it until about 1871. Crowle with Ealand Township is entirely in Crowle Ancient Parish.

² See note (a). p. 369.

³ Caistor Ancient Parish is situated partly in Walshcroft Wapentake—North, and partly in Yarborough Wapentake—South.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Walshcroft</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>South Division</i>												
Binbrook St. Gabriel ^{1 2}	5,391	255	392	497	616	686 22	765	1,334	1,260	1,157	1,084	922
Orford Extra Par. ²	—	14		293	414		25	—	—	—	—	—
Binbrook St. Mary ^{1 2}	—	229	263	293	414	501	520	—	—	—	—	—
Croxby †	1,640	57	62	67	73	106	114	147	140	127	115	88
Linwood † † . . .	2,316	118	146	138	169	226	232	201	180	184	193	183
Rasen, Market †	976	774	964	1,166	1,428	2,022	2,110	2,563	2,815	2,612	2,497	2,188
Rasen, Middle † †	3,470	463	459	508	685	831	948	1,063	982	928	810	709
Stainton-le-Vale ²	3,032	108	100	121	118	148	144	191	215	158	195	211
Tealby †	3,318	469	629	755	824	996	861	863	677	654	558	555
Thoresway † . . .	2,845	106	86	116	158	189	175	196	220	258	259	220
Thorganby † . . .	1,569	88	97	102	108	116	120	140	137	144	140	134
Walesby †	3,695	167	188	239	247	326	331	351	325	322	305	267
Willingham, North †	2,332	191	194	211	223	210	234	203	194	211	172	206
<i>Well Wapentake</i>												
Burton, Gate † . .	1,114	65	63	110	101	126	104	115	109	97	118	81
Kettlethorpe † :—	3,280	294	295	399	463	501	541	486	565	508	434	481
Kettlethorpe † .	2,077	141	149	201	237	247	237	209	251	240	196	196
Fenton Town-ship	1,203	153	146	198	226	254	304	277	314	268	238	285
Knaith †	1,640	53	56	59	63	72	116	105	89	88	86	95
Marton †	1,277	374	342	395	494	523	544	487	498	439	376	319
Newton-upon-Trent †	1,575	205	240	295	310	399	366	325	319	313	307	264
Stow † :—	4,890	551	622	698	808	943	1,049	1,070	1,060	1,007	861	875
Stow and Normanby Town-ship	2,786	263	288	355	402	442	448	432	401	361	289	304
Sturton and Bransby Township	2,104	288	334	343	406	501	601	638	659	646	572	571
Torksey (part of) ⁴ :—												
Brampton Town-ship	952	93	70	98	103	130	119	92	99	97	94	86
Upton :—	3,180	303	275	392	460	505	577	527	543	562	513	498
Upton †	1,603	161	145	221	233	236	254	255	242	238	199	198
Kexby Township	1,577	142	130	171	227	269	323	272	301	324	314	300
Willingham † . . .	2,307	233	254	292	392	426	499	520	517	460	406	399
<i>Wraggøe Wapentake—</i>												
<i>East Division</i>												
Barkwith, East † .	1,325	157	198	195	187	255	321	387	342	339	323	307
Barkwith, West † .	904	66	66	93	113	130	143	150	123	119	132	115
Benniworth † . . .	3,024	277	302	346	373	488	466	431	411	381	357	296
Biscathorpe	861	43	40	37	45	63	69	90	77	62	68	65
Burgh-on-Bain † .	1,597	95	173	128	131	155	177	203	210	170	154	179
Hainton †	2,324	216	212	228	268	322	323	302	276	304	297	283
Hatton †	1,847	104	133	165	165	203	197	199	207	178	157	156
Kirmond-le-Mire . .	1,120	69	59	71	74	69	62	73	96	138	97	99
Langton-by-Wragby ⁵	2,399	144	173	193	206	262	287	321	351	296	250	203

¹ *Binbrook St. Mary*, and *Binbrook St. Gabriel* are stated (in the 1851 volume) to be united by Act of Parliament for all purposes, and are consequently shown together, 1861–1901, as *Binbrook St. Gabriel*.

² *Orford*.—There is some doubt as to where this area was included 1811–31. It seems to have been claimed as an Hamlet by both *Binbrook St. Gabriel* and *Binbrook St. Mary*. It was, however, treated as Extra Parochial under the Extra Parochial Places Act (20 Vic. c. 19), and added to *Stainton-le-Vale*, where its area is included, and also its population, 1861–1901.

³ *Tealby* included in 1841 a number of workmen employed in building a large mansion.

⁴ See note (8), p. 371.

⁵ *Langton-by-Wragby* includes the area of *Langton Woodhouse* and its population 1871–1901.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Wraggøe Wapen- take—East Division (cont.)</i>												
Ludford Magna †	3,788	314	337	426	{ 322	367	386	356	416	390	334	273
Ludford Parva †					{ 206	303	376	462	384	341	345	266
Panton	2,018	86	73	83	93	150	182	172	157	159	150	141
Sixhills †	1,968	131	117	141	169	205	175	164	163	175	153	112
Sotby †	1,646	95	109	128	157	156	152	164	149	191	166	125
Willingham, South †	2,043	180	182	202	212	296	341	340	307	330	313	280
<i>Wraggøe Wapen- take— West Division</i>												
Apley †	1,670	121	129	139	152	162	192	221	231	189	167	149
Bardney †	5,418	703	814	954	1,098	1,192	1,329	1,425	1,460	1,393	1,378	1,417
Goltho † :—	2,540 ^o	137	133	140	143	159	159	151	157	157	163	170
Goltho	1,382	—	97	95	93	107	102	107	104	106	113	122
Bullington Chap. †	1,158 ^a	—	36	45	50	52	57	44	53	51	50	48
Holton-cum-Beck- ering †	1,889	104	143	142	168	191	185	179	152	165	135	110
Langton Wood- house Extra Par. ¹	—	—	—	—	—	7	2	3	—	—	—	—
Legsby †	2,922	184	185	231	236	326	383	365	354	336	278	262
Lissington † † . .	1,526 ^a	153	150	183	182	186	224	245	289	259	220	202
Rand † :—	2,120	130	95	154	124	147	148	165	159	139	128	111
Rand †	—	—	54	102	71	91	84	92	84	66	67	62
Fulnetby Chap. †	—	—	41	52	53	56	64	73	75	73	61	49
Snelland †	1,281	94	109	133	105	97	127	138	124	133	130	100
Stainfield † . . .	2,102	74	86	103	136	154	132	164	178	203	167	156
Stainton-by-Lang- worth with New- ball † ²	3,021 ^a	166	187	182	238	222	227	220	239	255	221	223
Torrington, East .	1,527	85	81	89	87	113	113	120	125	125	114	104
Torrington, West .	1,151	70	77	133	126	138	133	165	190	160	160	144
Tupholme ³	1,797	78	78	71	68	74	73	81	93	93	94	83
Wickenby †	2,033	119	144	125	137	181	289	288	293	269	232	216
Wragby	1,580	410	509	633	601	610	610	619	581	508	546	494
<i>Yarborough Wapentake— East Division</i>												
Brocklesby ⁴ † .	3,860 ^a	207	157	256	{ 242	229	240	232	260	262	286	281
Newsham Extra Par. ⁴					{ 19	14	29					
Croxton	1,517	123	86	87	103	105	96	122	124	120	96	118
Habrough † . . .	1,570 ^a	275	245	286	313	334	368	364	394	391	373	357
Halton, East † . .	3,325	350	478	468	515	627	675	727	673	647	505	493
Immingham † . . .	3,715 ^a	144	164	207	199	221	242	261	237	270	235	230
Keelby †	1,860	313	361	462	638	719	859	842	837	742	702	658
Killingholme :—	5,290 ^a	343	395	438	480	681	749	736	770	774	743	763
Killingholme, North Town- ship	2,804	118	129	151	142	181	184	181	196	225	206	233
Killingholme, South Town- ship †	2,486	225	266	287	338	500	565	555	574	549	537	530
Kirmington	1,904	203	200	243	310	367	379	405	419	401	427	420
Limber, Great . .	5,228	345	357	421	451	480	531	514	541	489	530	498
Riby †	2,803	158	160	168	163	184	247	242	222	273	288	248
Stallingborough †	4,517	274	291	343	366	437	516	433	461	483	449	420

¹ See note (i), p. 375.

² *Stainton by Langworth* includes Coldstead, formerly Extra Parochial, but which became a Civil Parish under the Extra Parochial Places Acts.

³ *Tupholme*.—The figures for 1801 are an estimate. This place was sometimes described as Extra Parochial.

⁴ *Newsham* was added to *Brocklesby* under the Act 20 Vic. c. 19.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Yarborough</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>North Division</i>												
Barrow-upon- Humber †	5,065	926	1,129	1,307	1,334	1,662	2,283	2,443	2,517	2,711	2,695	2,808
Barton-upon- Humber St.	6,345	674	976	1,191	1,704	1,842	2,048	2,125	2,374	3,180	3,056	3,515
Mary †		1,035	1,228	1,305	1,529	1,633	1,818	1,672	1,958	2,159	2,170	2,156
Barton-upon- Humber St.												
Peter †												
Bonby †	2,467	178	268	275	339	386	454	471	413	406	341	313
Elsham †	4,154	310	347	383	471	458	448	409	443	502	457	434
Ferriby, South † .	1,614	280	420	453	500	542	580	573	721	733	638	738
Goxhill †	5,737	596	660	736	801	892	1,138	1,192	1,172	1,181	1,152	1,174
Horkstow † . . .	2,138	144	157	200	240	228	251	245	250	274	243	193
Saxby †	2,406	215	216	233	260	287	278	293	286	327	302	298
Thornton Curtis †	4,934	242	300	328	362	393	497	483	478	471	489	477
Ulceby	3,664	413	446	455	694	787	959	1,048	1,036	961	941	865
Wootton †	3,067	302	334	397	459	529	606	591	597	580	506	439
Worlaby †	3,349	223	228	262	309	426	500	526	557	582	540	493
<i>Yarborough</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>South Division</i>												
Barnetby-le-Wold .	2,584	211	273	316	532	679	845	828	773	849	926	1,144
Bigby ¹	3,440 ²	178	188	190	190	245	270	249	294	360	403	383
Cadney-cum- Howsham ² †	4,860 ²	236	239	303	334	411	544	570	515	449	428	404
Newstead Extra Par. ²		—	—	—	—	27	27	53	48	59	40	39
Caistor (part of) ³ —		930	1,118	1,320	1,421	1,873	2,217	2,168	2,057	1,912	1,823	1,604
Caistor*	3,304	861	1,051	1,253	1,375	1,828	2,166	2,141	2,012	1,867	1,788	1,567
Clixby Chap. . . .	1,261	69	67	67	46	45	51	27	45	45	35	37
Grasby †	1,089	168	217	299	287	374	455	433	408	411	347	353
Kelsey, North † †	5,370 ²	489	509	573	648	767	916	870	923	844	818	797
Melton Ross	1,812	102	106	126	158	175	159	168	171	176	191	173
Nettleton †	3,602	259	295	353	385	457	524	536	545	482	446	383
Searby-cum- Owmby † †	1,860 ²	244	218	247	252	234	289	263	261	217	234	219
Somerby †	989	58	68	79	61	63	70	120	127	99	118	101
Wrawby ¹ —	5,070 ²	1,610	1,742	2,130	2,418	2,702	3,132	2,961	2,996	2,921	2,787	2,827
Wrawby*	—	283	381	456	638	880	931	1,257	1,304	1,264	1,342	1,469
Glanford Brigg Chap.	—	1,327	1,361	1,674	1,780	1,822	2,201	1,704	1,692	1,657	1,445	1,358
<i>Lincoln City,</i>												
<i>(County of), and</i>												
<i>Liberty</i>												
17,807 acres												
Branston ⁴ † . . .	5,679	445	527	702	859	1,122	1,325	1,469	1,337	1,431	1,221	1,216
Bracebridge ⁴ † .	1,527	145	153	155	158	127	340	836	1,203	2,123	2,494	2,967
Canwick ⁴	2,381	215	211	223	201	190	213	228	241	488	602	711
St. Benedict	9	547	550	628	654	693	690	653	631	628	519	432
St. Botolph † . . .	188	354	455	585	614	727	917	1,027	1,209	3,347	4,456	5,473
St. John-in-New- port ⁵	50	101	133	159	216	205	324	285	333	500	110	132

¹ Bigby includes Kettleby Hamlet 1841–1901, but it was included with Wrawby Ancient Parish 1801–31.

² Newstead probably returned with Cadney-cum-Howsham, 1801–31.

³ See note (2), p. 374.

⁴ Branston, Bracebridge, Canwick, Mere Hospital, and Waddington comprised the Liberty of Lincoln City. Mere Hospital was returned with Waddington in 1801 and 1811. Canwick includes South Common, which became a Civil Parish under the Extra Parochial Places Acts. South Common is in the City of Lincoln.

⁵ St. John in Newport.—The increase of population in 1881 is mainly due to the erection since 1871 of the new County Hospital. The houses in this parish in 1891 and 1901 are the hospital buildings only.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
PARTS OF LINDSEY (<i>cont.</i>) <i>Lincoln City,</i> (County of), and <i>Liberty (cont.)</i>												
St. Margaret (in the Close) ^{1 3} †	—	303	311	403	359	330	378	452	504	415	456	429
St. Mark † . . .	32	262	322	430	450	445	666	722	909	997	933	912
St. Martin ⁷ . .	96	1,187	1,487	1,768	1,942	2,283	3,020	3,232	3,879	4,245	4,441	4,439
St. Mary Magdalen (in the Bail) ^{1 6}	28	659	708	701	646	613	630	625	569	610	564	538
St. Mary-le-Wig- ford ²	612	503	599	590	702	912	1,187	1,746	2,504	3,573	4,452	5,948
St. Michael-on-the- Mount ³	15	468	509	716	843	1,135	1,363	1,303	1,400	1,259	1,182	1,181
Mere Hospital Extra Par. ⁴	1,395	—	—	15	14	23	20	39	55	84	72	51
Monk's Liberty Extra Par. †	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	21	9	79	58	1,231
St. Nicholas-in- Newport †	—	147	228	223	442	1,053	1,233	1,515	2,250	4,462	5,404	5,775
St. Paul (in the Bail) ¹ †	—	316	387	423	447	492	746	789	919	820	768	1,002
Castle Dykings Extra Par. †	—	—	—	—	—	139	167	188	218	181	179	97
St. Peter-at-Arches	8	413	420	498	534	548	625	562	588	528	456	350
St. Peter-in-East- gate * † ^{1 5}	—	584	456	453	505	658	1,000	1,033	1,187	1,453	1,569	1,244
St. Peter-at-Gowts	149	413	481	549	661	875	1,430	2,055	3,197	6,560	8,133	9,900
St. Swithin † . .	154	940	1,553	1,869	2,202	2,634	2,961	4,665	6,294	7,328	7,373	9,134
Waddington † ⁴ .	3,333	674	727	686	754	814	962	909	855	878	695	770
Lincoln Castle [Prison] Extra Par. ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	29	47	16	24	—	—	—
Lincoln County Lunatic Asylum Extra Par. ⁷	—	—	—	—	—	125	149	106	99	86	105	122

GENERAL NOTES FOR LINCOLNSHIRE

(1) Many parishes include certain Fen Allotments, which were allotted to them on the occasion of the extensive drainage of fen lands, which seemingly took place between 1811 and 1821. The Act of Parliament was passed in 1801, and the work was finished before 1814. These parishes are mostly to be found in the Parts of Holland, and in the Sokes of Bolingbroke (East and West) and Horncastle.

(2) The Great Northern Railway was being constructed near Grantham in 1851, which may affect the population figures for certain parishes.

The following Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts are co-extensive in 1901 with one or more places mentioned in the table :—

Municipal Borough, or Urban District	Co-extensive with
Holbeach U.D.	Holbeach Parish (Elloe Wapentake)
Bourn U.D.	Bourn Parish (Aveland Wapentake)
Sleaford U.D.	Quarrington, and Old Sleaford Parishes (Aswardhurn Wapentake), and New Sleaford Parish (Flaxwell Wapentake)

¹ *St. Margaret-in-the-Close*, *St. Mary Magdalen-in-the-Bail*, and *St. Paul-in-the-Bail* seem (1841) to be really in Lawress Wapentake, the Bail and the Close being apparently outside the City's jurisdiction, though a small part of *St. Margaret* is claimed by the City; and a small part of *St. Peter-in-Eastgate* may be in the Close.

² *St. Mary-le-Wigford* includes Holmes Common.

³ *St. Michael-on-the-Mount* includes the area of the Bishop's Palace and the population 1841–1901. It was Extra Parochial, and became a Civil Parish under the Act 20 Vic. c. 19. In 1831 the Palace was included with *St. Margaret-in-the-Close*.

⁴ See note (4), p. 377.

⁵ *St. Peter-in-Eastgate* includes Cold Bath House, which was formerly Extra Parochial, and became a Civil Parish under the Act 20 Vic. c. 19.

⁶ *Lincoln Castle* was at one time part of the Duchy of Lancaster. The area and the population 1881–1901 are included in *St. Mary Magdalen Parish*.

⁷ *Lincoln County Lunatic Asylum* is locally situated in *St. Martin Parish*, where the area is included.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

Municipal Borough, or Urban District.

Co-extensive with

Cleethorpe with Thrunscoe U.D.	Cleethorpe with Thrunscoe Township (Bradley Haverstoe Wapentake)
Mablethorpe U.D.	Mablethorpe, St. Mary and St. Peter Parishes (Calceworth Hundred—Marsh Division)
Skegness U.D.	Skegness Parish (Candleshoe Wapentake—Marsh Division)
Louth M.B.	Louth Township (Louth—Eske Hundred—Wold Division)
Brumby and Frodingham U.D.	Brumby and Frodingham Townships (Manley Wapentake—East)
Scunthorpe U.D.	Scunthorpe Township (Manley Wapentake—East)
Roxby cum Risby U.D.	Roxby cum Risby Parish (Manley Wapentake—North)
Winterton U.D.	Winterton Parish (Manley Wapentake—North)
Crowle U.D.	Crowle with Ealand Township (Manley Wapentake—West)
Market Rasen U.D.	Market Rasen Parish (Walshcroft Wapentake—South)
Barton upon Humber U.D.	Barton upon Humber, St. Mary and St. Peter Parishes (Yarborough Wapentake—North)
Alford U.D.	Alford Parish (Calceworth Hundred—Wold Division)

INDUSTRIES

THE most important early industries of Lincolnshire were connected with a great agricultural product of the county—that of wool. Foremost amongst the craftsmen were the Lincoln weavers, who had a charter from Henry II, which was unfortunately burnt, but which is stated to have provided that no one should exercise the office of weaver in the city of Lincoln or 12 miles¹ round unless he be in the guild of weavers.² But there were also weavers at Stamford,³ Grantham,⁴ and other places. It was provided by the regulations of the Lincoln weavers' guild that no brother exercise his trade of weaving by night, that is to say from evening to dawn of day, under the penalty of one pound of wax, and that no master of the said art pay more to his servant for his salary than has been of ancient custom 'by the mayor and commonalty of the city of Lincoln, and the gracemen of the said guild' under the penalty of one pound of wax.⁵ It has been stated on the authority of Lord Hale that the manufacture of cloth was in a great measure lost during the civil wars of King John and King Henry III, wool being transported in its raw state into foreign parts and there made into cloth:⁶ and the statement is confirmed by the very large exports of wool from Boston, and the collapse of the prosperity of Lincoln when the Staple was withdrawn,⁷ which would hardly have taken place had the clothmaking there been in as flourishing a condition as in the time of Henry II. Still, clothmaking went on, and in the middle of the thirteenth century Lincoln was noted for its manufacture of scarlet cloth.⁸ But, as we have seen,⁹ Lincoln was unable to com-

pete with the western counties in the manufacture of the finer kinds of cloth.

In 1516 an attempt was made to improve matters, the mayor brought to Lincoln a clothier who was to teach the improved methods of the art, and the leading citizens contributed to the supply of a stock of wool for his use, and next year it was ordered by the corporation that all spinners of wool and other clothmakers who shall come to the city shall have their freedom as long as they dwell there,¹⁰ this being meant as an encouragement to skilful craftsmen to take up their abode in Lincoln. In 1551 the question of clothmaking was discussed at an assembly of citizens at a common council, it was believed that the manufactory would be 'a grette comodytye, releyff, weale and profight' to the city and to all the poor people within the same, and an agreement was made with the clothiers that they should have the late church of the Holy Rood with the churchyard and other land for the making a walk mill and a dye-house of the same church, so long as twenty broad cloths should be made yearly at the least, paying £10 if these were not made, any great plague being admitted as a reasonable excuse; all persons, who came to buy cloth, or bring wool, woad, madder, oil, alum or other necessities for clothmaking were to be free of toll for seven years, the clothiers were to have a seal for sealing their cloths and such letters as they might desire to noblemen or worshipful men for help, and any lawful means found by anyone for improving the trade was to be sanctioned.¹¹ It was directed that as the clothiers could not have the Shoemakers' Hall, as was granted to them, they should have a house at Butter-Cross for 40s. yearly.¹² It was also provided that every one of the clothiers should pay to the gracemen and fellowship of the mystery of weavers of the city, for their upset to be sworn brethren unto the said fellowship, 3s. 4d., and 12d. yearly for their looms' farm, and should not work or cause to be wrought any other cloths but their own or the work of other clothiers upon pain of the penalties contained in the charter of the weavers.¹³ The expectations of the citizens were, however, never realized, although they directed their member in 1553 to apply to Parliament on behalf of the

¹ Leucas. A later document gives the distance as 12 miles.

² Certificates of Guilds, No. 160.

³ See preceding article on 'Social and Economic History.'

⁴ In 1450 three weavers, a webster, two walkers [fullers], one dyer, and two mercers are mentioned as indicted at Grantham (Colonel Welby's papers).

⁵ Certificates of Guilds, No. 160.

⁶ Frost, *Hull*, quoting Lord Hale's Treatise concerning the customs.

⁷ See preceding article on 'Social and Economic History.'

⁸ Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 105.

⁹ See preceding article on 'Social and Economic History.'

¹⁰ *Hist. MSS. Commission 14th Report*, Appendix viii, 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 44. Ross, *Civitas Lincolnia*, 65.

¹² *Ibid.* 45.

¹³ *Ibid.*

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clothiers for licence to buy and sell their wool through Lincolnshire, shipping at Boston Haven.¹

In 1559 it was found that in diverse (*sic*) years then past the clothiers in the broad looms, so far from making twenty broad cloths, had made few or none.² But the citizens, if they could not set up a profitable manufactory, would attempt to keep the poor employed, so in 1591–2 a knitting school was established, and John Cheseman, the knitter, undertook to set on work in his science all such as were willing to come to him or were sent to him by the aldermen, and to hide nothing from them ‘that belongeth to the knowledge of the said science.’ Spinning, dressing of wool, and keeping a mill were included, as well as knitting, and Cheseman provided ten wheels for which he was paid 4s. 8d.³ In 1624 Gregory Lawcock undertook to set all the poor of Lincoln upon work to spin, knit stockings, weave garterings, make stuffs and other manufactures of wool, and out of the gain to clothe the same poor; and £60 was to be lent him and £20 given to provide tools, bring workmen, and establish the manufactories, besides £10 yearly for teaching young spinners, while every citizen and other inhabitant of ability should wear at least one suit of apparel and one pair of stockings of such cloth or stuff as should be made in the city. But in 1629 this agreement with Lawcock was found to be so generally disliked that he was dismissed.⁴ Meanwhile the guild of the Lincoln weavers still maintained and enforced its privileges and regulations.

In a suit in 1635 the society of Weavers still asserted their privileges within 12 miles of the city. A Scothorne weaver, a witness on their behalf, said that he knew the defendant, and he was brought up in the trade of a weaver under a Scothorne weaver, 3 miles from Lincoln, within the compass, jurisdiction, and power of the corporation of the society of weavers, and there was a custom used, ‘and hath been time out of mind within the said city and compass,’ that everyone setting up the said trade within the said compass of 12 miles shall pay for his upset 6s. 8d., and 6d. yearly towards the paying of the king’s fee farm rent,⁵ and he had heard of a custom belonging to the said society that no weaver within the said 12 miles should take, fetch, or entertain any work or things to work out of the city and carry it into the country and there work it into cloth, and he himself was punished for this offence by the graceman, warden, assistants and society. It appears from other evidence that the defendant

was a weaver, living at Greetwell, and that he had received yarn into his house and made it into cloth or ‘Linsey woolsey,’ and that Robert Peake, the graceman, with two others of the company of weavers, went to his house and did then and there threaten him that they would seal up his looms, unless he would give them a mark for every piece that he wrought of Lincoln work. It was stated that the weavers of the city took greater wages for weaving cloth than the country weavers did, and a country weaver said a weaver of Lincoln took 4d. for work for which he would take 3d.⁶ The weaving trade still went on, the evidence now being for the country districts. We find two young men put as apprentices to a weaver at Irby in 1676, a weaver at Lissington in 1668, one at Sutton in 1677, and one at Kirton in 1788.⁷ In 1787 the well-known Stuff Ball was established for the encouragement of native woollen manufacture, and held for two years at Alford, and afterwards at Lincoln. The ladies used to wear stuff gowns, and the gentlemen stuff coats, waistcoats, and breeches.⁸

Amongst other craft-guilds at Lincoln were those of the fullers and the tailors. A provision of the Fullers’ Guild in 1297 was that none of the craft should work in the trough, and none should work at the wooden bar with a woman, unless with the wife of a master or her handmaid.⁹ It seems that the fullers’ work had then already risen to beating the newly-made cloth, lying in a trough, with bars or poles, and was no longer ‘cloth walking.’ Other provisions were, that none should work after dinner on Saturdays, nor on any days which they ought to keep as festivals, according to the law of the church: and that if a stranger to the city came in he might, upon giving 1d. to the wax, work with the brethren and sisters, and his name should be written on the roll, the penalty for not keeping the ordinances being half a pound of wax.¹⁰ The Tailors’ Guild in 1328 ordained¹¹ that if any master [tailor] took anyone to live with him as apprentice in order to learn the work of the tailor’s craft, the apprentice should pay 2s. to the guild, or his master for him, or else the master should lose his guildship: and that if any master of the craft kept any lad or ‘sewer’ of another master for one day after he had well known that the lad wrongfully left his master, and that they had not parted in a friendly and reasonable manner, he should pay a stone of wax.

The ordinances of the company of Tailors were confirmed in 1679.¹² They are too long

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission 14th Report*, Appendix viii, 47.

² *Ibid.* 51.

³ *Ibid.* 17.

⁴ *Ibid.* 97, 98, 99.

⁵ The payment of £6 yearly for the weavers’ guild, paid to the city of Lincoln since 1408 towards the rent due from the city to the king.

⁶ Excheq. K.R. Depos. 11 Car. I, Trin. 1, Linc.

⁷ Quarter Sessions Minutes.

⁸ Sir C. Anderson, *Lincoln Pocket Guide*, 176.

⁹ Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, 180.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Hist. MSS. 14th Report*, App. viii, 108.

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to quote, but it is noticeable that the religious sanctions of the older guild are altogether omitted, there is no procession of the members to the cathedral church, no provision that each brother and sister should give *1d.* for charity when the dean of the guild demanded, though there is an ordinance concerning the burying of poor brethren and allowance while living, as was of old. The fact seems to be that, while the religious character of the society ceased, it continued in some degree at least to be a benefit society.

The bulk and weight of the chief manufactures, and still more of the agricultural products of Lincolnshire, such as corn and wool, made the question of carriage of special importance even in the earliest times. How was wool to be brought to Lincoln to be made into cloth? How was wool to be sent to Boston for export to Flanders or elsewhere? How was cloth to be conveyed from Lincoln to purchasers in different counties? How were foreign merchants to get their cloth and other heavy goods to Lincoln and other places for sale? How was corn to be conveyed to markets for sale, or to ports for exportation? These were questions which had much to do with the early prosperity of our county. Of course there were the roads, but it can hardly be believed that they were good as a rule; sometimes they were impassable through floods, and some were mere 'causeys' along which only pack-horses could pass; so we must conclude that the larger portion of the goods was carried by water, and a study of the map of Lincolnshire will impress this upon our minds. To the north was the Humber. To the north-west were the Trent and the Don. From near South Witham, past Grantham to Lincoln and thence to Boston, was the Witham. In South Lincolnshire the Welland runs from Stamford to Spalding and thence to Boston. And there were the Glen and several natural streams. Nor was that all; there was the Fosse Dyke, an artificial canal, made for trade purposes, from Lincoln to Torksey on the Trent, and the Car Dyke, a catch-water drain, which was also used for boats and small ships. And it seems almost certain that drains made to carry off the water in the low districts were often used for the carriage of corn and merchandise. We can now see how well the principal places of trade in the county, and especially Lincoln and Boston, were provided with water communication. It was in 1121 that King Henry I made a way for ships by making a dyke from Torksey to Lincoln, turning in the waters of the Trent.¹ Whether this was a new cut, or, as is generally believed, the opening out of an old one, the advantage to the trade of Lincoln is obvious. Foreign merchants could

come up the Humber and the Trent to Torksey, and thence to Lincoln with their goods, and merchandise could be conveyed backwards and forwards by water between Lincoln and many parts of Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. This was in the days when there was great cloth-making at Lincoln.

In 1365 the citizens of Lincoln made great complaint to the king in Parliament concerning the damage they suffered because ships and boats could not pass to and fro in the Fosse Dyke with merchandise and victuals as they were wont to do, and judges were commissioned to view the channel, and inquire by the oaths of honest and lawful men of the county who ought to cleanse the same, and to distrain those found liable and compel them to make good defects.² But little or nothing was done, for ten years later the jurors of divers wapentakes presented that Fosse Dyke, having been anciently full of water, so that ships and boats used to pass to and from Nottingham, York, Kingston-upon-Hull, and other places by the River Trent, and so by this channel to Lincoln and from Lincoln to Boston, to the great benefit of the city of Lincoln and the advantage of all tradesmen passing that way, was choked up, and that the prior of Torksey and the town of Torksey, the prioress of Fosse, John bishop of Lincoln, Gilbert earl of Angus and his tenants Sir Ralph Daubney and other lords of towns lying on each side of the channel, ought to repair it.³ A commission was appointed, but again without definite result. In 1518 a commission was issued by the king for the cleansing of Fosse Dyke, and it was agreed at a common council held at Lincoln that as the sum required would be as large as 100 marks from the city alone it should be defrayed by such amounts as every man would give of his own good will: this plan was not, however, very successful, as several times citizens of credit were sent to ride to different places to collect sums to keep the dykers at work, attempts were made to obtain money by way of loan, and Bishop Atwater, who was the chief promoter of the undertaking, directed all curates and others in the diocese to be helpful in the same, and granted a pardon to all who would assist.⁴ An Act of Parliament was obtained in 1671 for improving the navigation between Boston and the Trent, and an agreement was made in 1672 with Samuel Fortrey, esq., that he should have one-third of the profits of the tolls in return for his help in carrying out the improvements, and the maintenance of a bridge in Saxilby, and his bearing one-third part of charges and losses,⁵ but nothing

² Dugdale, *Imbanking*, &c. 167.

³ Ibid. 167, quoting 'Plac. coram rege,' 49 Edw. III, rot. 17.

⁴ Ross, *Civitas Lincolnia*, 57-8.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. 14th Report*, App. viii, 18.

¹ Roger de Hoveden, *Rerum Anglic. Scriptores post Bedam*, 477.

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effective was done until the Fosse Dyke was leased to Mr. Richard Ellison in 1741 for 999 years. In the lease between the mayor and commonalty of the city of Lincoln and Richard Ellison of Thorne, co. York, merchant, the Act 22 and 23 Charles II for the improving of the navigation between Boston and the Trent is quoted, and it is stated that the citizens were empowered in consideration of tolls and duties thereby allowed to be taken to make navigable the ancient channels of the Witham and Fosse Dyke, so as they should within two years undertake the same, which as regards Fosse Dyke they did, and whereas the locks on the Fosse Dyke were in so ruinous a condition and the channel so warped and silted up that the navigation was in a great measure rendered useless, and the said Richard Ellison had agreed to make new locks and all other new works, and to deepen the channel so that boats drawing 3 ft. 6 in. might pass from the Trent to Lincoln, and to rent of them their two-third parts of the said channel and have therefor the tolls for 999 years, for the yearly rent of £50, the mayor, &c., had demised the same to him. The lessee was to repair and maintain the navigation, and all the locks and wharves, and keep the channel scoured. He was to maintain Saxilby Bridge, and if he should take down or alter Torksey Bridge, so that there should be any dispute with the lord of the manor, he was to save the citizens harmless. In dry seasons he might let in water from the Witham into Brayford sufficient for the navigation. Another lease assigned in 1741 to the same lessee at a rent of £25 the remaining third part of the channel of Fosse Dyke and its dues for 999 years, which had before been let to James Humberstone of New Inn, Middlesex.¹ About Car Dyke there is little to say. It is mentioned in proceedings of the Commissioners of Sewers in the fourteenth century,² but is generally supposed to have been made many years before that time. When Louth Spire was built 1501-16, stone purchased at Wilsford, south-west of Sleaford, was conveyed to Louth partly by water and partly by land, the carriage to Dogdyke being 1s. 6d. a load, that from Coningsby to Louth 2s.³ The price appears to be 1d. a mile per load whether by water or road.

The utility of the various rivers for commerce is undoubted. But a word seems necessary about the Witham. It was the great water-way between Lincoln and Boston in the palmiest days of those towns. There were two places on the Witham, Calscroft and Dogdyke, where the

bailiffs of the city of Lincoln used to collect tolls in aid of the farm of the city. A complaint is made in 1275⁴ that the abbot of Kirkstead appropriated to himself five years since a place called Calscroft, to the east of Sheepwash [Sepwas], where ships used to load and unload wool and other merchandise, and the bailiffs of Lincoln collected customs. A complaint was also made⁵ that the bailiffs used to take toll at Dogdyke [Dockedig] of divers men taking their merchandise to Boston, but that the steward of the Lord of Kyme had driven them away and forcibly seized the tolls they ought and used to take. In much later times we find Daniel Disney, esqr., lord in 1719 of the manor of Kirkstead, claiming a toll of 4d. a load of goods and merchandise landed from the River Witham upon certain 'Waths,' or brought to them to be put on board any vessel on the river, when a witness from Lincoln deposed that his custom had been to send goods to Horncastle Fair by water carriage as far as Kirkstead 'Wath,' where they were landed and carried on by land.⁶ Unfortunately the River Witham was sluggish and easily silted up, and we hear of numerous complaints⁷ in the fourteenth century about its condition, so that ships laden with wine, wool, and other merchandise could no longer pass as they used to do; but nothing really effectual was done until the eighteenth century. It is, as might be expected, difficult to obtain evidence about the use of streams and drains for commercial purposes, but an occasional notice may be found. In 1342 the earl of Angus informed the king that the Kyme Eau was so obstructed⁸ that ships laden with merchandise could not pass as they used to do, and offered to scour out the channel provided he was allowed to take certain dues from the goods passing in ships. Hammond Beck used to be navigable for boats laden with corn, and the inhabitants of Holland Fen in quite modern days used to bring their dairy and other produce down to Boston to market by this stream or drain.⁹ At the end of the eighteenth century a good deal of enterprise was shown in constructing canals in Lincolnshire. In 1794 an Act was obtained for making a canal from the Witham near Chapel Hill, along the course of the Kyme Eau and the River Sleas, to Sleaford. In 1792 an Act was obtained for a canal from Horncastle to the Witham near Tattershall Ferry.¹⁰ In 1781 an Act was obtained for the improvement of the navigation of the Bourne Eau,¹¹ from Bourne to the River Glen. In 1794 an Act

¹ *Lease of the Fossedike Navigation, etc.* local pamphlets, Lincoln, 1826.

² Wheeler, *Fens, &c.* 248; Bishop Trollope, *Sleaford*, 69.

³ Louth Churchwardens' Accounts, per Mr. R. W. Goulding.

⁴ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), i, 397.

⁵ *Ibid.* 315.

⁶ Exch. K.R. Depos. 5 Geo. I, fol. 28.

⁷ Wheeler, *Fens, &c.* 140.

⁸ *Ibid.* 431.

⁹ P. Thompson, *Boston*, 264.

¹⁰ Wheeler, *Fens, &c.* 431.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 435.

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was passed for the Caistor Canal to the Ancholme,¹ which in earlier days had been so straightened as to be really a canal also. In 1763 an Act was obtained for a canal from Louth to Tetney, and it was completed in 1770 at a cost of £28,000.² In 1792 an Act was procured for a canal from Stainforth, where the River Don had been stopped, to the Trent at Keadby, to restore the communication of the Isle of Axholme with Thorne and Doncaster.³ In 1793 an Act was passed for a canal from Grantham by Woolsthorpe to the Trent at Nottingham.⁴ Of these, the Louth, Horncastle, Bourne, and Sleaford Canals are derelict.

About the Lincolnshire roads in early days little is known for certain. Possibly the great main road through Stamford and Lincoln may have been in fair condition, but probably most roads were bad, many being mere tracks across the country. To repair the roads was doubtless the duty of landowners, lay and religious alike, and for those who had to pass from estate to estate to maintain themselves and their retinue, or to look after their affairs, this was their interest also. Yet it was by no means easy to enforce this obligation, the difficulty being naturally increased in the low districts, where the expense was the greatest. In 1316 the men of Claypole and the adjoining parts complained that the bridge of Oldehebrigg, which is on the confines of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, and which they passed on their way to Newark, was dilapidated, and the way so deteriorated that men passing that way could not examine the metes of the said way, whereby many losses and dangers befell them: and commissioners were appointed to view the bridge and way and inquire into the entire matter.⁵ In 1329 commissioners, appointed on the petition of the bishop of Lincoln and others, had ordered the bridge and road to be repaired and maintained at the cost of the township of Claypole; but the jurors, contrary to such advice, made a new bridge and a new road on the land of the bishop and others; commissioners were to examine into the facts, and if a new bridge and road had been made on the land of the bishop to remove them and replace the old ones, and do all they should think necessary therein.⁶ In 1332 twelve jurors had presented before the sheriff in his 'turn' at the hospital on the Strete (Spittal) that

the abbot of Louth Park had not repaired the causey at Flixborough, and had narrowed the common way by raising a bank; but the abbot said he had no lands by reason of which he ought to do the repairs, and that he raised the bank on his own soil without narrowing the way, and eventually a jury found in his favour.⁷ The abbot was also discharged of the liability to repair the causey of Louth Park. In 1333 it was found that the priory of St. Saviour de Ponte Aslaci had been given the site and certain lands for the maintenance of the brethren there, and that only what was over was to be devoted to the reparation of Holandbrigg, so the order that the prior was to repair and maintain the causey of Holandbrigg and thirty bridges over the same is amended, and the judges are to find out a way by which the bridge may be repaired.⁸ In 1337, a petition having been presented to Parliament that the ways between Croyland and Spalding were in a very dangerous state, and that this could be remedied by the abbot of Croyland making a causey on his soil between Croyland and 'le Brotherhous' on the understanding that he and his successors should take tolls for making and maintaining it from the persons using it, and the king having commanded the abbot to certify him whether he would bind himself to do this, the abbot wrote back that between the great bridge at Croyland and 'le Brotherhous,' where the dangerous part of the ways is, there were 3 miles [*leucae*] of marshy land along the bank of the Welland, on which it would be difficult to make a causey, inasmuch as, the land lying deep in a morass, the causey would have to be by the said bank, and since the bank was liable to be flooded in winter, the land whereon it would be made was at such times greatly loosened, as well by the passing of sailors and boatmen as by the force of the wind, and fell away to such an extent that any causey on it would be destroyed unless built deep and high and well protected: that for the convenience of the people of those parts there would also have to be several bridges across the Welland both at Croyland and across the causey, which must be built at great cost to be high enough for laden ships and boats to pass under them, and strong enough for carts to pass over them: that persons passing over there by ship in rough weather then paid for every cart laden 12*d.*, for every horse laden 2*d.*, for every man 1*d.*, and for beasts and other things as the boatmen agree, and that these tolls are often doubled in time of flood and wind: but that he would undertake the work if the king would grant him corresponding tolls not exceeding half those now paid, and at the end of seven years some tolls of less amount for ever for the maintenance of the causey. The men of Kesteven and Holland petitioned Parlia-

¹ Brewster, *Notes on S. Kelsey*.

² Goulding, *Louth Records*, 62.

³ Stonehouse, *Isle of Axholme*, 45.

⁴ Turnor, *Grantham*, xii.

⁵ *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1313-7, p. 430.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1327-30, p. 480. It was about this time that the two-spanned bridge over the Witham at Claypole was built, which has quite recently been so inexcusably destroyed by the district council. It was an exceedingly valuable specimen of a mediaeval bridge of which the county ought to have been proud.

⁷ *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1340-3, p. 137.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1334-8, pp. 3, 11.

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ment that the king would call upon the abbot to carry out his answer. The king thereupon appointed commissioners to find out what tolls had been paid, on whose land the ships and boats making the passage landed, what tolls for seven years would enable the abbot to carry out the work, and what tolls would then suffice for the maintenance of the causey, how many causeys and bridges would be required and of what dimensions, and whether the work would be to the loss or prejudice of any.¹ In 1332 commissioners were appointed to supervise the causeway between the Withebrigg by Langwath and the Claybrig towards Wragby, and the bridge of Claybrig, which were reported to be in a dangerous state by default of those who were bound to repair them, and to make inquisition who are to blame in the matter.

In later days Mr. Stonehouse² tells us the roads in the Isle of Axholme were in a very bad state, almost impassable during the winter even on horseback. Attempts were made to lay a causeway with Yorkshire flags wide enough for a horse to walk upon, and during the high prices of 1810-12 the causeways were completed from one village to another, and the corn was delivered on horseback. Mr. Stonehouse says a person may still walk on these flags from Owston to Haxey, thence to Epworth, through Belton to Crowle and Luddington. Even on the Wolds, where the conditions were better, the roads must have been very bad, for in 1709 Vincent Amcotts writes that his '4 mares and mother's 2 leaders were stuck between Brinkle and Harrington with a small load of hay, which I bought for 12s. 6d.'³

Another point of interest relating to the Lincolnshire industries is their distribution. William of Malmesbury, writing in the time of King Henry I, speaks of Lincoln as one of the most populous places in England, 'an emporium of men coming by land and by sea.'⁴ And we find shops or stalls of a more or less permanent character at Stow, 1231-4.⁵ Still, in those times shops must have been few even in the large towns, and it was at markets and fairs that for the most part clothing and the necessities of life were obtained. We have seen how the bishop of Lincoln advised the countess to purchase her

robes, wines, &c., at Boston Fair;⁶ no doubt he himself did so. The canons of Bolton Abbey also constantly attended Boston Fair,⁷ and there they purchased their best cloth, which could be conveyed by water as far as York. The system that prevailed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would of course be considered highly inconvenient now, but those were days of fewer wants, and people used to buy goods that would last.⁸

Most necessities of life were produced on the manor, and villagers purchased things they wanted of one another. Thus at Ingoldmells in the fourteenth century, while we read of bakers and 'tipplers,' as on every manor, we find the tenants purchasing of one another malt, beans, flour, corn, timber, nails, and divers 'merchandise.'⁹ The extremely coarse clothing of the villein or labourer was mostly made at home, and there too, as now, the pig was fed.¹⁰ So there was not much occasion to go to markets or fairs, the groceries which are now in every house did not exist, and if a man wanted to go he had better opportunities than now, for there were markets in several places where now there are none. Gradually, however, such a fair as that at Boston declined in importance. Instead of the large sums received in 1283,¹¹ from 1591 to 1690 the rents received for the shops in the mart-yard were £51 to £72 a year, the next twenty years about £42, 1731-40 they dropped to £11 10s., in 1741 to £5 13s.¹² Evidently the habit of 'going shopping' was coming in. The markets and fairs for horses, cattle, and sheep continued, but clothing, groceries, &c., were purchased at the shops as now. Hence the increase in the population of the market towns, followed by an increase also in the larger villages where there was custom enough for more than one small shop.

For the causes which led to the gradual decay and final extinction of certain other local

⁶ See preceding article on 'Social and Economic History.'

⁷ Whitaker, *Craven*, 458, 472. In 1313 the canons purchased at Boston Fair half a piece of cloth with fur for the lady of Stiveton, 71s. 4d.; one robe for Ralph de Otterburn, 19s. 4d.; furs for Sir Adam de Midelton for 2 years' wear, 19s. Ibid. 471.

⁸ In some instances our grandmothers' gowns, quite 100 years old, are in existence still, and very handsome they are; and Mr. Stonehouse tells us that fifty years or so before he wrote (1839) a servant girl got up at three o'clock in the morning to spin, and was clad chiefly in linsey woolsey garments, women in many instances wearing the same gowns and cloaks as their mothers. *Hist. of the Isle of Axholme*, 47.

⁹ *Ingoldmells Court Rolls*, 26, 50, 84, 99, 114.

¹⁰ The pedlars, too, with their packages must not be forgotten.

¹¹ See preceding article on 'Social and Economic History.'

¹² P. Thompson, *Boston*, 344, 346.

¹ *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1334-8, p. 449. In 1580 there was a suit concerning the right of the queen as lady of the manor of Deeping to levy tolls from persons passing along the bank by the water of Welland leading from Deeping to Crowland; there were three bars at three several places on the bank: at Waldron Hall, 'at ye crosse in the Baye,' and at Crowland Hurne. [Excheq. K. R. Depos. 22 Eliz. Trin. 1, Lincoln.]

² *History of the Isle*, 45.

³ *Hist. of Ormsby*, 176.

⁴ *Rerum Angl. Scriptores post Bedam*, 290.

⁵ *Final Concords*, 245, 259.

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industries we must look to the working of the two great factors of change which have been of supreme importance in shaping the economic destinies of the county—namely, the drainage of the fens, and the introduction of steam as a motive-power.

The enclosure of the marsh and fen for example, and the consequent absorption of the reclaimed tracts for purely agricultural purposes, considerably curtailed and finally put an end to the vast number of decoys which had given employment to hundreds of the inhabitants. Only a few winters before its accomplishment, ten decoys (of which five were in the parish of Friskney) supplied the London markets with 31,200 birds, duck, teal, and widgeon, 5,000 being considered a good season's return.¹

On the East Fen, as many as 300 acres were formerly devoted to the cultivation of the cranberry, or 'moss-berry' as it was sometimes called, introduced at the beginning of the eighteenth century by a native of Westmorland, in which county, as well as in Cumberland, the fruit flourished to perfection. In the fens an average yield was 2,000 pecks a season, although as many as 4,000 pecks have been collected, the pickers earning 5s. a peck. The markets principally supplied were those of Cambridgeshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, where 'cranberry tarts' were much in vogue. Since the drainage and enclosure few have been gathered.²

The large flocks of geese still kept in the Fens near Spalding are but diminished reminders of that bygone trade in goose feathers to which the county owes at least one proverb, as recorded by that industrious gatherer of proverbial curiosities, John Ray: 'The Fenman's dowry is threescore geese and a pelt,' whilst Wheeler, in his *History of the Fens*, places the 'goose-cote,' or feather-bed, in the ranks of family heirlooms. Several persons whose yearly rental was but £5 kept 1,500 birds.³ The geese were treated with all the honour due to a profitable investment. While the breeding season lasted they were kept in the cottages, sometimes even in the sleeping-rooms. The nests were in wicker pens, arranged in tiers, one over the other. Twice a day the gooseherd or gozzard lifted the birds off their nests, attended them to water, fed them, and afterwards replaced them on their nests. These men, it is said, knew every nest, and the bird to which each belonged, a very necessary qualification for their office, as the least error in the matter would have resulted in throwing the whole community into confusion.

The geese were plucked five times a year to

increase their feathers—namely, at Lady Day, for quills and feathers; at Midsummer, Lammas, Michaelmas, and Martinmas, for feathers only. Those taken from the live birds were esteemed of better value, yielding at the rate of 3d. per head a year, whereas the yield from the feathers of a dead bird was only 6d., three giving a pound. In some places the geese were winged each quarter only, ten feathers being taken from each goose, which sold at 5s. a thousand. Plucked geese on Wildmore Fen paid in feathers 1s. a head. In 1813 goose-quills were selling at 20s. per thousand. Young records an instance of one man on the Fens whom he met in the course of his survey of the county whose stock of geese was 160. From these he reared, in good years 700, in a bad season 500, an average brood being 8. These sold at 2s., the feathers bringing 1s. 8d. The cost of keep for each bird was 2s. 6d., half of which was spent in corn, but his net profit every year amounted to £40.⁴

The trade in rabbits was no less lucrative. 'Warrens,' writes Young, 'are reckoned profitable, so that some fortunes have been made on them.' One farmer whom he met at Partney Fair killed 500 couple annually on his 1,000 acres. The warrens around Brigg exceeded, in 1810, the numbers of any locality in the kingdom, whilst the dressing of the skins afforded employment to a majority of the townspeople. The silver-grey skins, which were most in demand, fetched from 8d. to 16d. each.⁵ A variety of this rabbit, it may be noted in passing, is still occasionally to be met with on Santon and other commons. The fur was used for linings of robes, tippets, and muffs, the down in the manufacture of hats, though for the latter, it is worthy of note, the fur of the common rabbit was most esteemed. The trade was an ancient one. In Elizabethan times poor workmen, called 'tawyers,' were employed to collect rabbit-skins from the pedlars who hawked them about the country.⁶

Silk throwsting was carried on at Stamford in 1822 by Mr. Gouger, who employed between 300 and 400 hands, mostly women and children, the latter earning by winding from 1s. to 2s. per week, the women's wages averaging from 2s. 6d. to 4s. a week. The silk arrived in its raw state from Italy, Turkey, Spain, Bengal, and China, the latter being esteemed the best, whilst the Bengal silk was considered the worst. Postlethwayt affirms that the greater part came from Piedmont, the price paid being 20s. per lb.⁷ The bales weighed from 140 to 330 lb., one of 200 lb. weight could be returned from the mill to London in about three weeks.⁸ The process of 'throwing' consisted of doubling and twisting

¹ Oldfield, *Hist. of Wainfleet*, 180.

² *Ibid.*

³ At Brothertoft a man's qualification for parochial office was the number of geese he owned (*All the Year Round*). *Chronicles of English Counties*, Nov. 1883, p. 511.

⁴ Young, *Agric. Surv.* 382.

⁵ *Ibid.* 390.

⁶ Strype, ii, 274.

⁷ *Universal Dict. Trade*, ii.

⁸ Harrod, *Hist. of Stamford*, 429.

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two ends of the silk together, after which it was converted into 'tram' or 'organzine,' according to the fineness of the silk or the purpose for which it was required by the manufacturer. The machinery at Mr. Gouger's mill was worked by a steam-engine of low pressure, of about eight-horse power.¹ The local name for the factory was the 'Silk-school.'²

At Louth in 1849³ there was a carpet and blanket manufactory, employing eighty persons.⁴

Young⁵ writes of a Mr. Chaplin who established at Raithby, near Louth, a 'Big Ben' for wool-combing.

Round Normanby and Burton flax was spun and woven into linen in the same writer's time.⁶ The earnings of the women were 3*d.* a day.

The crushing of linseed was formerly carried on on a large scale at Gainsborough, notably at Borwell's Mill; 60,000 quarters (one-eighth of the whole imported into the kingdom) was yearly wrought up into cakes and oil, employing four mills and twenty presses. The cakes were used for feeding stock. Each quarter yielded 2½ cwt. of cake and 90 lb. of oil. In 1842 the cakes were selling at £11 per ton, the oil at £32 per ton, the seed being bought at 30*s.* to 33*s.* per quarter.⁷

Bishop Hall's *Satires*, printed in 1597, contain the following allusion to what must now be evidently reckoned amongst the lost industries of Lincolnshire. The writer is satirizing the niggardly clergy of the day, who, whilst regaling themselves with royal fare, insist upon the strictest economy below stairs:

What though he quaffe pure amber in his bowle
Of March brew'd wheat; yet slakes my thirsty soul
With palish oat frothing in Boston Clay.

William Billingsley, the celebrated flower-painter, was at Torksey from 1803 to 1808, but the small pottery there, in which he was associated with his son-in-law Walker, was closed in the latter year, owing to lack of funds to carry on the manufacture.⁸ Specimens

of the 'Torksey Ware' were to be found for many years after in the collections of various persons scattered up and down the country.¹⁰

Feather factories are a distinctive Lincolnshire industry at the present time. The feathers are received at the factories in enormous sacks from the farmers and poultry dealers. By means of cyclone machinery the fine feathers are separated from the coarse, the former being then purified by condensed steam in special ovens. The waste material, which is yielded in very considerable quantities, is sold to the fruit-growers as manure for their land. The workers spend about ten minutes at a time, the heat being intense, in the rooms over the ovens, emptying the feathers into the purifiers at intervals of twenty minutes.¹¹

A growing industry of the county is that of pea-picking, which gives employment to a large number of girls and women, not only in factories and workshops, chiefly situated in Boston, but also in their own homes, the peas being in this instance delivered in sacks at the cottage doors. The development of the industry is due to the growing demand for green peas for the table as sold by grocers, and owes its success in Lincolnshire to the enterprise of a firm which has taken for its model the lines upon which it is carried out in Canada. In two years it has become the foremost industry of the town, the busiest time being the winter months. The work, which attracts the rougher class of girls and women, consists in separating the good from the bad, discoloured, or shrivelled peas, all of which are field-grown, and in order to suit the buyers must be fairly uniform in size and colour. In some factories the best are packed in small boxes and packets for sale. The packers sit in rooms at long tables, separated into compartments, one picker at each. The peas are piled before her, and with both hands she rapidly sorts the heap, letting them run, when sorted, through a hole in the table into a sack beneath, each of these sacks containing 18 stone.¹²

DEEP SEA FISHERIES AND FISH DOCKS

It is at Boston, although destined to decline in later times to the second place in the great fishing industry of the county, that the history of that industry may be said to begin, as indeed befits the city of St. Botolph, 'the Saint of seafaring men.'⁹ Frequent mention is made in

the Calendars of the Patent and Close Rolls from the fourteenth century of the great fish market at Boston.

In 1555 a Scottish ship riding in the roads laden with herrings was compelled to come into the borough to sell the same;¹³ though in 1590, through want of shipping, Boston was actually

¹⁰ A relative of Billingsley's, Mrs. Wheeldon, had in her possession, amongst other deeds, one dated 25 October, 1805, in which Billingsley was described as of Torksey, 'China Manufacturer' (Haslem: *The Old Derby China Factory*, 51).

¹¹ *Factories and Workshops*, Ann. Rep. 1904, 265.

¹² *Ibid.* 234-35.

¹³ Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 306.

¹ Drakard, *Hist. of Stamford*, 422-3.

² Harrod, *op. cit.* 429.

³ Hagar, *Directory of Lincolnshire*.

⁴ Founded by Mr. Adam Eve (*Noble's Gazetteer*, 1833, p. 71).

⁵ Young, *Agric. Surv.* 407.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Hist. of Gainsborough*, 333.

⁸ W. Chaffers, *Marks on Pottery*, 931.

⁹ Stukeley, *Iter Curios.* 31.

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obliged to become the regular customer of the Scotch merchants.¹ Nor was the great field of profit which lay at the gates of the port allowed to escape the attention of yet more distant members of the fishermen's craft. Vessels from the Low Countries had long been fishing Boston Deepes when a licence was granted by Queen Elizabeth² in response to the humble suit of certain of these Netherlands strangers praying that they might be allowed to settle permanently in the port, 'where divers of them, being fishermen, have used the feate and trade of fishing of herring, cod, mackarel, and other fish, after the manner of their country.' In compliance with their petition, forty of the Dutch fishermen, with their families, were permitted to take up their residence in the town. Thus the foundation was laid of that thriving trade in the harvests of the Wash and of the North Sea which the English fishermen, with astonishing supineness, suffered to pass more and more into the shrewd keeping of their foreign brethren, a trade which a century later had grown to such proportions as to provoke not only the wrath but the amazement of Yarranton, Postlethwayt, the writer of *Britannia Languens*,³ and others.

For in 1680, we learn from the latter chronicler, the Dutch profit on the English fishery was about £5,000,000 in cod and herring, whilst their fleet numbered 8,000 ships, manned by 200,000 men.⁴ The reputation of the Boston herring was especially great, a hundred dollars being considered a small price for a barrel of these fish, cured after the Dutch fashion, the secret of which was so long kept from their English neighbours and rivals. This secret was at length given to the world by some patient observer:

After they have hauled in their nets, which they drag in the sterns of their vessels backwards and forwards in traversing the coast, they throw them upon the ship's deck, which is cleared of everything for that purpose: for they never carry any boats or yawls along with them, as they would be an incumbrance to them in dressing the herrings; they carry many hands on board, even to the number of thirty

¹ Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 306.

² Charter Book of the Corporation.

'For the encouragement of the fishing trade, the great nurse for mariners,' Elizabeth ordered the stricter observance of fast-days—not, as the State Papers quaintly record, 'on the ground of conscience, but on the authority of the Prince, for the good of the country,' 'the times needing a supply of mariners, many fishing ports and ships being now decayed, as are the sundry trades connected with the fishing' (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1595–7, p. 540).

³ John Smith, *England's Improvement Reviv'd*, Book 6, pp. 268–9.

⁴ 'To carry on this great trade,' says a writer of the time, 'they have 700 Strande-Boates, 400 Euars, and 400 Sullits, Drivers, and Tod-Boates.'

or forty in each vessel, whom they separate into sundry divisions, and each division has a peculiar task; one part opens and guts the herrings, another cures and salts them by lining or rubbing their insides with salt (which is all done upon the deck), the next packs them, and, between each row or division, they sprinkle handfuls of salt; then the coopers put the finishing hand to all, by heading the casks, and stowing them in the hold; thus they go on, while barrels and salt last, and, when that is exhausted, then they retire; but the jagers, or storeships, commonly provide them with everything necessary, so that they seldom or never depart the coast before they are brimful; and really (to give them their due) they are the best fishermen in the world; for they are not only ingenious in every article of their tackling or materials, but also diligent, industrious, and endure the great fatigues to admiration.⁵

As to the salt used in their curing, Yarranton says 'they make salt upon salt, with Portugal salt and sea-water mixt together; and by this means they have this commodity cheap, which is used so considerably in the fishery.'⁶

Retracing our steps, however, to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the port of Boston was then well maintaining its ancient fishing reputation. Offerings of the spoil of Boston Deepes were at this date frequently sent to notable personages. Thus, in 1613, we learn from the Corporation Records, oysters and fish were sent to 'my Lord of Rutland.' In 1615 the earl of Exeter was presented with a keg of sturgeon and other fish. Sturgeon again figured in a similar gift to the earl of Lindsey in 1622, to Sir Henry Vane in 1652, and once more to the earl of Lindsey in 1664; showing that the town had evidently at this time somewhat rallied from the profound and pathetic despair which in 1607 had driven them to plead that their city might be placed upon the list of 'decayed towns.'⁷

The story of the Dutch invasion in the sixteenth century was repeated in the early part of the nineteenth, though the intruders came in this instance from nearer home. In 1813 the Boston fishermen were petitioning that the Deepes might be forbidden to those of Lynn, Cromer, and Sheringham during the herring season. But the Corporation replied that they had no power to do so, nor to interfere at all in the matter.⁸

It is, however, to the Boston Deep Sea Fishing and Ice Company Limited, that the port owes much of its new era of twentieth-

⁵ Postlethwayt, *Universal Dict. Trade*, i.

⁶ Yarranton, pt. ii, 134. The trade had not been wholly neglected amongst Englishmen, for a licence was granted to one John Smith for eight years to make and provide white salt in three ports, of which Boston was one (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1599–1601, p. 310).

⁷ Corporation Records.

⁸ Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 306.

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century prosperity. Formed in 1885, the year of the completion of the dock, by several local gentlemen, orders were, on the subscription of more than half the capital, placed with Messrs. Earles of Hull for eight steam trawlers. At the same time a number of fishing smacks were purchased, and early in 1886, the fishmarket being then opened, the company entered upon its career. It was not for a few years that success attended the venture in any decided sense, but the tide once turned, the good fortune of the company has continued unbroken. The eight steamers have grown into a noble fleet of thirty-five, varying in length from 90 ft. to 125 ft., whose fishing operations extend from as far north as Iceland to as far south as the Bay of Biscay and the Portuguese coast. Owing to the success of the parent company, others followed quickly in its wake, but all these have been gradually acquired by or amalgamated with the one now existing. The ever-growing scope of the business has necessitated the erection of a variety of workshops, including those devoted to engineering, boiler-making, tin and copper smiths, mast and block and twine spinning—the establishment of these enabling the company to take in hand all repairs connected with their boats. In addition to these, there are to be found upon the dock-quays under the company's jurisdiction an ice factory and a store for the reception of imports from Norway. The company are further lessees of the slipway built by the dock authorities in 1899 at a cost of £7,000, which, in addition to trawlers, is capable of receiving vessels up to 200 ft. in length and 1,000 tons dead weight. The value of the fish landed here amounts to about £100,000 yearly, being distributed throughout the kingdom by the wholesale merchants, to whom it is sold immediately on its arrival. The coal consumed by the company amounts to upwards of 50,000 tons per annum, the whole of which is conveyed from the colliery in wagons belonging to them.

From the point of view of employment alone, such an undertaking cannot but prove of considerable profit to the community in whose midst it is being carried on. The number of hands actually employed by the company is upwards of 500, the weekly amount paid in wages being about £800 or £900.

In 1901 the directors, in common with trawler-owners elsewhere along the east coast, awoke to the necessity of obtaining a class of seamen whose early training should fit them for the conditions which have replaced the trawling of the past. The apprenticeship system was therefore adopted, and a home was established for the accommodation of the boys when on shore. The lads, of whom there are now more than thirty on articles, are bound for four years, which is the shortest term on the coast, and during their apprenticeship every boy is allowed

a reasonable amount of spending money. His chief remuneration is the 'stocker,' but when he attains to the place of deck hand, as some of the apprentices do very early, he is permitted to share in the perquisites of the crew. These are placed for him in the Seamen's Savings Bank, and at the close of his apprenticeship represent a very useful sum.¹

The story of the Grimsby fisheries is the history of the port, and that, in turn, is the story of a struggle, sternly and strenuously maintained for centuries, against the silent and insidious inroads of an enemy that threatened, with every fresh advantage, to make a final end of Grimsby's present proud position as the premier fishing-port of the kingdom. The fortune of the fight was full of fluctuations. Now, victory was on the side of the sea; now, on that of the town—in either event, the battle was worth waging, for the prize was the seemingly unfailing harvest of the North Sea.

As early as the reign of Edward III the accumulation of mud and silt at the mouth of the harbour was doing much damage to the trade. The diverting of the River Freshney did somewhat to repair this damage; but in the reign of Charles I the smallest fishing-boats could scarcely approach the town. Local apathy seems to have abandoned hope for many years, though there were spasmodic efforts to cope with the mischief; but it was not until 1801 that the so-called Old Dock was constructed by the Haven Company at a cost of £60,000. In its construction, 135 acres were reclaimed from the sea. The Old Dock speedily passed from the hands of its earliest owners into those of the directors of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway. By this company, the New Docks, twenty-five acres in extent, were added to the Old, with a lock capable of admitting the largest vessels of war. The first pile of the coffer dam of the New Dock was driven in 1846, and on 18 April, 1849, the foundation stone was laid by the Prince Consort. The New, re-named the Royal Dock, was completed in March, 1852, and the formal opening took place on 27 May of the same year. The accommodation which was soon found to be increasingly necessary involved a further outlay on the part of the company in 1872, when, on a large area of land acquired in the West Marsh, the construction was begun of the New Alexandra and Union Docks, together with the deepening and widening of the Old Dock. These docks were opened on 22 July, 1879, by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Additional accommodation was brought into use in 1888 and 1899. In the former year a new coal drop was erected, by means of which

¹ *Fish Trades Gaz.* 22 June, 1901.

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coal can be shipped at the rate of 350 tons per hour at a single spout. At a later date a hydraulic coal hoist was erected, and sidings provided on the west side of the Royal Dock to increase the coal-shipping facilities of the port. Two coal hoists were constructed with hydraulic appliances in No. 2 Fish Dock, to enable coal to be loaded direct into steam fishing vessels or lighters. In March, 1893, a new transit shed 900 ft. by 178 ft., covering an area of 160,200 square feet, was brought into use on the west side of the Royal Dock. In August, 1900, the Fish Dock No. 2, which had taken three years to construct, was completed. This brings the water area of No. 2 Dock up to 16 acres, and the total area of the fish docks to 29 acres. On the south side of the No. 2 Fish Dock is the floating or pontoon dry dock ordered by the directors for the fishing trade. It was opened for use on 1 October, 1900, and is of great value to the trade.¹

On the quays and in the sheds there are forty-two fixed and portable hydraulic cranes, having a lifting capacity varying from 10 cwt. to 70 tons; and also nine hand cranes, for the rapid loading and discharge of goods and produce. The tank for working the machinery by which these operations are carried on is contained in a tower 28 ft. square at the base, 300 ft. high to the top of the lantern, and is capable of holding 26,500 gallons of water. The total weight of the machinery and water is 60,000 tons. The tower can be ascended by means of a hydraulic lift.

At the moment of writing Parliament has given powers for the building of yet another deep dock, which cannot fail to be of immense commercial value to Grimsby. Immingham Marshes, the site selected for this fresh undertaking, bear the hallmark of the approval of two eminent engineering authorities, Mr. Liddell and Sir John Wolfe Barry, both of whom declared that there was no other place on the Humber with its advantages. For the dock purposes 616 acres have been acquired, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles of new line will be constructed to connect the dock with the Great Central Station at Ulceby. The dock will have a depth of $35\frac{1}{2}$ feet below high-water ordinary spring tides. The entrance lock is to measure 850 ft. by 90 ft., with a depth of water on the sill of $47\frac{1}{2}$ ft. at high water, while the channel outside it will be flanked on either side by jetties extending outwards to low water. The dock itself, together with the greater part of

the entrance lock, lies within the line of the Humber bank. The fact of there being no expensive reclamation works to be undertaken, and of the deep-water channel lying so close to the shore, renders the site an ideal one for a deep-water lock.

In its construction 3,500,000 cubic yards of material will have to be excavated, and about 1,250,000 cubic yards of mud and stone lifted by dredgers. The contractors' estimate is for 350,000 cubic yards of concrete, 500,000 cubic yards of timber, 35,000 cubic yards of brickwork, 80,000 cubic feet of granite, and 2,000 tons of steel work for girders, before the completion of the work.²

Not the least of the problems with which the masters of the fishing industry find themselves confronted is that of the transit and distribution of the fish itself, which may be yearly estimated at 800,000 tons (£5,000,000). It is a problem with which over 500 merchants are concerned, and it has been satisfactorily solved for them by the Great Central Railway, whose sole property are the market and fish wharves, over a mile in length, at which their business is transacted. Prior to the year 1854 little or no fish was sent away from Grimsby; the following table shows the growth of the traffic since that date:—

Year	Tons
1854. . . .	453
1860. . . .	4,537
1865. . . .	13,468
1870. . . .	26,324
1875. . . .	36,794
1880. . . .	46,931
1885. . . .	70,658
1890. . . .	71,382
1895. . . .	92,462
1900. . . .	133,791
1901 ³	128,445
1902. . . .	165,510
1903. . . .	162,026
1904. . . .	164,461
1905. . . .	153,653

It is to figures that the historian of the Grimsby docks and fishery must return, over and over again, if any faithful impression is to be conveyed of the stupendous and ever-increasing growth of the fishing industry. The port is one of the five on the east coast which in 1904 contributed 1,214 (or 94 per cent.) to the total of 1,288 first-class steamers of 45 keel and upwards engaged in fishing on that coast. In 1905 the

¹ The appended figures show the area of the docks constructed to be 103 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres:—Royal Dock, 25 acres; No. 1 Graving Dock, 400 ft. long; No. 2 Graving Dock, 400 ft. long; No. 3 Graving Dock, 450 ft. long; Union Dock, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres; Alexandra Dock, 48 acres; No. 1 Fish Dock, 13 acres; No. 2 Fish Dock, 16 acres; Pontoon Dry Dock for fishing craft, 116 ft. 8 in. long.

² *Daily Telegraph*, 13 July, 1906.

³ The decrease in 1901 was due to the fishermen's strike, to which Mr. F. G. Aflalo devotes several pages of the sixth chapter of his important work on *The Sea-fishing Industry of England and Wales*. Four hundred vessels were laid up during this strike, and much fish was conveyed to London on board the 'Cleethorpers.'

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fishing vessels registered at Grimsby were as follows :—

	No. of Vessels	Tonnage	Average No. of Crew per Vessel	Total No. of Hands
Steam Line Vessels	41	3,466	13	533
Sailing Line Vessels	11	668	9	99
Steam Trawlers .	448	27,553	9	4,032
Sailing Trawlers .	27	1,054	5	135
Total . . .	527	32,741	—	4,799

Forty-two thousand and ten men and boys (not including coopers, packers, curers, and net-makers) are returned as plying their trade here ; more than half of them come from six ports, of which five are on the east coast. Grimsby records a total of 4,823 resident in the port, 3,967 being engaged in trawling (except for shrimps), and 856 in other modes of fishing. In the 'floating' fish returns for England and Wales, herrings predominate, the total in 1904 being 3,199,303 cwt. Grimsby's contribution being 391,819 cwt.¹

At special seasons, during holy week for instance, it is not unusual for as many as 200 to 300 fish-wagons to be dispatched, carrying 700 to 800 tons. The traffic in small parcels of fish has attained, especially in recent years, to remarkable proportions, thousands of these being now sent away daily.

Prior to the supersession of sail by steam, the fishing-grounds of Iceland and the Faroe Islands² had been regularly visited by the Grimsby fishermen. It was in 1891 that the first steam-trawler fished the familiar ground of Ingol's Hoof, making, it is recorded, a good catch of plaice and haddock. In 1892 the number had risen to fourteen ; by 1899 there were fifty-five steam-liners, and from sixty to seventy trawlers at work, each vessel making from twenty to thirty voyages in a year, the take being from twenty to a hundred tons per voyage. In the years 1900 to 1902 three Grimsby fleets made 206 voyages, their average catch being six tons of fish per voyage—a fifth of the whole. Boston, which has the distinction of being the only other English port engaged in the Iceland fishery, records, from 1897 to 1903, thirteen to fourteen tons per voyage.

During 1904 English fishing vessels from

¹ The above figures are from the Annual Report of proceedings under the Fisheries Act, 1904 ; and also have been supplied by the courtesy of Captain Barwick, port-master at Grimsby Docks.

² Dr. Ch. Parkins, in a letter to Lord Burghley, states that, 'at the writer's going into Denmark, he was told that there was an agreement allowing Englishmen to fish in Iceland under certain conditions.' *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1591-4, p. 247.

Grimsby fished not only the Bay of Biscay and off the coast of Portugal, but proceeded to extend their operations still further afield. Trawling, especially for soles, was successfully carried on off the coast of Morocco.³ One Grimsby vessel, in the early autumn of 1904, landed at Lisbon 18 tons of fish, on which duty was paid at the rate of 10 reis per kilo. (say $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per $2\frac{1}{4}$ lb.)

The future of ice as an indispensable factor in the successful transport of fish by rail is said to have first occurred to Mr. Samuel Hewett of Grimsby, who, beginning life as a boy on a trawler, lived to see fifty or sixty vessels owned by him on the seas. No less than 25,000 tons were being imported from Norway every year when, in 1898, a factory for the manufacture of artificial ice was projected, being the joint undertaking of the Grimsby Ice Company and the Grimsby Co-operative Ice Company.⁴ This factory has been working since 9 October, 1901, and is capable of producing 300 tons of block ice per day. Built upon land alongside the fish dock, the factory can supply the fishing fleet direct by overhead appliances, the ice, after having been crushed, being conveyed down a sloping shaft to the waiting ships.

In addition to the manufacture of ice, several smoke-houses have been established for the curing of herrings and haddocks. The Grimsby curers have long since wrested the palm from their Dutch competitors of the seventeenth century. The salting and drying of cod is now by no means an unimportant feature of the trade in fish. The 'Grimsby cod-chests,' of which as many as 400 were formerly to be seen in use at the docks, have gone out of fashion with much that was once in vogue in the direction of the fisheries, though it is still possible to count 80 to 100 floating in their old quarters any time between October and January. These chests are 7 ft. long and 2 ft. deep ; the bottom is made of stout battens, placed a short distance apart, so that the water penetrates freely to the interior, as it does also between the planks of which the sides and ends are built up. The top is wholly planked over, except in the centre, where there is an oblong opening, for putting in and taking out the fish. This opening is closed by a cover when the chest is in the water. Two ropes or chains are fixed in the ends of each chest for convenience in moving it about or hoisting it out of the water. About forty good-sized cod, or nearly 100 smaller ones, may be put into one of these chests, and will live there without much deterioration for over a fortnight.⁵

³ *Annual Report on the Sea Fisheries of England and Wales*, 1904, 21.

⁴ In 1890 the amount of ice imported at Grimsby was 62,279 tons.

⁵ E. H. W. Holdsworth, *Sea Fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland*, 83. The idea of the cod-chests seems to have been a Lincolnshire tradition.

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'Here,' says Defoe,¹ 'is a particular trade carried on with London, which is nowhere else practised in the whole kingdom, that I have met with or heard of, viz.: For carrying fish alive by land-carriage in great butts of water. The butts have a little square flap, instead of a bung, about 10 in., 12 in., or 14 in. square, which, being opened, gives air to the fish; and every night, when they come to the inn, they draw off the water, and let more fresh and sweet water run into them again. In these carriages they chiefly carry tench and pike, perch and eels, but especially the two former, of which here are some of the largest in England.'

SHELL FISH

The mussel 'scalps' of the Wash have long been famous for the excellent quality of the takings. In 1777 the marshal of the Admiralty received between £3 and £4 a year for collecting the duties due to the corporation for mussel vessels coming into the port. And in 1780 'mussel money' was ordered to be collected.² A record year was evidently 1810, when fifty vessels were annual visitors to the Wash, when they carried away in that one season 1,200 tons, which furnished bait for the cod-fishing on the Dogger and Well Banks; £50 was paid by one fisherman alone for the carriage of mussels from Boston in 1850, whilst three years later 100 tons taken by 50 sail of from 4 to 14 tons burthen were being exported every week. If sold in Boston the cargo fetched 1s. a bushel, if the sale was delayed until they reached their destination (Leeds, Manchester, or Birmingham) the price was raised to 2s. 6d. During nine months of the year it is calculated by Wheeler in

his *History of the Fens* that 80 to 140 tons were taken from the 'scalps' for food, 80 to 120 tons for bait—in busy seasons representing a profit of £700 to £800 a week. These riches were recklessly dealt with, for in 1863 it was brought to the notice of a Royal Commission sitting at Boston that, owing to the want of proper supervision and the wholesale carrying away of the mussels, chiefly for manuring purposes, the beds were becoming rapidly exhausted. It was not, however, until 1870 that the corporation obtained an order, under the Sea Fisheries Act, giving them full jurisdiction over the raided beds and empowering them to appoint a bailiff.⁴

The beds were promptly temporarily closed, with the result that, on their reopening in 1871, 4,500 tons were taken from the Old South Middle Bed, representing 18½ tons to an acre. A year later the yield from the Gat Sand Bed was 2,139 tons to its 158 acres; 13½ tons, that is to say, to an acre. In 1876 4,000 tons were taken from the Tofts, 6 tons to an acre. Coming down to the later times, according to the most recent report of the Sea Fisheries, under the Boston Order of 1897, 85 boats were licensed, producing in tolls and fees £40 5s.; 115 new layings were staked off between the Witham and Welland, and 40 of these were leased at 5s. per annum. Under the Boston Order of 1902, 44 layings, leased at the same rental, returned 35 tons (£100).⁵

The fishing for shrimps, which still maintain their reputation for quality, is carried on at Boston for nine months in the year by smacks, and also by men driving in a cart with one horse, of which there are twenty-eight along the coast.

MINES AND QUARRIES

Geologically speaking, Lincolnshire has been declared 'the most neglected of counties.' From its Lower Oolite formation, nevertheless, comes the Ancaster stone, extensively quarried by Messrs. Lindley & Son, to which the commissioners appointed in 1839 to report on building stones for the Houses of Parliament thus refer:

Many buildings constructed of a material similar to the Oolite of Ancaster, such as Newark and Grantham churches and other edifices in various parts of Lincolnshire, have scarcely yielded to the effects of atmospheric influences.³

¹ Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain*, iii, 22.

² Marrat, *Hist. of Boston*, 66.

³ Buildings of this stone are Harlaxton Hall, Stourton Hall, the mansion of Westholme, the ancient church of St. Martin at Ancaster, the reredos of the church of St. Denys at Sleaford, the Savings Bank at Grantham, several buildings at Hull, also St. Pancras terminus and hotel.

At Little Bytham there are works for the manufacture of the Adamantine Clinker, a brick made of a siliceous clay, which is remarkable for its strength, hardness, and imperviousness to water.

The chalk of the Humber cliffs maintains its reputation for the manufacture of whiting, but the gypsum formerly brought from the Isle of Axholme has ceased to be quarried.

Ironstone, once extensively worked in the south of the county, is now transferred, as far as

⁴ The office, and its necessity, was of ancient standing. In March, 1595, one Christopher Wilson, 'now aged and in extreme poverty,' begged the office of 'water bailiff of the Ouse, from Lynn to Boston, for 21 years, on rent of 40s., such an officer being necessary to preserve the spawn and brood of fish and prevent its inordinate taking by the common fishers.' *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1595-7, p. 24.

⁵ *Rep. of Sea Fisheries*, 1904, p. 83.

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the point of operation is concerned, to the north-west area, such area having for its boundaries the three rivers, Humber, Trent, and Ancholme. Frodingham and Appleby, Kirton-Lindsey, Caythorpe, Claxby, and Scunthorpe, are the chief centres at which the Lincolnshire iron deposits, known as 'hydrated oxide,' betray their presence. The workings are mainly open, and the percentage of iron is about thirty-three.¹

Frodingham is the most important of the iron fields, the development of which has transformed a mere hamlet into a thriving town of 5,000 inhabitants. Mr. George Dove, jun., in a paper on 'The Frodingham Iron Fields,' read by him before the Iron and Steel Institute,² states that :

The bed is almost entirely free from faults, inclines gently to the east, but where it is now being worked, at and within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the outcrop, the amount of 'bareing' required is very small, in no place exceeding 3 ft.

As to labour, that of 'the most unskilful kind' is alone necessary, 'blasting only being required in getting the stronger portions of the bed, the whole operation being simply quarrying.'³ The demand for Frodingham iron for forge purposes is good, chiefly for the manufacture of bars, sheets, tin-plates, and wires. For the latter it is especially valuable, owing to the qualities imparted by the presence of manganese. In every instance, however, the preponderance of lime in the ore necessitates the admixture with other ore of a siliceous character, notably such as is raised near Lincoln, at Monk's Abbey and Greetwell. In 1898, 7,848,404 tons of ore were raised at Frodingham, and there were twenty blast furnaces at work, producing about 300,000 tons of iron.⁴ To the total output of iron ore for the whole kingdom (13,774,282 tons) Lincolnshire (with Leicestershire) contributes a third.⁵

With the laying down and erection in 1861 by Messrs. W. H. and G. Dawes, of the Milton

Elsecar Works, the Trent ironworks may be said to have begun. This firm had been previously engaged in developing ironstone deposits elsewhere in the county. At the Trent Works the first ton of pig iron was cast in 1864. In 1866 the Frodingham Iron Company was started by Messrs. Cliff & Hurst, and by 1867 this company had two furnaces in blast; 1867 also saw the inauguration of the North Lincolnshire Iron Company, which had two furnaces at work in 1871. In 1872 the Lincolnshire Iron Smelting Company began operations, followed in 1874 by the Redbourn Hill Iron and Coal Company, and in 1877 by the Appleby Iron Company.

The total output from mines and quarries in Lincolnshire in 1904 is as follows :

	Tons
Chalk	60,133
Clay	134,098
Gravel and Sand	12,791
Limestone	104,476
Sandstone	150
Ironstone	1,406,951
Total	<u>1,718,599</u>

The blast furnaces at present at work in the county are as follows :

Appleby Iron Co.	4
Frodingham Iron and Steel Co.	4
North Lincs. Iron Co. Ltd.	3
Redbourn Hill Iron and Coal Co.	4
Trent Works, Scunthorpe	6
Total	<u>21</u>

The total make of pig iron in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire is 376,674 tons; the iron ore used, 1,261,937 tons; total of coal used, 972,597 tons. The number of persons employed in and about and dealing in the products of mines and quarries, according to the census of 1901, is 1,951.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT MANUFACTURERS

Arthur Young, making his agricultural survey of Lincolnshire in 1799, was struck by the number of fen farmers who were also inventors. Such for instance were Mr. Cartwright of Brothertoft, whose plough with bean-drill attached, twitch-drag, and sward-dresser, were supplemented by a cartoon, or water-cart, of his own designing; Mr. William Naylor of Langworth near Sudbrook, who had invented and patented a chaff-cutter; Mr. Michael Pilley,

who had also invented a water-cart; and Mr. Amos Brothertoft, the inventor of an expanding horse-hoe. On the east fen Young further noted an ingenious local ice-sledge, which consisted of a small frame sliding on four horse-bones, the driver pushing himself forward by the aid of a pitchfork.⁶ A man called Clegg of Haxey invented a machine for crushing and dressing hemp; whilst it is worthy of note in passing that the first movable combined thrashing and dressing machine by steam-power was made at the Boston and Skirbeck Ironworks, and the first portable engine at Howden's Foundry at Boston.

¹ Meade, *Iron and Coal Industries of the United Kingdom*.

² *Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute*, 1876.

³ *Ibid.* p. 319.

⁴ Murray, *Handbook*, p. 3.

⁵ *Report on Mines and Quarries*, 1904, p. 225.

⁶ Young, *Agric. Surv.* v, 70-6.

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Since, therefore, to quote from Young, 'the farmers of this county were alive to improvements and ready to adopt any new instruments which promised utility,'¹ in no other market in the world, at the dawn of the new era of steam, was the manufacturing engineer more absolutely assured of a future. Events have fully justified that confidence. The great firms of Messrs. Richard Hornsby & Sons Limited, of Grantham, Messrs. Marshall, Sons & Co. Limited, of Gainsborough, Messrs. Clayton & Shuttleworth Limited, and Messrs. Robey & Co. Limited, of Lincoln, have long passed from the limits of a purely local to that of a world-wide reputation. It is by the courtesy of the above-mentioned firms in every instance that the information relating to their history has been gathered.

The business of the firm of Messrs. Richard Hornsby & Sons Limited² was established in 1815 by Mr. Richard Hornsby, the father of two of the present directors, Mr. James and Mr. William Hornsby, his workshop occupying a site close to that of the present smithy. From the small beginning of nearly a century ago, the expansion of the works has been on such a rapidly progressive scale that the area covered is now no less than fifty acres (at Grantham and Stockport), besides trial farm land of 150 acres outside Grantham. Employment is given to over 2,000 men. The gradual increase of the firm's output has resulted in the multiplication of foundries and painting and packing shops, now embracing a total area of over 100,000 square feet. From this area have emanated such well-known products as the 'Hornsby Oil Engine,' the 'Hornsby-Stockport Gas Engine and Suction Gas Plants,' the 'Hornsby Water-tube Boiler,' and the 'Hornsby Binder.' Of the latter indispensable adjunct of the harvest field, it need only be said in passing that it still maintains the excellent reputation claimed for it by Stephens³ as being 'exceedingly simple, perfectly automatic in action, and perfectly reliable in operation.' The various departments of the huge industry comprise bolt-making, the production of agricultural requisites (chiefly mowers and binder parts and frames), of string-boxes (for binders and oil cans); whilst in the binder canvas shop employment is found for numbers of boys whose work consists in the riveting of the wooden slats to the canvas.

In 1848 Mr. William Marshall, the founder of that which was afterwards to grow into the Britannia Ironworks at Gainsborough, bought a small engineering and millwrights' business in the town, used until then as oil and flour mills. Only in 1885 a writer in *Engineering* alludes to the 1,800 to 1,900 mechanics then employed by the firm. Now the number is 3,600, and the area on which they work is over twenty-eight

acres of ground. The products of the workshops of this firm comprise horizontal, vertical, and undertype engines, thrashing, grinding, and sawing machinery, tea-preparing machinery, gold-dredging plants, of which over 95,000 have been made and supplied to the most distant parts of the world. The new boiler-house at the works is 400 ft. long by 180 wide, and may take rank as one of the largest extant.

The foundation of the firm of Messrs. Clayton & Shuttleworth was owing in 1849 to Nathaniel Clayton and Joseph Shuttleworth, who were engaged in the early days of their career as smiths in a workshop which occupied a portion of the site upon which the Stamp End manufactory at Lincoln now stands. Their first engineering enterprises included bridge-building and pipe-founding, the manufacture of fire-grates, and other work of an elementary character. Examples of their early efforts are to be found on the Great Northern Railway at Saxilby, where an iron bridge, the work of the two partners, still exists, and a portion of the underground pipe work of the town of Boston. Clayton & Shuttleworth were quick to perceive the great future which lay before the producer of portable engines and steam-power thrashing machines, and over sixty years ago the firm commenced the manufacture of these and other agricultural appliances. The manufacture of traction engines followed, and then began the trials instituted by the Royal Agricultural Society, at which the firm carried all before them until 1872, when the last of these competitions was held. Since the formation of the firm into a limited liability company the operations of its workshops have been greatly extended. The number of men employed is 2,500, not including the workmen engaged at the Vienna establishment, and at other branches on the Continent. In these works, since their beginnings in 1849, something like 98,000 thrashing machines and portable engines have been produced, besides chaff-cutters, maize-shellors, elevators, stackers, corn-mills, and all the vast equipment of agricultural appliances whose demand is proportionate to the expansion of agricultural operations in an extended area.

The firm of Messrs. Robey & Co. Limited started work at Lincoln in 1852. The area covered by the workshops is over ten acres, and the men employed number over 1,600. Originally designed for the production of steam engines and thrashing machines for agricultural purposes, this branch of production, whilst still maintaining its high level of excellence, and also having been largely developed, has been supplemented by the manufacture of high-class engines for various mining and industrial purposes. The main feature of this department is the production of engines with drop valves, of which many thousands are in use in all parts of the world. In addition to these the firm makes a speciality of high-speed engines for electric purposes, portable

¹ Young, *Agric. Surv.* 76.

² *Implement and Machinery Review*, 2 May, 1906.

³ *Book of the Farm*, iii, 79, 80.

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engines, traction engines and road locomotives, steam tractors and steam wagons, besides a vast amount of machinery for the equipment of mines. Over 25,000 engines have been manufactured by this company, and are at work in all parts of the world.

Coincident with the progress of Grimsby as a fishing centre, there have grown up in the town various complementary industries. Such, for instance, has been the establishment of the firm of marine engineers and ship repairers, trading under the style of the Grimsby Engineering Company Limited. Founded at the outset to meet the demands of the fishing trade, the works in the Fish Dock Road have kept pace with the extension of those demands. In the reclassification of steam trawlers the firm has met with exceptional success, and on several occasions they

have reconstructed ships' engines and boilers; in 1903 their work along these lines included such reconstruction of three trawlers for one firm alone. These vessels, twelve years old, were so completely modernized in their passage through the company's workshops that they may be said to have been transformed into new boats. During the winter months, when outside work becomes more or less slack, the firm is engaged in the manufacture of auxiliary machinery for steam trawlers, such as powerful double-barrelled steam winches, steering gears, donkey engines and pumps, line haulers and windlasses. In the four different departments into which the works are divided constant employment is found for about 100 hands.¹

¹ *The Great North Magazine*, 1 December, 1904, p. 1389.

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LINCOLNSHIRE, with an area of 1,696,832 acres, is the next county in size to Yorkshire, and perhaps the most important and richest agricultural county in England. Bounded on the north by the Humber, which divides it from the county of broad acres; on the west partly by the Trent (a small portion, the Isle of Axholme, lies on the west of the river), beyond which are the counties of Nottingham and Leicester; the southern boundaries are formed by the counties of Rutland, Northampton, Cambridge, and Norfolk, while the North Sea beats upon its eastern shores. The population, except for a slight mixture of Danish blood, is purely English, and the occupation almost wholly agriculture and the manufacture of agricultural machinery with a world-wide reputation. Lincolnshire was first colonized by the Iberians, and afterwards by the Welsh, who were eventually driven out by a Belgian tribe. When the Romans landed the chief tribe was that of the Coritani, a branch of the Iceni, and these were put down by the Romans in the year 70. The good work the Romans did lives after them, for they raised banks to keep out the incursions of the sea, and cut dykes (such as Fosdyke, Carrdyke, &c.), and made roads of which the Ermine Street, Fosse Way, and Salt Way are such lasting examples. They also built many towns. The county is watered by the Witham, the Ancholme, the Trent, the Welland, and other feeders, and half of it is wolds and uplands, the other half being plain, almost level with spring-tide height. In the west are some hills lying along the side of the Trent, but generally the land is low. The shores also are low and sandy, and there is not a great deal of shipping and trading, as might be expected. But instead of this the county is noted for its grazing and rich pasture lands, and for the high state of cultivation of the arable land.

Much of the land has been extensively drained, and some parts of it laid under warp, both with the best possible results. There were at one time vast tracts of moorland and rabbit warren, but these have all been broken up, the Wolds brought under tillage, and the country devoted to the growing of corn and turnips. Much of the soil is diluvial and alluvial.

There are numerous fairs in all parts of the county, the principal being Lincoln Fair for horses, cattle, and sheep, the last whole week in April; Horncastle, for horses, beginning on the second Monday in August and lasting a week; Partney on 1 and 25 August; and Caistor on the Friday and Saturday before Palm Sunday, and the first Friday and Saturday after 11 October.

The soil varies considerably in different parts of the county, and with it the crops, though generally speaking Lincolnshire was largely a corn and turnip growing county. Now there are enormous quantities of potatoes grown on the Trent side and in South Lincolnshire, supplying the bulk of the English-grown potatoes for the London market. In the Isle of Axholme the

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land is mostly warp, silt, and clay, the sub-soil being sand, peat, and clay, and the principal crops are potatoes, wheat, oats, beans, barley, celery, and roots, but chiefly potatoes. In the Grimsby district below the Wolds and along the Humber side, the land is nearly all clay, the sub-soil being clay, while there is good loam on the Wolds with a sub-soil of chalk. Wheat (little more than is required for straw), barley, oats, small seeds, and turnips are cultivated on the Wolds, and beans on the strong land. There is a considerable stretch of rich pasture along the Humber and the North Sea. Round Brigg there is every variety of soil—carr, clay, sand, and warp, but chiefly light loam, the sub-soil generally being clay, though there is a lot of ironstone round Frodingham, and gravel, limestone, and chalk in other places. Here, again, there is pasture near the Humber; the usual four-course system of wheat or oats, turnips and barley, to be followed by a crop of small ‘seeds,’ is adopted on Wold-land; and beans, peas, and potatoes are grown on suitable soil. In the Caistor district the soil is mostly good loam on the Wolds, but there is a sandy stretch from Barnetby to Market Rasen, peat occurs along the course of the Ancholme, and clay in other places. The sub-soil is mostly chalk, with limestone and sandstone in places on the hills, clay and sand being the sub-soil in the low country. The usual crops are grown on the Wolds, and beans below; there is some pasture round Market Rasen. Round Louth there is clay towards the North Sea, and a rich loamy soil on the Wolds; there is sand in places, and some very light sand at North Somercotes, where are 140 acres of rabbit warren. The soil is chalk on the hills, and clay elsewhere. Wheat, oats, turnips, barley, and ‘seeds’ are cultivated in the usual course on the Wolds, and beans on the strong land. There is pasture on the border of the North Sea. There is both clay and warp on the Trent side near Gainsborough, the sub-soil being clay, while away from the river the character of the soil is very mixed. The usual four-course system is adopted, and both potatoes and celery are grown near the river. On the north of Lincoln, there is some stiff clay, but the soil in that district is generally loamy, with sand and gravel in places, and some limestone at Coleby; the sub-soil, however, is generally clay. The usual Wold crops are grown chiefly, but potatoes and carrots are cultivated on the western borders of the county. The Horncastle district is very similar to that round Louth, loamy with a chalk sub-soil on the Wolds, while there is sand with a sub-soil of white clay, sand, and gravel in places. The usual four-course system is the one chiefly adopted, but potatoes are grown in places. Spilsby has around it land varying from sand to rich loam, the sub-soil being clay, limestone, and gravel, while the chief crops consist of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, beans, and mustard. Round Boston the land is chiefly rich loam, and the sub-soil is mostly clay. The country is very flat, and there are few trees and hedges. Potatoes and wheat are the chief crops, but beans, peas, barley, turnips, and oats are also grown. The land varies considerably in the neighbourhood of Sleaford, including light loam, clay fen, and black moorland, but the sub-soil is chiefly stone and clay. The usual four-course crops and roots are grown. There is also a great variety of soil round Grantham, but the land is mostly strong loam and clay, the sub-soil being limestone and clay. Cereals, potatoes, and beans are grown in the district, and there is some pasture. Rich loam with a clay sub-soil predominates in the country around Spalding, but there is also

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some rich loam with a gravel and clay sub-soil, and a rich light loam with a silt sub-soil in the marsh. The chief crops are potatoes and wheat, but other cereals, roots, and mustard are grown in places, and there are excellent pastures in the marsh. In the Bourn district the soil is fen and loam, with a gravel sub-soil, but there is some clay, the sub-soil also being clay, and the chief crops are potatoes, wheat, and peas. There is also some pasture land. Rich, strong land, varying in width, extends from Barton along the banks of the Humber and the North Sea till the coast of Norfolk is reached. The Barton Street may be said to be the western boundary, and running by way of Brocklesby and Laceby at the foot of the Wolds, and including Louth and Alford, the boundary line then turns inland to the north of Wainfleet, touching Spilsby and Bolingbroke, and going as far as Wragby, it then comes eastward again for a short distance before running due south to Market Deeping. The Isle of Axholme has also some of the best land in the county.

The Wolds extend from Barton to Spilsby, a line drawn by way of Caistor, Market Rasen, and Horncastle representing the inland boundary. Lincoln Heath, that fine barley-growing district, consists of a strip, some four or five miles wide, extending from Lincoln to some distance below Grantham, and a very similar strip of land extends northwards from Lincoln to beyond Kirton. The rest of the county might come under the heading of 'various.' No neater or more profitable mixed farming can be seen anywhere than on the Lincoln Heath and the pick of Lord Yarborough's farms in North Lincolnshire; yet much of this vast tract, some 230,000 acres in extent, has been placed in cultivation within the last 150 years. Clean stubbles and low-cut hedges mark the whole of it; the houses are spacious and pretentious; and the buildings and cottages of a character that cannot be seen elsewhere. Yet this very heath-land was once a dreary waste, and the well-known landmark, Dunston Pillar, was erected as an inland lighthouse to guide belated travellers. The fen-land, too, once a huge morass extending from Cambridge to Lincoln, is now converted by drains into one of the greatest potato-producing districts in the country. An account of the conversion of a tract of 40,000 acres, embracing the Wildmoor and East and West Fens, may be given, as an illustration of the system adopted. Originally a chain of lakes from 3 ft. to 6 ft. deep, bordered by great crops of reeds, the bottom consisted of a blue clay under a loose black mud, 2 ft. to 2½ ft. deep. The water was first drawn off, the mud became fertile soil, the plough appeared, and so generous was the land that, though the cost had been estimated at £400,000, or 10s. an acre, it yielded two and even three crops of oats in succession, of not less than 10 quarters to the acre, valued at £2,000,000, thus leaving a profit of £1,600,000. That district is so nearly on a level with the sea, that when the tide is up there is not fall enough in the drains to carry the water seaward, and so the mouths of the drains are furnished with gates, which, opening from within, allow the drainage water to pass into the sea at low water, but are automatically closed by the rising tide. A catch-water drain was cut at the foot of the higher ground to intercept the water flowing thence, and this was carried across the fen by a separate drain. First windmills were used, and then steam for pumping the embanked districts, and a

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scheme by which the Welland was made to cut a new and deeper channel through the yielding bottom by means of artificial banks proved a most valuable adjunct to the whole system of drainage. To begin with, two rows of faggots were laid some twenty yards apart on the mud at low water, which after a few tides were found to be full of a substance called warp, a mixture of fine sand and mud, which rendered them fairly solid. Another tier of faggots was then laid on the first, and soon became embodied with them by the warp; and so the embankment rose till above high-water level, and the Welland was confined between its new banks and began to dig out a new channel, some three miles into the sea. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this reclaimed fen-land was letting at over £1 an acre, its previous value, a quarter of a century before, being from 1s. 6d. to 7s. an acre, and the cost of conversion varied from 5s. to 25s. an acre. The Ancholme, which was cut at the end of the eighteenth century in a straight line for 20 miles through North Lincolnshire to the Humber, converted land originally worth from 1s. to 3s. 6d. an acre into land worth from 10s. to 30s. an acre immediately after the completion of the scheme of drainage. This is carrland, consisting of unctuous peat, which derives its richness from a mixture of sediment brought down by former floods while the peat was deposited. Most of the Isle of Axholme was once under water, and would be now if the embankment were neglected, as it is mostly below high-water mark. It is now well drained by a system of canals and side vents, and is one of the most fertile and productive tracts in the county. In bygone days the farmers used to attend Doncaster market in boats. The system of warping in the Isle of Axholme was as follows: A warping drain was cut from the Humber, the level of which at high tide was above the level of the fields to be warped. These were enclosed with a temporary bank, some six feet high, and connected with the warping drain, so that at each high tide the fields were flooded. When the tide retired it left a deposit of silt, and thus in course of time, from two to three years, an entirely new soil was created, no matter what the original soil was—bog, clay, sand, or whatever it might be. The original cost of warping was £15 an acre charged by the owners of the warping drain, and the necessary expenses of connecting and banking; and the new soil would bear wheat and beans alternately, with an occasional naked fallow, for twelve or thirteen years without any manure, wheat yielding from 30 to 36 bushels an acre, and beans 60 bushels. An acre was once measured to produce 99 bushels of beans. Needless to say that potatoes are the chief crop now. Warping has also been done round Gainsborough, 20 miles up the Trent and 60 miles from the open sea. Another system of improving the soil was adopted in South Lincolnshire with Digby, Dorrington, and other fens. The peat of that neighbourhood was very poor and hollow, producing per acre not more than five quarters of light oats, and twenty bushels of very moderate wheat. Beneath this peat, however, at a depth of 4 feet, was a blue soapy clay, so trenches were dug down to this at intervals of 11 yards across the field, and a large quantity of clay thrown out from their bottom upon the surface, after which the trenches were filled in. The cost of this was 54s. an acre, but the land now produced 30 bushels of good wheat to the acre, and worth 8s. more a bushel than hitherto. For some little time after the

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middle of the eighteenth century there was practically nothing but open¹ country from Spilsby to Caistor, and the great-grandfather of the present earl of Yarborough records the fact that in riding from Spilsby to his home at Brocklesby, several miles beyond Caistor, he encountered only two fences. All this tract is now a sea of waving corn, with patches of green turnips and seed fields, and keeping twenty sheep where one was kept before. In Gayton and Tathwell were rabbit warrens as late as 1800, and round Brocklesby, Cabourne, and Swallow there were miles of gorse. But there was a great change fifty years later, when 30,000 acres of Lord Yarborough's estate were converted into good turnip land, dotted with handsome farm buildings, on which £150,000 had been spent, and surrounded by lofty stacks, the fields being divided by neat clipped thorn fences. What a difference from the waste of gorse and bracken, tenanted chiefly by rabbits and foxes, the whole land then letting for but 3s. an acre! The first step at reclamation was to grub up the gorse, and to pare and burn the rough peaty grass, at a cost of a guinea an acre. Then came a dressing of chalk, 80 cubic yards to the acre, and costing 66s., which was followed by sixty bushels of bones, at 1s. 3d. a bushel, another item of nearly £4. The Wolds have been chalked twice over, without which the turnips are destroyed by the excrescence called 'fingers and toes,' but even the first outlay of the tenant amounted to more than £8 an acre, a large sum for the individual farmer, and a very large sum when the size of the farms is taken into account. The farms were not let on lease, nevertheless the tenant was ready to sink as much as £8,000 on a farm at Brocklesby through well-merited confidence in the owner. For generations, though only on a yearly tenure, the farms on Lord Yarborough's estate passed from father to son, and a case is recorded that when a farmer died and left a son but three years of age, two neighbouring tenants undertook, and were allowed by the landlord, to manage a farm for the infant, in trust until his majority. At one time the parish of Limber, consisting of 4,000 acres, was let to four tenants at 2s. 6d. an acre, and all four became bankrupts. Since it became enclosed and well farmed the tenants have done exceptionally well, and considerable fortunes even have been made. Mr. R. Dawson, who occupied the entire parish of Withcall, 2,000 acres of plough-land, was one of the first who ventured a heavy outlay on his land, his yearly bill for bones alone being from £1,500 to £1,800. Mr. Dawson's management was the perfection of farming, and he left a large fortune at his death. The magnitude of his holding may be realized when it is stated that you could often see one field of turnips 350 acres in extent. There was once a field there 600 acres in extent. The practice on the farms three-quarters of a century ago was much the same as now. The sheep were wintered on turnips, the cattle, bought at two years old for the most part, were wintered in the yards and fed liberally on oil-cake, their mission being to convert the straw into manure. As much as £600 would be spent on oil-cake in a year on some of the big farms. If the beasts repaid half they had eaten, the farmers were satisfied in those days. Sometimes three-year-old beasts were bought, and beginning with

¹ Practically the whole of the Ormsby estate was under cultivation in 1636, and a map of Harrington and Brinkhill shows that they too were farmed as early as 1600. There were two large open arable fields in each of these parishes, one of which was sown with corn each year. The rest was cow pasture, horse closes, &c.

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8 lb. of cake a day, the allowance was gradually increased to 16 lb., so that when sold off in the spring they were three-quarters fat. And what manure they made! Farming on the Lincoln Heath and the opposite range of hills to the Wolds was very similar. A farm of 500 acres having 125 acres of turnips would winter from ten to twelve sheep per acre, that is from 1,250 to 1,500 sheep, and in addition forty or fifty beasts in the straw-yard. About the middle of the nineteenth century the Lincolnshire labourers, who were said to be better paid, better housed, and better fed than those of any other county, were receiving from 12s. to 15s. a week, besides piece-work, such as filling manure, harvesting, etc. Nowadays the labourer earns 15s. a week the year round, added to which he will earn 3s. a week at piece-work—an average of 18s. a week the year round.

The confined men—such as foremen, shepherds, garthmen, who are engaged for the year, live in the cottages attached to the farms, and are expected to do the Sunday work and to work late if necessary—receive on an average 13s. or 14s. a week, with a house rent-free, 30 stones of bacon, and some 20 stones of potatoes. Junior waggoners receive from £12 to £15 a year and board, and senior waggoners up to £24 with board. On most big farms they are boarded with the foreman at a cost of 10s. a week per head. Married waggoners come under the same heading as confined men.

The following are the Government returns for the years 1904 and 1903:—

						1904 Acres	1903 Acres
Total acreage under crops and grass						1,520,392	1,518,571
Corn Crops	{	Wheat	.	.	.	132,690	158,571
		Barley or Bere	.	.	.	211,285	196,960
		Oats	.	.	.	139,240	133,577
		Rye	.	.	.	3,004	3,160
		Beans	.	.	.	33,434	28,912
		Peas	.	.	.	33,800	32,754
Total						<u>553,453</u>	<u>553,943</u>
Green Crops	{	Potatoes	.	.	.	76,249	71,575
		Turnips and Swedes	.	.	.	111,404	112,019
		Mangold	.	.	.	22,054	22,119
		Cabbage, K.-Rabi, and Rape	.	.	.	13,917	12,903
		Vetches or Tares	.	.	.	5,503	6,123
		Other Crops	.	.	.	12,229	16,088
Total						<u>241,356</u>	<u>240,827</u>
Clover, Sainfoin, and Grasses under rotation		{	For Hay	.	95,234	104,210	
			Not for Hay	.	89,643	90,997	
			Total	.	<u>184,877</u>	<u>195,207</u>	
Permanent Pasture or Grass not broken up		{	For Hay	.	104,720	108,248	
in rotation, not including mountain			Not for Hay	.	400,083	392,441	
and heath-land			Total	.	<u>504,803</u>	<u>500,689</u>	

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	1904 Acres	1903 Acres
Flax	7	31
Small Fruit	1,780	1,850
Bare Fallow	34,163	25,920
Horses used for agricultural purposes, including mares kept for breeding	No. 57,396	No. 56,385
Unbroken Horses { One year and above	11,636	11,858
Under one year	6,788	6,366
Total of Horses	<u>75,820</u>	<u>74,609</u>
Cows and Heifers in milk or in calf	72,741	68,436
Other Cattle { Two years and above	67,678	68,388
One year and under two	56,370	53,960
Under one year	53,147	49,149
Total of Cattle	<u>249,936</u>	<u>239,933</u>
Ewes kept for breeding	373,639	371,138
Other Sheep { One year and above	207,591	233,415
Under one year	430,841	435,012
Total of Sheep	<u>1,012,071</u>	<u>1,039,565</u>
Sows kept for breeding	20,864	20,544
Other Pigs	113,900	96,404
Total of Pigs	<u>134,764</u>	<u>116,948</u>

TOTAL AREA OF LAND AND WATER; ESTIMATED AREA OF MOUNTAIN AND HEATH-LAND
USED FOR GRAZING, AS RETURNED ON 4 JUNE, 1904; AND THE ACREAGE OF WOODS AND
PLANTATIONS, AS RETURNED ON 4 JUNE, 1895

Land	1,691,793 acres
Water	4,539 "
Total of Land and Water exclusive of foreshore and tidal water	<u>1,696,332 "</u>
Woods and plantations (1895)	43,127 "
Mountain and heath-land used for grazing (approximate)	1,948 "

PRODUCE OF CROPS

Wheat :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	3,718,859 bushels
2. Acreage in 1904	132,690 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	28'03 bushels
4. " " " 1903	34'21 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	34'50 "

Barley :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	6,231,804 bushels
2. Acreage in 1904	211,258 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	29'50 bushels
4. " " " 1903	33'02 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	34'31 "

Oats :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	6,421,189 bushels
2. Acreage in 1904	139,240 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	46'12 bushels
4. " " " 1903	50'80 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	49'22 "

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Beans :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	686,034 bushels
2. Acreage in 1904	33,434 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	20'52 bushels
4. " " " 1903	38'07 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	33'25 "

Peas :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	870,648 bushels
2. Acreage in 1904	33,800 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	25'76 bushels
4. " " " 1903	28'72 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	29'79 "

Potatoes :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	416,417 tons
2. Acreage in 1904	76,249 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	5'46 tons
4. " " " 1903	5'04 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	5'78 "

Turnips and Swedes :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	1,027,124 tons
2. Acreage in 1904	111,404 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	9'22 tons
4. " " " 1903	10'93 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	11'35 "

Mangold :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	422,399 tons
2. Acreage in 1904	22,034 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	19'15 tons
4. " " " 1903	21'37 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	22'09 "

Hay, from Clover, Sainfoin, and Grasses under rotation :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	134,213 tons
2. Acreage in 1904	95,234 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	28'91 cwt.
4. " " " 1903	32'44 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	27'50 "

Hay from permanent Grass :

1. Estimated Total Produce in 1904	123,219 tons
2. Acreage in 1904	104,720 acres
3. Estimated yield per acre, 1904	23'53 cwt.
4. " " " 1903	27'62 "
5. Average of the ten years, 1894-1903	23'44 "

The four-course system is the one usually adopted on the Wolds and Lincoln Heath, the land being fallowed after wheat or oats, then drilled for turnips which are eaten off by sheep, to be followed by barley and small 'seeds,' for mowing or eating. The 'seeds' are generally sown soon after the barley is up. On strong land the five or six-course system is in vogue, the order generally being :—Fallows, turnips, barley, seeds, wheat or oats, and then barley again for the former ; while peas or beans come after the wheat crop, to be followed by another crop of wheat or oats, in the latter. But in recent years all the best land in the county has been devoted to the cultivation of potatoes, in which some large fortunes have been made, enabling many of the farmers to purchase their farms. The character of the farms varies

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according to the district, and as to whether the soil is better adapted to the cultivation of barley and turnips or to potatoes and wheat. The biggest farms are on the Wolds and Lincoln Heath, where they run from 300 to 800 acres, there being a few of 1,000 acres in extent. But there are several farmers who rent thousands of acres of land, the farms, in many cases, adjoining each other. One gentleman, I believe, farms as much as 10,000 acres in Lincolnshire. The farmhouses and buildings are the best in England, and are particularly good on the Wolds and Lincoln Heath. The houses, generally well situated, with good gardens and pretty surroundings, are most commodious and well appointed, some of them containing three reception and a dozen bedrooms; while there is often stabling for half a score of hunters and carriage horses. The farm buildings are all exceedingly well built and up-to-date, and great neatness and tidiness is observed in the roomy, well-filled stack-yards. With the exception, perhaps, of Yorkshire, no county has better and more modern implements than Lincolnshire. The old portable engine has quite disappeared, and some of the big farmers have their own traction engines, thrashing, sawing, grinding, and pulping, delivering their corn and bringing back cake, artificial manure, and coal; thus saving a vast amount of time and labour, and keeping the men and horses at work on the land. Everybody uses the self-binder where possible, and on some farms you see four at work in one field, so that there is only one Irishman employed in Lincolnshire during harvest where six were formerly. Where there is not a natural sufficiency of water, windmill pumps supply the deficiency. Lincoln, Grantham, and Gainsborough having a world-wide reputation for agricultural machinery and implements, it is little wonder that the Lincolnshire farmers are so well equipped for their business. The farms are let from year to year, subject to a six-months' notice on either side. The incoming tenant pays for one-third of the cake and the whole of the tillage used during the preceding year, and one-sixth of the cake used during the year before that; he also pays for all the ploughing and work done during the last six months of the outgoing tenant's occupation. There is a scale of returns for farmers chalking or liming their land and giving up their occupation within ten years of so doing.

On the Wolds and Lincoln Heath the rents have come down considerably during the past twenty-five years, Lord Yarborough having reduced his as much as 35 per cent. Of course, as was previously stated, before the country came into its present high state of cultivation the land was worth but from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* an acre. However, rents rose with the price of corn and the increased value of the farms, and, as was but natural, fell in a like proportion. Good wold and heath-land is now worth from 10*s.* to 25*s.* an acre, though it makes less money if a long way from a station and in a hilly country. In the potato-growing districts of South Lincolnshire and the Isle of Axholme, where the railways give a free delivery up to a distance of three miles, rents range up to £3 an acre; while strong land in North Lincolnshire lets at from 16*s.* to 22*s.* an acre, according to the quality and the extent of grass. Many of the Wold farms have grass-land in the marshes attached to them.

Broadly speaking the general condition of agriculture is better than it was some fifteen or twenty years ago, although wheat, barley, and beef were making more money then; but sheep are paying some 10*s.* a head

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more than they did, rents are lower, and farmers are more careful and have adapted themselves to the decreased incomes. The old type of tenant farmer, when wheat was at 60s. and wool at 60s., who drove to market in a carriage, dined every evening and hunted in scarlet (there were over seventy such in Lord Yarborough's country forty or fifty years ago), is quite extinct ; though a few of the old yeomen are still to be found up and down the country. It was a painful process for them and the succeeding generation to accommodate themselves to the reduced circumstances, and there were many failures. They were a grand class, these old fox-hunting yeomen, and it is a great pity and a national loss that they should have died out. Dr. Buckland, dean of Westminster, and father of the well-known naturalist, used to visit at Brocklesby in the time of the first earl, and he once remarked to Lord Yarborough, ' Your tenants are of a very high character ; where do you get them from ? ' ' Get them ! ' replied his host, proudly, ' get them ! I don't get them, I breed them.' And so it was, many of the families having been on the estate when the Pelhams came to Brocklesby, while at the time of the first earl there were many who dated their holdings from even before that time. The character of the tenants has altered considerably in the last ten or a dozen years, the man of education and refinement, a lover of the chase and the gun, having given place to one of simpler tastes, fewer wants, and perhaps more practical knowledge. While many fortunes have been made in potatoes in the last few years, there is still a living to be got by the average farmer who lives quietly and economically, attends to his business, and keeps his labour bill down as much as possible. While there are fewer farmers who take active part in fox-hunting than there used to be, the bulk of an average Lincolnshire field still consists of the chase's best friends ; and even the non-hunting fraternity is exceedingly well disposed, not one of the different hunts in Lincolnshire having the slightest difficulty in finding puppy-walks ; and they prove great fox preservers, particularly in Lord Yarborough's country—in spite of the depredations in the poultry yard.

The character of the landlord is reflected in the character of his tenants and their farms, so there is no need to speak of them. The comfortable homes, well-built, commodious, and up-to-date farm buildings all in a good state of repair, and the prosperous condition of the country side, amply show that in spite of the present depressed condition of agriculture Lincolnshire farmers do not feel the shoe pinch so much as those in less favoured counties, and that they have generous and sympathetic landlords over them.

Some of the customs of the country with regard to luck-money and returns are peculiar, but distinctly out of date and serving no useful purpose whatever. To an average business mind the system of luck-money is ridiculous and childish. When a man has sold his corn or his cattle he is surely entitled to the full price he bargained for ; market tolls and auctioneers' commissions are different. There are various customs and returns at different markets, but some of the most general are : 1s. return on every ten quarters of corn ; 2s. on every score of sheep sold privately at a fair ; 1d. a head on all sheep sold by auction at a market ; 1s. a head on all beasts sold privately at a fair ; and from 6d. to 1s. on all beasts sold by auction at a market. The return on wool is 1s. per sheet, 17 or 18 tod.

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HORSE-BREEDING IN LINCOLNSHIRE

Lincolnshire has always been famous for its horses, both for home-bred ones and those purchased young and converted into hunters and steeplechase horses. This is what the 'Druid' says in *The Post and the Paddock*: 'The great nurseries of English hunters are the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, more especially on the wolds, and the whole of Lincolnshire and Shropshire. The Lincolnshire hunters are still first-rate, but they are bred in fewer numbers than they were in Dick Burton's hunting prime, owing principally to the improved system of cultivation which has caused much second-rate grass-land to be ploughed up. Hence the number of brood mares is rather limited, and the farmers have to resort to Howden Fair, which is the largest market in the world for unmade hunters and carriage horses. Scarcely any of them are tied in rows, but they are generally ridden or led about the town, whose long High Street is for four or five days one surging sea of animal life. Hosts of Lincolnshire farmers may be found there each September picking up four-year-old hunters at prices ranging from £80 to £100, but now more generally from £100 to £120. The hunting dealers also attend, not to buy, but to glean information about promising horses. They learn where they go, and occasionally, if they take a strong fancy, purchase contingent interest in some of them. The new owners aim at keeping them at least a year, but seldom more than two, and they frequently find them a temporary stable-mate at the great Lincoln Fair each April. The latter are expected to produce a profit of twenty-eight to twenty-five per cent. for their three months' strong keep up to Horncastle, or else they hardly realize their owner's "sole idea" of "praying for August."

'The Yarborough, Southwold, and Burton Hunts are the great public schools where the heads, hands, and heels of a legion of hard-riding Dicks are ever at work for five months of the year in transforming the raw one-hundred-guinea Howdenite into the finished two-hundred-guinea candidate for Horncastle. It is, however, to the dealers in this as in every other country that they have to look for purchasers, as hunting men will scarcely ever buy from farmers, however well they may ride, and have to pay a handsome sum extra for their whim. Horncastle Fair has long been the great Lincolnshire carnival of horse-flesh, and far the largest in England for made hunters. Sporting foreigners are *pénêtré* with its fame and rush to see it and the sale of blood yearlings at Doncaster with as much energy as their agriculturists demand to be led to 'de beetroot' the instant they set foot from one of Ben Revett's chaises, on their Tiptree shrine. We have it in fact, on Scribber's authority, that an elderly German baron not very long since assured his English visitor when they had drunk to the health and memory of their last wild boar, that if he could only visit Horncastle Fair he would die happy! Dealers and foreigners begin to be rife in its neighbourhood about 5 August, and there are still some lingerers on the 21st. Baron Rothschild's agent rarely comes, but purchases young horses at all prices from £40 to £300 out of the best stables of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.'

The most noted breeders in the past were Welfit of Louth, Fowler of Kirton Grange, Greetham of Stainfield Hall, the Slaters of Cammeringham

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and North Carlton, Bartholomew of Goltho, Nainby of Barnoldby, Brooks of Croxby, and Chambers of Reasby Hall.

Very few horses are now brought into Lincolnshire to be converted into hunters, and fewer still are bred, the chief reason being that the farmers have been tempted to part with the best of their females, and so there are very few brood mares left in the country worth breeding from. The Pelhams were always noted for their breed of horses, and the present Lord Yarborough still has a stud farm at Brocklesby. In days gone by the blood of Bay Barb and Brocklesby Betty was something to be proud of in any part of England. About the beginning of the last century Lord Yarborough bought a Sir Peter mare, a sister to Hermione, from Lord Grosvenor. He used to send his mares to Lord Fitzwilliam's and Lord Egremont's best horses, and a mare by Lord Egremont's Driver was one of the best they have had in the Brocklesby stables. Quicksilver, a small blood-like horse, was the first noted sire that Lord Yarborough had; his stock were all chestnuts with duck noses—wide nostrils—and the proverbial 'skin like a mouse,' and they were as good to tell as if they were labelled. At one time the country was full of his stock, and afterwards with Sir Malagigi's generally queer-tempered ones. This latter horse came from Holderness, and was very loosely built, and his owner used to say that a season in North Lincolnshire was worth four hundred guineas in two-guinea fees. It was on a mare belonging to Mr. Frank Iles, by Pilgrim from a Devi-sing mare, whose sire Eclipse had been imported into Lincolnshire by Lord Yarborough, that Mr. Tom Brooks won the historic steeplechase against Mr. Field Nicholson in 1821. Hippomenes, Negotiator, Robin Hood, Darnley, Bellerophon, and Mandeville were also famous sires in the early part of the nineteenth century, as also were Orion, Catterick, Fernhill, and Humphrey. Morgan Rattler was another great sire, and all his stock could win races. It used to be said that the Leicester hack was a pretty good hunter for other countries; and the same was said of the farmer's hack of the Lincolnshire Wolds. His master—farming anything from three hundred to fifteen hundred acres—had no time to lose crawling about on a half-bred cart mare, the farm had to be visited before hunting, and the market towns lie wide for five-miles an hour. It was the fashion on the Wolds a few years ago, and is still in many cases, to ride round farming at a good pace, and to fly the fences if the gates are at the wrong end of the fields.

Mr. W. Taylor-Sharp of Baumber Park, who bred the famous Galopin, Mr. Richard Botterill of Tathwell Hall, and Mr. J. C. Hill of Willoughton Cliff, who bred Euclid and Gallinule, are extensive breeders of thoroughbreds; and Mr. W. E. Elsey of Baumber is also a breeder and a trainer of racehorses on a very large scale. Peter Simple and Gay Lad were two of the most celebrated Lincolnshire steeplechase horses of the past. The famous steeplechase sire Ascetic was bred by Mr. Charles Clark of Ashby de la Launde.

Lord Yarborough's stud of hunters is always a good one, and the hunt servants of the Belvoir, the Blankney, the Southwold, and the Burton are all well horsed.

Hackney breeding has never 'caught on' in Lincolnshire, though both Mr. S. B. Carnley of Alford and Mr. W. C. Wood of Wootton Dale have large breeding studs. But the county has always been well to the front as a

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nursery for Shire horses, a class of stock that is as remunerative as any that the farmer can breed ; for good horses take no more to keep and will do far more work on the land than bad ones, and, in spite of the coming of the motor car, there is still a brisk demand for high-class geldings in the big towns. Indeed Lincolnshire may be said to be the original home of the Shire horse. South and east Lincolnshire are the best breeding grounds for Shires, where even the smallest farmer keeps a good brood mare or two, breeds from sound sires, and has a wonderful measure of success in the show ring against even the biggest establishments. Mr. R. N. Sutton-Nelthorpe of Scawby Hall, who has probably done more to encourage Shire-horse breeding in Lincolnshire than anyone, and thus materially benefited agriculture in the county to no small extent, has a fine stud of Shires and is a most successful exhibitor at all the principal shows. It was he who owned the famous mare Starlight. Mr. A. H. Clark, Moulton Eaugate ; Mr. W. Rowland, Fishtoft ; Mr. R. J. Epton, Wainfleet ; Mr. G. Marris, Kirmington ; and Mr. F. Ward, Quarrington, are also well-known breeders and exhibitors in the county.

THE CATTLE OF THE COUNTY

Lincolnshire possesses a breed of cattle of its own, and ninety per cent. of the cattle bred in the county are Lincolnshire Red Shorthorns. Ten or a dozen years ago the Lincoln Reds, as they are popularly called, were unknown beyond the limits of their county boundaries, although they had been carefully bred for a century or more. Then the Herd Book was started in 1895, which attracted attention to a breed of cattle whose admirers claimed it to be more hardy, more thrifty, and more generally useful to the tenant farmer than the Coates' Herd Book Shorthorn from which it was originally descended. Records of the leading herds, though not entered in Coates' Herd Book, have been kept in some cases for nearly one hundred years, and the breed has gradually conformed to one type and colour. The original cattle of Lincolnshire in their improved state were distinguished by their enormous size, but slow powers of fattening ; and their improvement dates from about 1810, when three bulls were purchased at Mr. Charles Collings's great sale, and sent into Lincolnshire. But the origin of the Lincolnshire Red Shorthorn is probably the herd formed by Mr. Thomas Turnell, at Reasby, near Wragby. Mr. Arthur Young, in his report to the Board of Agriculture, said that Mr. Turnell's cattle had no superior in the county. They were a deep red in colour, and while somewhat smaller in size than the average, showed great rapidity of fattening and a development of lean flesh in the prime joints.

In 1901 the Royal Agricultural Society granted the breed separate classes at their annual show, and agriculturists and stock-breeders from all parts of the kingdom were enabled to inspect a number of representative exhibits for the first time. The impression they made was a most favourable one, the general opinion being that they were bred to a well-defined type, that they showed great wealth and evenness of flesh, while their milking qualities were undeniable. Since then they have advanced in popularity with rapid strides, registered herds having been established in practically every county in England, and extensive shipments made to every dairy country in Europe. South Africa,

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too, has become a most valuable customer, and it was the opinion of one colonial of fifty-five years' experience, who toured through England and Scotland with a view of purchasing cattle for the government, that no breed was so well suited for the requirements of the country as the Lincolnshire Red Shorthorn, and he bought no other. There is now a membership of the Lincolnshire Red Shorthorn Association numbering 277, and no fewer than 260 herds are registered in the Herd Book. Built on Shorthorn lines—with great length and scale, and with typical heads—the chief characteristics of the Lincoln Reds are their early maturity, hardiness and thriftiness, great wealth of lean flesh, and splendid milking qualities. Wintered in crew yards, for the most part with little shelter from the elements, and fed on barley straw and a few turnips, they have been utilized as manure-makers for generations. Calving in the early spring, towards the end of April they are turned out to get their own living on the pastures, exposed to the biting winds from the North Sea (for there is practically no shelter in the marshes), and in most cases compelled to drink from stagnant ponds. This severe treatment has had a most sure effect in weeding out the weakest, the outcome of which is a true instance of the survival of the fittest; nor do they lose condition or suffer perceptibly, as nearly any other breed would under similar conditions. Grass-fed Lincoln Reds will weigh from 8 to 10 cwt., while stall-fed beasts reach as much as 24 cwt. The triumph of the Lincoln Red as a milker may best be shown by reference to the wonderful successes at milking trials of the exhibits of Mr. John Evens, of Burton, near Lincoln. Dairying is not a prominent feature in Lincolnshire agriculture, and the practice of allowing cows to suckle their own calves is not conducive to the development of milking capacity; but Mr. Evens has amply demonstrated that with judicious management the Lincoln Reds are the best of milkers. On the two occasions on which pure-bred milking trials have been held by the Royal Society, in 1898 and 1899, Mr. Evens won first and second prizes in competition with other breeds; and on the two occasions on which there has been a group class (three cows or heifers in milk, of any pure breed, eligible for entry in their respective Herd Books, and bred by and the property of the exhibitor), at the London Dairy Show, in 1900 and 1901, Mr. Evens secured the premier award. In 1904, and for the third year in succession, he won the first prize and the challenge cup at the milking trials at the Dublin Show, and the first prize and the challenge cup, also for the third year in succession, at the Royal Ulster Show. He was also first in the open class and first in the tenant farmers' class at the Oxfordshire Show milking trials; and first, for the third year in succession, at the joint milking and dairy inspection at the Royal Counties Show, besides winning both first and second prizes at the Shorthorn butter test against nineteen picked cows at the London Dairy Show. In 1905 Mr. Evens won the first prize and the challenge cup at Dublin; first and second at the Oxfordshire milking trials; first and second at the Lincoln Red milking tests at the Royal Show; and first at Tring in a class of thirty, open to all breeds. At the London Dairy Show Mr. Evens was second with cows, both in the class for inspection and in the milking test; and first and second for heifers both for inspection and in the milking trials. Mr. Evens has been equally successful at these and many other shows in previous years, notably in the Shorthorn Dairy class (C.H.B. or L.R.S.H.B.) at the Lin-

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colnshire Show, where he last year won the three money prizes and the reserve ticket.

So far there have been no sensational prices paid for Lincolnshire Red Shorthorns, as they are still for the most part in the hands of tenant farmers; but the steady average, with a slight upward tendency each year, shows the growing popularity of the breed, and that there is money to be made out of this typical tenant-farmers' cattle. At the annual bull sales of the Lincolnshire Red Shorthorn Association, held at the county town each April, there is always a fine display, and the following figures will give an idea of the numbers and prices. In 1901, 165 bulls were sold at an average price of £25 3s. 6d., the best return being secured by Messrs. R. and R. Chatterton, Stenigot, whose animals averaged £56 14s. In 1902 the average was slightly lower, £25 2s. 9d., but five more bulls were disposed of, and this time £45 8s. 3d., obtained by Mr. T. Bett, Benniworth, was the best average. Close on 200 changed hands the following year, the executors of the late Mr. John Abraham obtaining an average of £49 12s. 3d., and in 1904 the entries rose to 293, but there were many of indifferent character that failed to find customers. That year Mr. G. E. Sanders, Scampton House, Lincoln, obtained an average of £61 8s. 6d. and sold one to go into the Burton herd for 130 guineas, while Mr. J. Mason, Calceby, gave 100 guineas for another. In 1905 the number of entries dropped somewhat, but there were still a few unsold, and their owners would have been wise to have converted them into steers. Mr. Sanders's average of £52 10s. was again the best, and one of his bulls went to Mr. Leslie Stephenson, South Thoresby, for 100 guineas. But three fresh records were set up in April, 1906, for at the Association's Bull Sales at Lincoln one of Mr. Sanders's bulls, Scampton Goldreef, was sold to go to Chili at 305 guineas, and the average for the seven bulls from the Scampton herd was £89 5s., while in all 166 bulls changed hands at an average of £27 10s. 11d.

The principal breeders of Lincolnshire Red Shorthorns are Mr. John Evens, Burton, whose animals are always in brisk demand for the great dairy countries of Europe and the principal milking herds of the United Kingdom; Mr. R. Chatterton, Stenigot, at whose sale in 1901, 124 lots (including thirty-six calves averaging under six months old) averaged £25 10s. 2d., the grand young bull Red Chief going to Mr. T. Bett, Benniworth, for 110 guineas; Mr. W. J. Atkinson, Weston St. Mary, who held a sale in 1904, when sixty-five lots, including sixteen calves and nine yearling bulls, averaged £27 4s.; and Messrs. S. E. Dean and Sons, Dowsby Hall, who purchased the bull calf Imperial Favourite at the late Mr. W. Marr's sale at Uppermill for 600 guineas, and who had a most successful sale in 1905. Other leading breeders are Mr. T. Bett, Benniworth; Mr. G. J. Brown, Tothby House, Alford; Mr. E. H. Cartwright, Keddington Grange; Messrs. T. and W. Dickinson, Worlaby; Messrs. J. W. Farrow and Sons, Strubby Manor, Alford; Mr. G. Frier, Deeping St. Nicholas; Messrs. T. and J. B. Freshney, South Somercotes; Lord Heneage, Hainton Hall; Mr. Everett King, Northborough, Market Deeping; Mr. J. Mason, Calceby Manor; Mr. J. W. Measures, Dunsby; Mr. Reuben Roberts, Horncastle; Mr. John Searby, Croft; Mr. B. Simons, Willoughby Grange; and Mr. W. B. Swallow, Wootton, Ulceby.

There are very few C.H.B. Shorthorn herds in the county, while it is only here and there the Shorthorn is crossed with the Aberdeen-Angus. The

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two chief breeders of C.H.B. Shorthorns—and very prominent members of the Shorthorn world they are—are Mr. Jonas Webb, Melton Ross, and Mr. Henry Dudding, Riby Grove. The former gentleman has a very fine herd of pure Bates cattle, always in great demand for export to the Argentine and elsewhere, and to replenish the most prominent herds at home; and at the sale held in 1898 he disposed of fifty-two lots at an average of £37 17s., while in 1905 the average for forty lots was £52 1s. 4d. Mr. Dudding, who has been a wonderfully successful exhibitor both of Shorthorns and Lincoln sheep, had a sale the same year, getting 205 guineas for Lord Rosmead, and 200 guineas for Rosellan, both for Argentina, and an average of £38 14s. 7d. for forty-four animals. The following year forty-nine animals from the Riby herd averaged £55 10s., the highest average of the year next to that of £69 3s. 3d. which the fifty-four animals sold by the Prince of Wales realized; the bull Monogram made 360 guineas, another bull, Royal Fern, 360 guineas, and three of the heifers were knocked down at 360 guineas, 205 guineas, and 200 guineas respectively. Mr. Dudding's average for 1901 was £30 14s. 2d. for forty-nine animals, two heifers going at 145 guineas and 100 guineas. Owing to the closing of the Argentine ports there was no sale at Riby in 1902, but in 1903 Mr. Dudding disposed of seventy-seven head at an average of £43 19s., the bull Sir Charles going for 285 guineas, while the best of the heifers went at 145 guineas, 125 guineas, and 110 guineas. There was no sale again in 1904; but in 1905 he sold fifty-six animals at an average of £53 13s. 7d.

To Lincolnshire belongs the honour of the most famous Shorthorn sale that ever took place, viz., the dispersal of the herd belonging to the late Mr. William Torr, at Aylesby Manor, on 2 September, 1875. On this historic occasion over 3,000 people were present, and the eighty-four head of Shorthorns averaged the extraordinary price of £510 19s. The highest prices were as follows:—Bright Queen, 750 guineas, Lady Pigot; Bright Spangle, 1,055 guineas, Mr. Booth, Warlaby; Highland Flower, 1,500 guineas, Rev. J. Staniforth; Flower of Germany, 760 guineas, Mr. Miller, Singleton, Lancashire; Bright Baroness, 1,000 guineas, Mr. Andrew Mitchell, Scotland; Flower Alpine, 710 guineas, Mr. McCullam, Australia; Lowland Flower, 800 guineas, Mr. J. St. Gran-de-Acre, Gloucester; Heather Flower, 1,000 guineas, Rev. J. Staniforth; Bright Empress, 2,160 guineas, Mr. Booth, Warlaby (the highest price ever given for a cow in England); Bright Marchioness, 1,185 guineas, Mr. Chandos Poll-Gell; Bright Saxon, 1,505 guineas, Mr. Booth, Warlaby; Riby Empress, 760 guineas, Messrs. Cruikshank, Aberdeenshire; Foreign Queen, 805 guineas, Mr. Talbot-Crosby, County Kerry; Bright Dowager, 805 guineas, Mr. J. St. Gran-de-Acre; Riby Pearl, 775 guineas, Mr. Hugh Elmo, Norfolk; Bright Jewel, 775 guineas, Mr. Booth; Riby Marchioness, 1,260 guineas, Mr. Talbot-Crosby; Fandango, 700 guineas, Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell; Riby Knight, 700 guineas, Mr. Marshall, New Zealand; and Balmoral, 700 guineas, Mr. Micklethorne—the last three being bulls.

Mr. Torr, who farmed close on 3,000 acres in North Lincolnshire, was one of the leading agriculturists of his day, and a wonderfully active man, beginning his labours by giving orders from his bedroom window at 5 a.m., and never spending an idle minute during the day. When not at home, farming,

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inventing a new gate, sketching a plan for new farm buildings, or designing a cottage, he would be giving evidence before the Privy Council or a Special Commission, or discussing finance or the prize-sheet at the Smithfield Club, Hanover Square. At making an after-dinner speech he was particularly happy. Everything at Aylesby had to be pure-bred—the Shorthorns, the Leicester sheep (at the dispersal sale after his death the ewes averaged close on 5 guineas and the rams £17 7s. 6d.), the game fowls, which were black-breasted reds, and even the cats, which were all black. At Riby and Irby Dales he kept Captain Barclay's breed of Dorkings, Rouen ducks at Rothwell and Riby, while black Buenos Ayres ducks were found at Irby Dales. His Leicester sheep were in great demand, and besides an extensive home trade a great number were exported to Australia, California, Jamaica, and St. Helena.

LINCOLNSHIRE LONG-WOOL SHEEP

Lincolnshire possesses a distinct breed of sheep just as it possesses a distinct breed of cattle, and there is probably 'more money in it' to-day than in any other European breed. The Lincoln sheep has been in existence and recognized as the established breed of the county for nigh on two hundred years, and it has been found to be the best adapted for the country and climate. It is hardy and thrifty, being folded on turnips during the winter months; comes to early maturity and shows a great aptitude to fatten; and it clips an enormous weight of wool. A few years ago it was found to be the best to cross with the Merino, and in consequence there sprung up such a trade with South America, and such extraordinary prices were given, as cannot be found in the history of any other breed of sheep. But they came down with a run on the closing of the Argentine ports owing to an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in England, and they have never reached such a height since, though they are decidedly remunerative, as subsequent figures will show. The wool of the Lincoln sheep is very long and lustrous, with a broad staple, and the carcase a very heavy one. It is recorded in the *Farmers' Magazine* that in 1826 a three-shear Lincoln wether weighed 380 lb., a two-shear 364 lb., and a shearling 284 lb. dead weight, while in 1888 three ewes weighed 1,120 lb. at the Smithfield Show. Since those days a lot of superfluous fat has been done away with; and, as a comparison, it might be mentioned that the lambs under a year old, shown by Mr. Henry Dudding, Riby Grove, at the Smithfield Show in 1904, weighed 226 lb., live weight, and the shearling wethers 354 lb., the highest respective weights in the show. In 1866, at the annual April Fair at Lincoln, 220 wether hogs (as they are called in the intermediate stage between the time they run with their dams and the time for clipping), sold in one lot by the breeder, made £5 each. High prices have always been realized at the annual sales and lettings in the past, and when a trade opened with South America, Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, figures were reached of quite a sensational nature. Twice in three years, at Mr. Henry Dudding's auction sales at Riby, a shearling ram was knocked down at 1,000 guineas, the destination of the animal in each case being the Argentine. The Flock Book was started in 1892, there then being fifty-three registered flocks and fifty-

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eight members ; the number of registered flocks in 1905 was 213, and there were 226 members. It was in July, 1898, that a Lincoln ram first ran into four figures at a public auction sale ; and though Messrs. S. E. Dean and Sons, Dowsby Hall, did their best to keep the sheep in England, and bid up to 950 guineas, he was eventually knocked down, amid a scene of the greatest excitement, to Mr. F. Miller, Birkenhead, who was acting on behalf of Señor Manuel Cobo, Buenos Ayres. The average for the fifty-two rams sold at the Riby sale was £87, the three 'Royal' winners averaging £472 10s., and the best ten £287 14s. It might be mentioned that 670 Lincolns were shown at the Palermo Show, Buenos Ayres, that year, and that the Champion Prize went to Señor Cobo's 1,000 guinea purchase. Señor Cobo also bought the Royal winner of 1900, again giving 1,000 guineas for the honour of becoming its owner, and this time the keenest competition came from another South American buyer, although several prominent home breeders remained in as bidders for some time. The fifty rams averaged £77 18s. this year. One of the Riby rams was purchased at the annual sale in 1899 to go to Buenos Ayres at 220 guineas, and another in 1903 for 250 guineas. At the Smithfield Show, Christmas, 1902, Mr. Dudding won the Prince of Wales's 100-guinea Challenge Cup for the best pen of sheep of any breed. The other leading breeders of Lincoln sheep in the county are :— Messrs. R. and W. Wright, Nocton, who sold a ram at the association sales in 1898, for 300 guineas, to go to New Zealand, and their first prize shearling ram at the Royal Show in 1905, fell to Mr. F. Miller, Birkenhead, for 1,000 guineas, and their first prize pen of five shearling rams at the same show, and to the same purchaser, for 1,500 guineas ; Mr. T. Casswell, Pointon, whose best sheep made 215 guineas and 200 guineas respectively at the Lincoln Longwool Sheep-breeders' Association's sale at Lincoln in 1898 and 1899 ; Messrs. S. E. Dean and Sons, Dowsby Hall, who have been large exporters to South America and elsewhere, and whose sheep have always commanded high prices ; Mr. J. E. Casswell, Laughton, who owns one of the oldest flocks in the county, and who sold twenty rams at the association's sale at Lincoln in 1897 at an average of £65 4s., the top price being 200 guineas, while another ram went into the Dowsby flock the following year at 235 guineas ; Mr. John Pears, Mere Hall, who also possesses an old-established flock ; Mr. C. E. Howard, Nocton Rise, who recently took over his father's flock, and for the first time of asking made 300 guineas of a ram at the Lincoln sale in 1904 ; Mr. W. B. Swallow, Wootton ; Mr. G. Marris, Kirmington ; Mr. W. Taylor-Sharpe, Baumber Park ; Mr. F. Ward, Quar-rington ; Mr. J. B. Nelson, Bigby ; Mr. J. Cartwright, Dunston Pillar ; Mr. C. Clarke, Scopwick ; Mr. H. Goodyear, Bourn ; Messrs. J. T. and A. W. Needham, Huttoft, who in 1905 sold a ram at Partney Fair for 600 guineas to go to Argentina ; Sir John Thorold, Syston Park ; Mr. J. Anderson, Barton ; and Mr. H. E. Davy, Croxby. A very famous flock, now dispersed, was that belonging to Messrs. J. R. and R. R. Kirkham, Biscathorpe.

On a few farms the Lincoln ewe is crossed with a Hampshire Down ram, chiefly with a view to supplying the markets with early lamb, and Mr. Jonas Webb has a flock of Southdowns besides his Lincolns ; but by far the greater number of the flocks in the county are pure-bred Lincolns.

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PIGS, POULTRY, ETC.

The large white breed is the class of pigs chiefly found in Lincolnshire, though here and there one comes across a herd of Berkshires; the former will grow to weigh as much as 50 stone, and being the staple food of the labouring classes, it will be realized that weight, even if accompanied by more fat than a townsman would appreciate, is very greatly to be desired. Nearly every labourer has a pig or two, insuring them in the village Pig Club, which provides compensation against loss, and veterinary attention in the case of sickness. There are no bacon factories in Lincolnshire, and the production of pork can scarcely be called an industry. The Messrs. Duckering, of Kirton Lindsey, are the greatest breeders of the large white pig in Lincolnshire, and they have been most successful exhibitors in the show ring, taking over 3,000 prizes in money, cups, and medals, since, and including the Royal Show at Worcester in 1883, and having been particularly successful in the principal show-yards on the Continent. There is also an old Lincolnshire curly-hair breed, the best examples of which may be seen at the farms of Messrs. B. and J. W. Rowland, Wainfleet, and Mr. H. Caudwell, Midville, Boston.

All kinds of poultry are reared on the farms in Lincolnshire, as there is always a supply of second quality corn, which is admirably adapted for feeding; and in recent years more attention has been paid to what, if properly managed, is a most profitable and paying concern in connexion with a farm. On many of the farms portable chicken-houses are drawn into the fields as soon as the corn is carried, so that the birds are able to find their own living for some little time; and much more care is taken in breeding and home management than used to be the case. The old Lincolnshire Buffs, a very useful general-purpose fowl, are still to be found on many farms, while on others there are Indian and brown-red game fowl, black and white Minorcas, Leghorns, Houdans, Orpingtons (black, buff, and white), Dorkings, Cochins, Plymouth Rocks, and Wyandottes of various colours. Geese, and Aylesbury, Rouen, and Indian Runner ducks are to be found everywhere, and most farmers go in for turkeys and guinea-fowls as well. A great source of wealth in bygone years was the breeding of geese in enormous quantities in South Lincolnshire for their feathers and quills, but the drainage of the land has had its effect on this industry, and though raised in great numbers still, nothing like as many geese and ducks are bred in Lincolnshire as hitherto. Mr. W. Bygott, of Ulceby, has a world-wide reputation as a breeder, exhibitor, and exporter of ducks and geese. A good deal of honey is made in the county, particularly round Keelby, the clover crops, which follow on the barley crops, being particularly happy hunting-grounds for bees.

Dairy work is not practised to any great extent, the bulk of the land being unsuitable, and there being no great centres of population in the county. The principal towns have to be supplied, a fact that is taken full advantage of by farmers on their outskirts; but dairy farms, where the production of milk and butter is the chief business, are very few and far between. A better system of collection of eggs, butter, poultry, etc., for the country districts would prove a profitable undertaking and most beneficial to agriculturists.

FORESTRY

IN remote times the fen districts of Lincolnshire, which lie chiefly in the Holland, or south-eastern, division of the county, were the site of great woods. Vast stores of bog timber have been found a few feet below the surface of the peaty soil, and are occasionally still discovered where new drainage works are undertaken. This buried forest has been known to the fen-men from time immemorial; but the stories, both ancient and modern, as to old bog-wood being found which showed traces of having been hewn by man, even in the rudest fashion, are fabulous. Mr. Skertchly, the geological expert, who began a thorough investigation of the peat-buried woods in 1874, failed to find a single instance that showed the hand of man. By an ingenious calculation he came to the conclusion that about B.C. 5000 is the latest possible date for the formation of the newest part of the peat. Among this buried timber he found many oaks that were 80 ft. long, whilst some were 90 ft., and attained to 70 ft. before throwing out a branch. Some of the firs were 3 ft. in diameter and 70 ft. in height.¹

The gradual change from the splendid woods of prehistoric days to the treeless swamps of the dreary undrained fens was a wonderful transformation. The scenery in the first half of the seventeenth century is well set out in the rhymes of John Taylor (1580-1654), 'the Water Poet':—

Near the Garrick² milestone
Nothing there grew beneath the sky
But willows scarcely six feet high,
Or osiers barely three feet dry,
And those of only one year's crop
The flood did fairly overtop.

No less wonderful has been the subsequent change, wrought by successive drainage schemes, from water-logged morasses to fertile cornfields.

The record of Domesday Survey is of peculiar value in Lincolnshire as showing the amount of woodland in the county towards the close of the eleventh century. The Great Survey must have been carried out by different sets of commissioners, and it is therefore only reasonable to expect considerable variety in the manner of making these fiscal returns. In the majority of counties, as was the case with Norfolk and Suffolk, the amount of woodland on the different manors is roughly estimated by the numbers of swine that could obtain pannage under its shelter. In Lincolnshire, on the contrary, as is also the case with Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, the actual size of the woods is set forth. These two midland counties, however, have the measure of most of their woods stated in round numbers by the length and breadth in miles (*leuca*) or furlongs; whereas by far the greater part of the wood measurements of Lincolnshire are set forth according to their precise acreage, varying from two or three acres to several hundred. The reason for this exceptional treatment of Lincolnshire woods and underwoods probably arose from the greater value of every form of timber in a county which was on the whole but sparsely wooded. In many counties a few acres of wood, or a patch of brushwood were not worth entering.

It may fairly be assumed that the trees of that period in this county were almost entirely oak. In a single case, namely at Spalding, is the nature of the wood mentioned; on that manor there was a wood of alders worth 8s. a year.

From the different methods adopted in computation, it is difficult to draw any accurate comparison between the woodland of one county and another; but on broad lines it seems safe to assume that there was less timber in the eleventh century in Lincolnshire than in almost any other English shire. It is also exceedingly probable that Lincolnshire stands alone as a county that has at the present day a considerably larger wooded area than was the case in the days of the Conqueror.

Notwithstanding, however, the comparative paucity of timber under the Domesday Survey, it will be found that there were numerous woods of fair dimensions the immediate neighbourhood of Grantham, Sleaford, and Horncastle, and that a large number of parishes in other parts of the shire, saving in the actual fens, had their tracts of wood or underwood of varying size.

¹ Miller and Skertchly, *The Fenland Past and Present* (1878), 557, 566-71.

² Garrick or Garwick, now in Heckington.

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The total acreage of underwood recorded in the Survey for the whole county is, in round numbers, 9,000 acres; and the total of wood for pannage is 11,900 acres. To these must be added conjectural estimates for the comparatively few cases in which woods are measured by the mile or furlong. These probably increase the underwood to about 14,000 acres, and the wood to 20,000 acres, giving a rough total of 34,000 acres of woodland as opposed to the 44,000 of the present day. Among the largest of these woods estimated by lineal measure was one at Doddington, belonging to the abbey of St. Peter's, Westminster, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by 1 mile broad, and a stretch of underwood at Broughton by Lincoln, which was 2 miles long by 1 mile broad. There were also three woods in the Isle of Axholme, at Epworth, Owston, and Upperthorpe, each of which are entered as a square mile. The largest wooded area entered by acres was that of Corby in the south of the county, where the Bishop of Lincoln had a wood of 1,100 acres. Next to this came Bitchfield, between Grantham and Corby, where one proprietor had a wood of 700 acres and another of 200 acres.

The southern part of the Kesteven Division was a forest (using the word in its old signification as a great preserve of wild game) in pre-Conquest days. This forest of Kesteven included a great stretch of the Deeping Fens, as well as a fringe of woods and much brushwood; it formed part of the possessions of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, who was lord of Brune and the adjoining marshes. In the time of Henry I the bounds of this forest were much enlarged. The extent, according to Dugdale—

was from the bridge of East Deeping, now Market Deeping, to the church of Swinston, on the one side; and from the bridge of Bicker, and Wragmere Stake, on the other side; which metes divided the north parts, and the river of Weland the south; excepting the fen of Goggisland, in regard it was a sanctuary of holy Church, as belonging to the abbey of Crouland; which fen the monks of that house, having license from the said king, did cloze for their own use; making the ditches about it bigger than ordinary, for the avoyding of discord.¹

The northern part of this forest was discharged from its obligations in 1204; for in May of that year King John disafforested the marshes pertaining to the four adjacent towns of Donington, Quadring, Gosberton, and Surfleet.²

The rest of this wide extent of country remained under forest law until April 1230, when Henry III granted the complete disafforesting of all lands, marshes and turbaries within the Kesteven division, declaring it altogether free from regards, foresters, verderers or other forest ministers.³

Many of the foundation and other twelfth and thirteenth century charters of the religious houses of the county bear evidence of woodlands scattered in small plots throughout the shire. Thus the foundation charter of Kirkstead abbey mentions *totum boscum* in one place, and *altum boscum* in another; the early charters of Revesby abbey, and of the priories of Greenfield, Elsham and Nocton contain specific mention of woods; those of Swineshead abbey name woods on three of the adjacent manors; whilst Louth Park abbey held much brushwood (*terra bruscosa*), and Sempringham priory 20 acres of wood at Aslackby.⁴

Various Ministers' Accounts among the national muniments also yield woodland information, of which the following must serve as examples. The accounts of Willoughton and other manors, formerly held by the Knights Templars, for the year 1309, mention, under Gainsborough, the custom of paying a forester for warding the wood of Thonock for ten weeks, from 30 March to 30 July.⁵

The accounts of the manor of Bolingbroke seem to show that there was considerable clearance of coppice wood on that estate from time to time. In the year 1399 the large sum of 20s. 11d. was paid *costage del fagottes*.⁶

At Grayingham there must have been a large wood fit for swine pannage. The accounts for 1404 name William Hopkinson as the 'Takman' there, and enter a payment at Michaelmas of 1d. for 'Wodehalpens.'⁷ The tackman or takman was one who entered the number of pigs turned into the manor wood at the appointed season by the tenants.⁸

A report on the agriculture of the county was drawn up for the Board of Agriculture in 1794. It is there stated that it was customary to have the woodland cleared in rotation, and the underwood cut without the vacant places being supplied with young plants. The woods of Sir Peter Burrell are commended as judiciously managed. Various improvements in timber-growing and in underwood are noted, and there are some interesting observations as to the advantages or otherwise of

¹ Dugdale, *Hist. of Imbanking* (1662), 194-5.

² *Cal. Rot. Chart.* (P.R.O.), p. 128.

³ Close, 14 Hen. III, m. 9.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* (orig. ed.), i, 776, 805, 806, 822, 881; ii, 211, 421, 791.

⁵ Gen. Mins. Accts. 914.

⁶ Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. 11987.

⁷ Gen. Mins. Accts. 910.

⁸ Cox, *Royal Forests*, 42, 200.

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growing timber trees and coppice together. It was considered that fifteen oak trees, of sufficient size to produce 80 to 100 ft. of timber, would occupy an acre of land.¹

A much longer report was made to the same Board by the celebrated Arthur Young in 1799; he was then acting as secretary to the Board.² In the section on Woods and Plantations (212-222) he speaks of the success attending the planting in the fens of 'the berry-bearing poplar,' which thrives very greatly, and much exceeds the growth of the Lombardy poplar, attaining to 18 or 20 feet in six years. At Osbournby, to the south of Sleaford, he noticed small plantations of the Dishley willow doing very well, and realizing twelve guineas an acre. Sir Cecil Wray had planted 260 acres, chiefly with Scotch firs, between 1760 and 1794, with profitable results. The Duke of Ancaster's woods (about four or five hundred acres) were cut at eighteen years' growth, realizing from £14 to £16 an acre. The Earl of Exeter's woods about Bourne paid him by underwood and timber about 20s. per acre per annum.

Particular information is supplied with respect to Sir Joseph Banks' woods (Revesby), which had been very carefully managed since 1727, in a rotation of twenty-three years. The produce per acre of timber, bark, poles, and brush was estimated at an average of £45 7s., cut once in twenty-three years, or £1 19s. 5d. per acre per annum. It was considered that the same land would not produce in an arable farm more than 10s. or 12s. an acre.

Lincolnshire now possesses the following seven deer parks:³—Brocklesby Park (the Earl of Yarborough) has an acreage of 1,000 acres, and is about three miles in length by one in breadth. It is well-timbered, and is bordered by various plantations. The fallow deer number about 350.

Belton Park (Earl Brownlow), near Grantham, which encloses about 800 acres, was formed under royal licence of 1690 out of lands in Belton, Londonthorpe, and Telthorpe, and enclosed with a wall five miles in circumference.⁴ It contains some good timber and plantations, as well as two fine avenues. There is a herd of about 300 fallow deer.

Grimsthorpe Park (the Earl of Ancaster) is of ancient origin. Saxton, in 1576, marks here two parks, called respectively 'The Red-dere pk' and 'The Fallow-dere pk.' The great park, which lies chiefly to the south-west of the castle, embraces nearly 2,000 acres, and is 16 miles in circumference. The actual deer park, with some 400 fallow deer, is about 800 acres. There are also about fifty red deer, said to be the descendants of the original race that for centuries graced this ancient park. Much of the centre of the park is bare of trees, but elsewhere there is an abundance of good oaks and hornbeams, as well as many fine old mistletoe-bearing hawthorns.

Haverholme Priory Park (the Earl of Winchilsea), on the borders of the fen country near Sleaford, was enclosed between 1786 and 1790. It includes about 401 acres, and has a herd of 250 fallow deer. It is well wooded; the principal trees are oak, elm, horse-chestnut, ash and hawthorn. The park contains a willow tree (*salix alba*) supposed to be the largest in England; it has a girth of 26 ft. at 5 ft. from the ground. Haverholme was one of the best wooded parts of the county at the time of the Domesday Survey.

Normanby Park (Sir B. D. G. Sheffield, bart.), in the parish of Burton-upon-Stather, was enclosed in 1804. It has an acreage of 320 acres, and a herd of about 120 fallow deer. Most of the park is well timbered, but about 60 acres are covered with bracken, and serve as a rabbit warren.

Scrivelsby Park (F. S. Dymoke, esq.) covers about 300 acres, and feeds some sixty fallow deer. It is well wooded.

Irnham Park (Mrs. Wobrige-Gordon) contains 223 acres, and a herd of about seventy fallow deer. It is well planted, and possesses some exceptionally fine elm trees. This park is marked on Saxton's map.

There is also a large finely-wooded park at Syston (Sir J. H. Thorold, bart.), and one of smaller extent at Easton (Sir M. A. R. Cholmeley, bart.), equally well timbered; both of these were deer parks when Mr. Shirley wrote in 1867. There were 440 acres of woodland at Easton at the time of the Domesday Survey.

Six other parks, all fairly timbered, should be named—Aswarby, and Stoke, in the Kesteven Division, and Revesby, Ormsby, Hainton, and Riby in Lindsey.

The chief scientific planting in Lincolnshire during the eighteenth century was that accomplished by Sir Joseph Banks at Revesby. But this has been far surpassed in the nineteenth century, both in quantity and in tabulated results by successive earls of Yarborough. On the Brocklesby and Manby estates, in 119 years, namely, from 1787 to 1905 inclusive, upwards of 23½ millions of trees have been planted. During the whole of this period an accurate record of every detail of

¹ T. Stone, *General View of Agriculture, Lincoln* (1794), 23, 34, 91-4.

² A. Young, *General View of Agriculture, Lincoln* (1799), an octavo vol. of 450 pages.

³ The brief information given of each of these parks is chiefly taken from Shirley's *Deer and Deer Parks* (1867), 85-7 and Whitaker's *Deer Parks of England* (1892), 94-6, supplemented by local information.

⁴ Saunders, *History of County Lincoln*, ii, 309.

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arboriculture has been kept. In a large number of years, such as 1793, 1795, 1797, 1808, 1816, 1819 and 1821-3, the numbers planted exceeded half a million. During the present century the yearly average has been 246,080.

At the exhibition of the Royal Agricultural Society at Park Royal in June, 1905, the astonishing total of 157 specimens of different timbers grown on the Earl of Yarborough's Lincolnshire property was shown. This included every variety of indigenous tree, together with a great number of foreign trees, such as the Japanese Juniper and Cypress, the Swiss Stone Pine, the Californian Redwood, the Carolina Poplar and the Venetian Sumach.¹

Most of the woodlands on Lord Yarborough's property were evidently planted with the idea of producing landscape effects on what must have been bare wolds. The timber has been at its best for some years past; it is therefore now being taken down and replanted so much every year, in order to get it into a rotation of about 90 or 100 years growth. There is no coppice or under-wood work on these estates, and but little in any part of Lincolnshire.

There has been a creosote plant in use at Brocklesby for the last few years, which enables a great deal of timber, which would make very little money if sold, to be used for fencing on the estate. An interesting table of the result of tests, showing the absorption of creosote oil by various kinds of timber,—such as posts of Scotch spruce and silver fir, larch, and hornbeam, as well as rails of spruce and larch and hunting gates of oak and larch hurdles—was presented last year with examples to the Royal Agricultural Society. The timber is naturally dried, and the oil subjected to a pressure of seventy to eighty lb. per inch for three or four hours.²

The official agricultural returns show how steady has been the growth of arboriculture in this county during the last quarter of a century. In 1891 the woods of Lincolnshire, excepting recent plantations, covered 39,490 acres; the plantations of the last ten years occupied 1,342 acres, giving the total for 1891 of 40,832. In 1895 the woods, excepting young plantations, covered 41,425 acres; the plantations since 1881 had an area of 1,702 acres, bringing up the full total to 43,127. A return of the woodlands was again made in 1905 on a better plan. Lincolnshire is entered as having 4,779 acres of coppice; 2,154 of plantations, and 37,242 of other woods, yielding a total of 44,174 acres, or an increase of 1,000 acres in the last decade.

¹ A new departure was made by the Royal Agricultural Society in 1904, when the annual exhibition included the subject of British Forestry.—(*Catalogue 65th Annual Exhibition*, 267-73; *Catalogue 66th Annual Exhibition*, 267-73).

² We desire to express our particular obligations to Mr. C. B. Hankey, Lord Yarborough's agent, and to Mr. Havelock, the forester, for much information, of which the above is a brief abstract.

SCHOOLS

LINCOLNSHIRE is more thickly studded with ancient schools than perhaps any other county, at all events with schools which can show indisputable documentary evidence of their antiquity. Lincoln Grammar School, the ancient grammar school of the city and of the cathedral church, can trace its history to the foundation of the church in 1090, not without shrewd suspicion of an even earlier existence; while there is documentary evidence of the existence of no less than eleven other grammar schools in the county, which in one shape or another still exist, before and in the first half of the fourteenth century, while at the end of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century the county did fair to boast the presence of a university at Stamford, a place admirably fitted, by its central position on the borders of three Midland counties, for the purpose.

LINCOLN GRAMMAR SCHOOL

There is no doubt that Lincoln Grammar School was part of the original foundation of the cathedral church of the Blessed Mary of Lincoln, erected after the transfer, recorded in the confirmation charter of Lincoln Cathedral by William Rufus in September, 1090,¹ of the great Mercian see, anciently placed inconveniently and out of the way at Dorchester in Oxfordshire.

There is no actual contemporary statement of the constitution of Lincoln Cathedral at this date, nor until 1214. But the sister church of Salisbury, established the year after Lincoln, in 1091, has preserved (though only in a thirteenth-century copy) the original Institution of St. Osmund, the first bishop,² which sets out its constitution in a form which there is every reason to believe is contemporary, and represents that of Lincoln also, witnessed as it is by Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, and by 'Robert the chancellor,' who witnessed the Lincoln charter of the previous year.

In the Institution of St. Osmund we find the four principal persons, Dean, Precentor (*cantor*), Chancellor (*cancellarius*), and Treasurer (*thesaurarius*), who were to be always resident, and to receive double commons. Of these the chancellor was to rule the school and correct the books (*in scolis regendis et in libris corrigendis*). The chancellor, in other words, was the schoolmaster, for *scolas regere* meant to teach school, as in the phrase of Regent masters at Oxford, which meant the M.A.s, who actually lectured in the schools. Then comes another statement which is rather obscure :

The subdean under the dean had the archdeaconry (i.e. the cure of souls) of the city and suburbs, and the succentor under the precentor that which related to singing. If the dean is absent, the subdean fills his place, and in like manner the succentor that of the precentor. The schoolmaster (*archiscola*) ought to hear and determine lectures (*lectiones*) and keep the seal of the church, prepare letters and deeds, and enter the readers on the table of the day, and the precentor in like manner the singers.

'Archiscola' has generally been regarded as a synonym for 'cancellarius,' but the context would rather suggest that he was the chancellor's vice, or deputy, and bore the same relation to the chancellor as the subdean and succentor did to the dean and precentor.

In fact, it would almost appear that the chancellor, who in the pre-conquest days at York was called schoolmaster, because he at first taught school himself, had already in the developments of some four centuries devolved the duty of actually teaching the grammar school on the *archiscola*. It must be admitted, however, that the mistake, if mistake it was, of identifying the *archiscola* and the chancellor, was made very early.

When early in the thirteenth century Bricius (? Bryce), bishop of Moray, established a dean and chapter at the new cathedral church at Spiney, otherwise Elgin Cathedral, the papal confirmation of which was dated 1214, he laid down that they were to have all the privileges and immunities,

¹ Chris. Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* pt. ii (1897), 1, from Registrum Antiquissimum, Linc. Chap. Mun. A. i, 5, 111.

² The best edition is in Wordsworth, p. 7. The use of the word 'Sarum,' and the mention of the *archiscola* as the chancellor's deputy, give rise to considerable doubt whether we have in fact the institution of St. Osmund in its original state.

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and be subject to the customs, of the great church of Lincoln. The dean and chancellor of Moray were therefore sent to Lincoln to ascertain what these customs were, and a written copy of them, as dictated by the Lincoln chapter, was entered in the Moray register.¹ But in a Lincoln MS. called Anthony Bek's Book, drawn up between 1315 and 1325, professedly copied from an older entry in a Martyrology now lost, the passages about the chancellor and *archiscola* above quoted from Salisbury occur; only the word *cancellarius* is used where *archiscola* is at Salisbury. As the change must have been made deliberately, it would therefore appear that at Lincoln, in the earliest ages, the chancellor still taught school himself. A later and longer statement of Lincoln customs, which also appears in the Lincoln MS., was sent to Moray about the year 1236. In it we find that the chancellor has definitely confined himself to the duty he always retained, here and in every cathedral, of himself teaching the theological school, while he exercised the powers of patronage and supervision only over the grammar school. 'The office of the chancellor is to teach the theological school (*scolas theologie regere*) and to preach personally, or by some one else of the church chosen by him, unless with assent of the dean and chapter he deposes the office to an outsider.' A list follows of the principal feast days on which he is bound to preach in person.

Also he has to correct the lesson-books (*libros legendarum*) and rebind them after the first binding, also to order and write on the table the readers and ministers of the altar, to hear the readers and determine the lessons, to keep the chapter seal,² to compose the letters and deeds of the chapter, and to read what has to be read in chapter, to keep the theological books of the church, and to keep other books in like manner in the chest. To his dignity it belongs that no one is able to teach (*legere*) in the city of Lincoln, except by his licence, and that he appoints (*conferat*) to all the schools in Lincolnshire at his own will, except to those in prebends,

i.e. on the possessions of other members of the chapter. An example of this exemption of schools on prebends occurs as early as 1309 at Strubby. Mr. Richard of Stretton, one of the canons who was then provost or bailiff of the common chapter estates, to whom the presentation to the grammar school at Strubby belonged, expressly allowed the chapter to exercise the patronage, and they appointed one William, called Prior, of Orreby, to the teaching of the school there for a year from Michaelmas, 1309.

In the same way as the chancellor managed the reading the precentor ruled the choir in singing, and wrote the names of the singers on the table, 'and to him also belongs the instruction and discipline of the boys, and their admission and governance in the choir,' and he looked after the song books in the same way as the chancellor did the grammar and theological books and the general library.

The earliest actual mention of the schoolmaster as distinct from the chancellor at Lincoln is on 3 November, 1246,³ when a case in which Whitby Abbey was concerned was tried by the chancellor and schoolmaster (*cancellarius et magister scholarum*) of Lincoln as papal delegates. An equally early but undated entry in the Lincoln *Registrum Antiquissimum* states that the schoolmaster contributed 16s. yearly to the stipend of the clerk of the common fund. The earliest extant account roll of that clerk, 1305-6,⁴ shows the contribution duly paid *per magistrum scholarum Lincoln.*

In a copy of Lincoln customs in the Lincoln Black Book, written about 1300, the schoolmaster heads the minor officers of the church, immediately below the canons, in an entry as to the admission fees payable by a new canon; who was bound to give 6d. for wine to every other canon, to the schoolmaster (*magistro scholarum*), the sacrist, the deputy of the treasurer, the succentor and the provost, the bailiff or manager of the chapter's estates, and the person who celebrated for dead bishops at the altar of St. Peter.

On 7 February, 1311, Bishop Dalderby⁵ directed the chancellor to put down rival grammar schools. He stated that hitherto it had been ordained that no grammar schools were to be held in the archdeaconry of Lincoln without special licence of the chancellor, but now some presumptuous persons hold adulterine (i.e. unlicensed) grammar schools outside prebends (*extra loca prebendalia*) the chancellor is to threaten them with canonical censure unless they desist.

On 19 January, 1321-2, 'in consequence of the devotion of men to the church and to the saints of God growing cold, assisted by the adversity and pressure of the times daily increasing, the offerings at the head and shrine of St. Hugh, and the tomb of St. Robert' (i.e. Bishop Grosteste, who however never received papal recognition as a saint) 'in Lincoln church, have been so diminished as to amount to a third of what they used to be,' and a new distribution was ordered of 6s. 8d. to any canon residentiary present at St. Hugh's translation, 13s. 4d. among the vicars choral, 18d. among the choristers, 5s. to the sacrist, 'because he labours more than others'; 1s. to the clerk of the common fund, 6d. to the chapter clerk, 5s. to the grammar schoolmaster

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 534-7.

³ *Whitby Charters*, No. 69, i, 249.

⁵ Reg. Dalderby, 214 d.

² Here follow provisions in detail as to the custody of the seal.

⁴ Bj. 2, 4.

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(*magistro scholarum gramaticalium*), 1s. to the song schoolmaster (*magistro scholarum cantus*), and 6d. to the succentor; a rather striking testimony to the superior position of the grammar schoolmaster, ranking next to the canons and far above the precentor's deputy, the song schoolmaster.

The first schoolmaster whose name is known is William of Wheatley, or *de Frumenti lege*, as he called himself in Latin, some of whose works are preserved in an MS. volume at New College, Oxford.¹ The chief part of the book consists of a commentary on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, one of the favourite works of the Middle Ages, dedicated to, among others, Henry of Manisfield (Mansfield), dean of Lincoln. At the end are two hymns of Wheatley's own composition, addressed to St. Hugh of Lincoln, bishop. The efficient cause of the poem, he tells us, 'is a certain young clerk, master of Lincoln Grammar School in the year 1316, in which year he composed these hymns for a play on Christmas Day, in which year there was great scarcity and mortality among men and animals, intending to comfort himself and others in their misery.' The 'young clerk' was, as the context shows, himself. The hymns are not very poetical specimens of the marvellous facility in rhyming Latin which the Middle Ages produced.

The next master we hear of is on 31 July, 1339, when the sub-dean and chapter conferred the grammar school of Lincoln, which was vacant, and the collation of which belonged to them by reason of the chancellorship being vacant and in their hands, on Mr. — (a blank not filled in was left for the christian name) of Wythgift' (i.e. Whitgift) 'by present title, to hold the same from Michaelmas next for three years.' The term of three years was presumably the customary term for a grammar school mastership at Lincoln, as it was the statutory term at York.² On Saturday before Michaelmas, 1351,³ the chapter granted the grammar school to John Muscham, 'on this wise, that if a master of arts should come and ask for the school he should be admitted, since by custom the teaching of the school belongs to an M.A.' The reason of this appointment being made by the chapter and entered in their books is that it was a breach of the law, and therefore beyond the power of the chancellor. The absence of a master of arts is no doubt to be attributed to the Black Death, since at York we find that in 1368⁴ the chapter confirmed the appointment of Mr. John of York, M.A., for life, or until he was beneficed, reciting that since the past mortality, i.e. the recurrence of the Black Death in 1362, on account of the scarcity of masters of arts, no such master having hitherto cared to undertake the office, they were obliged to give him security of tenure to secure his services.

For the same reasons that we cannot trace any continuous history of the grammar school in the chapter act books, we cannot trace any continuous history of the song school. We have seen that the earliest statutes provided for it, as for the grammar school, but it and its master were in the hands of the precentor and entered in his books, if anywhere. We only see it in the chapter books when there is something abnormal. On Saturday after the Conversion of St. Paul, 1305,⁵ all the clerks of the parish churches of the city who were teaching boys in their churches song or music were summoned before the chapter, and charged with keeping adulterine schools to the prejudice of the mother church. They stoutly denied that they kept any such schools or taught boys singing, but, as they could not deny that at some time they had done so, they were made to swear on the gospels that they would for the future keep no adulterine schools in the churches, nor teach any boys music except with the licence of the schoolmaster, i.e., of course, the song schoolmaster. A generation later the precentor had apparently devolved his duty of appointing the song schoolmaster on his deputy the succentor. On 13 June, 1332,⁶ the chapter, which was represented by only two residentiaries, after deliberation on the collation to be made of a fit person to the song school, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Robert of Spalding, after calling before them John of Claypol, formerly a vicar in the church, appointed him, 'the school being in their hands by reason of the vacancy in the succentorship.' It is not till sixty years later that the song school appears again in the act books, 20 February, 1394-5,⁷ when John Austyn, chaplain, was summoned at the instance of Sir John Tetford, master of the song or music school of the city of Lincoln, for that he held and kept with him for a certain time a certain number of boys in the Exchequer of Lincoln, to learn singing, without and against the will of John Tetford, and without his licence, to the prejudice of such school. Austyn confessed, but said he had less than nine boys, with regard to whom he was willing to come to terms with the aforesaid master. He was sworn for the future not to have or keep any boys to learn singing without the licence of the song schoolmaster. It is obvious that Austyn had set up a private singing school, and so deprived the public song schoolmaster of possible pupils and fees. This is made perfectly clear by a later entry of 14 June, 1408, when John Grymesby, a vicar choral,⁸ was summoned

¹ Coxe's Catalogue of Oxford College MSS. New College, No. 264.

² A. F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, i, 13 (*Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser.* xxvii), 11b.

³ A. 2, 26, fol. 11b.

⁴ A. F. Leach, *Early Yorks. Schools*, i, 23.

⁵ A. 2, 20, fol. 2.

⁶ A. 2, 23.

⁷ A. 2, 27 fol. 586.

⁸ So it appears from a complaint by him to the chapter in 1417 (A. 2, 30, fol. 65) that he could not get his wages from his canon Mr. Walter Bullok.

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for not obeying a judicial decree (*non paruit rei judicate*) by which he had been condemned by way of fine to pay Friar (*Fratri*) Walter Brayfest, master or deputy of the music school in the close, 2s. 8d. for teaching three boys in the close against the orders, customs, and statutes of the church. He swore to pay 1s. 8d. within eight days, the rest being remitted in reverence to Mr. John Kele, canon, then present; he being, no doubt, the prebendary of Grimsby's stall. But Grimsby had to pay 2s. fine to the fabric for his contempt of the former order, the full penalty he had incurred being 13s. 4d.

This entry brings out in the clearest way that schoolmastering was in the fourteenth century as much as in the sixteenth or nineteenth century 'a gainful profession,' and that then as now the masters looked to tuition fees for their support. But perhaps the most remarkable thing about the last entry quoted is finding a friar appointed to the music school of the secular canons. The friars seem at this time to have aimed at monopolizing the teaching profession. The monks at Canterbury in the fourteenth century almost invariably had a Friar Doctor to lecture in theology. But it is strange to find the chapter of Lincoln adopting the same practice. Yet on 14 January, 1390—the chancellor being non-resident, the pope having bestowed the chancellorship on an Italian cardinal—the chancellor's theological school and preaching duties were committed by the chapter to a Carmelite friar, Stephen of Patrington, D.D.

The chapter, who asserted the legal rights of the song schoolmaster against rivals, were themselves guilty of promoting the most severe form of competition, at first against the grammar school, and ultimately against the song school as well. The occasion of this was the eternally vexed question of the education of the choristers, whose ecclesiastical duties and study of singing and music were incompatible with regular attendance at school, and with proficiency in the ordinary subjects of school instruction. Very early the education of choristers had been found a difficulty at Lincoln. In 1264 a separate boarding-house had been provided for them under an ordinance of Bishop Richard Gravesend.¹ Before this the choir boys had lived on the charity of the canons, and were apparently unlimited in number. He ordained that they should be twelve in number, of whom two should be incense bearers (*turribularii*) and should live together in one house under a master, and certain property was assigned specially for their support.

The house so assigned is now the organist's, next door to the chancellor's, the chorister's master having after some centuries succeeded in turning the boys out of their nest and annexing it to himself. On 22 February, 1309, we find the chapter writing to Gilbert of Segrave, archdeacon of Oxford, about lengthening the choristers' chamber, 'which is so small and confined that they cannot be decently placed in it,' being built on one side up against the wall of Segrave's prebendal house. The order of Bishop Gravesend took the admission of the choristers out of the hands of the precentor and gave it to the dean and chapter as a body. They appointed a master to look after them, and a canon as supervisor to look after him. Both these persons are called *custos* or *magister choris-tarum* in the chapter act books. In subsequent times no less than six if not seven different officers receive this title; the canon supervisor, the choristers' pedagogue, the choristers' grammar master, the choristers' song master, and two organists, one in the choir and the other 'in the chapel when the Lady Mass is sung'; these two last sometimes being identical with the choristers' song master, sometimes not; while sometimes the choristers' grammar and song schoolmaster were one person. Besides these was a steward (*seneschallus*) of the choristers' house. Hence considerable confusion has arisen, which can scarcely be avoided even if the most careful regard is paid to the qualifications attached to the title and the context.

Thus on 25 January, 1307–8,² William of Segrave was admitted *custos puerorum*. One would suppose that he was the canon overseer. But it is added that he was sworn to take care (*custodiet*) of them to the best of his ability, and to teach (*informet*) them well after the fashion of time past. This shows that he was not the canon overseer, but the master who lived with the choristers. On the other hand, when on 8 July, 1329, John of Scalleby (Schalby he is elsewhere called) 'freed himself wholly from the care of the choristers, saying he could not and would not any longer have anything to do with it,' one would suppose that he was the choristers' master who lived with them. But John of Schalby is a well-known canon of Lincoln who had for many years been bishop's registrar, 1282–1299,³ became a canon in 1299, wrote a book on the bishops of Lincoln which is a leading authority for Lincoln cathedral history, and died in 1333. It was probably old age which made him desire to relinquish the not very onerous office of canon supervisor. But 'at the supplication of the dean and chapter he re-accepted it.'

On 7 April, 1352,⁴ Ralph of Ergham was appointed *custos choristarum*, but he was not the master, as it is stated in the preface to the appointment that the chapter considered the appointment of a 'canonicum supervisorem et custodem communitatis choristarum.' So, too, when Richard

¹ Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* 162, from Lincoln MS. A. 24. *Statuta Choris-tarum*, a chartulary of the choristers' property.

² A. 2, 20, fol. 10b.

³ Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* i, p. lxiii.

⁴ A. 2, 26, fol. 10b.

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Ingoldesby was made *magister choristarum* in 1437 he was not their master, but the canon supervisor, being a canon residentiary.

The mention of the master appointed in 1307 teaching the choristers according to past custom shows that already they were in the habit of receiving instruction from others than the master of the public grammar school or the public song school. It is, of course, an entire mistake to suppose that the grammar school was intended wholly or even mainly and primarily for the choristers, as is expressly or tacitly assumed by most writers on schools, and on Lincoln School in particular.

At Lincoln disputes early arose with the grammar schoolmaster about the choristers, probably in consequence of some question as to the fees to be paid, or perhaps as to difficulty of attendance. Some education was required of the choristers before admission as such, since on 7 April, 1352, when the precentor, Anthony of Goldesburgh, presented two choristers for admission, the chapter answered that they would admit them only on being satisfied as to their fitness, and appointed Thomas Malherbe, vice-chancellor, or as he is called here, sub-chancellor, and John Cole, succentor, to examine them, and the examiners having examined them in singing before the chapter, reported that they were fit. It is not, however, till nearly the end of the fourteenth century that any entry occurs to show that the teaching which the choristers received from their master was anything more than in the nature of private tuition to supplement what they received in the public school. Then from the solemnity of the entry, and the act being done in the very unusual presence of the bishop, it may be inferred that it was a new departure, which, from some antecedent and subsequent acts relating to the public grammar school, may perhaps be inferred to have been in part due to the neglect of the public schoolmaster.

On 16 September, 1386,¹ the subdean and chapter 'made a grace' to Mr. Robert Bramley, master of the grammar school, and granted that for two years next following he might teach and govern by a substitute in his absence. The cause of absence is not stated, but probably it was a pilgrimage to Rome² or elsewhere. On 2 October, 1389,³ i.e. in the chapter-house in the presence of Bishop John [of Bukyngham], a debate arose between the chapter and the precentor on the presentation of a pedagogue (*petagogi*) to teach the boys, choristers of the church, in grammar and song, and also of the choristers themselves. At length the bishop, with the consent of both parties, made a statute and ordinance, and declared that the precentor for the time being had and ought to have the presentation both of the pedagogue and of the choristers, saving the right of the chapter to examine and admit them. On 11 July, 1388, Bramley's leave was extended for two years, and on 20 August, 1390,⁴ he being then described as master of the grammar school of the city of Lincoln (*scolarum gramaticalium civitatis Lincoln*), his leave was extended for a year. The same day the chapter appointed Henry of Refham, undermaster and secondary of the high school ('submagister et secundarius magnarum' ⁵ *scolarum gramaticalium Lincolnie*) during Mr. Robert's absence. Refham was, according to Mr. Maddison, a vicar choral.

It must be something more than a coincidence that on the same 20 August the precentor presented Mr. William Bannebury, also a vicar choral, 'to the office of pedagogue of the choristers, to teach them in grammar.' There is no doubt some distinction implied in the use of the word 'pedagogue' instead of 'master.' The position of the choristers' master was not yet regularized, and he was still nominally only the person who looked after the choristers. On 23 September following, however, the dean and chapter preferred (*prefecerunt*) Henry of Refham, chaplain, to be master of the choristers (*magistrum choristarum*) of the church of Lincoln to teach them in grammar. He had apparently till then held the undermastership of the high school, with a chantry, as on 1 October a successor to him was admitted to the chantry of Anthony of Goldesburgh. Presumably, Mr. Robert Bramley had then returned to his place as schoolmaster of the high school. During his continuance in office no difficulty was raised. On 23 December, 1406, new masters, both of the general grammar school of the city (*scolas gramaticales generales civitatis Lincolnie*) and of the grammar school of the college of choristers (*scolas gramaticales collegii choristarum*), were appointed. The former was Mr. John Bracebridge (Bracebrigg), M.A., who had in 1390 been appointed by the chapter to the mastership of Boston Grammar School, so that he was a man of some scholastic experience and standing, nominated by the chancellor Mr. John Huntman in right of his chancellorship. The

¹ A. 2, 28, fol. 26.

² Thus when William of Wykeham contracted in 1373 with Mr. Richard of Herton to be master of his scholars at Winchester for ten years, 'the time for a single visit to Rome' was excepted, during which he was to find a sufficient substitute. It is noticeable that John of Bukyngham, then canon of York, was a witness to this contract. So, too, on 15 December, 1389, as will be seen, the Lincoln chapter gave leave of absence to the schoolmaster of the town of Stamford for a year for a journey across the sea, viz. to Rome, in the coming year of jubilee, if he left a fit instructor in his place.

³ A. 2, 28, fol. 216.

⁴ A. 2, 28, fol. 32.

⁵ 'High' appears to be the correct translation, as *magnus cancellarius* means high chancellor; whilst *magnus* and *altus chorus* are used indifferently for the high choir at Lincoln.

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latter was Thomas Prestcot, priest, who was presented by the precentor to be *instructorem et informatorem choristarum*. This formal appointment of a choristers' schoolmaster as a rival to the master of the ancient school evidently produced remonstrances, for after the Christmas holidays, on 8 January, 1406-7, the chapter ordered that the choristers and their commoners (*commensales*) should go down to the general grammar school as had been customary in past times. A week later, 15 January, they agreed that the master of the choristers and their teacher (*petagogus*) might admit commoners, and might teach relations and boys of the canons in the school (*scolis*) of the college freely (*libere*), but that boys from outside leaving the general school, whether they belonged to the city or to the country round, he was on no account to admit or teach, but to remit and send them to the general school, and the choristers and commoners were to go down to the general school whenever the precentor and their teacher thought it expedient.

This ruling was, apparently, so far as admitting anyone but the choristers to the choristers' grammar school, an innovation, and as such was resented by the city, by the grammar schoolmaster, and by the chancellor. On 12 February, 1406-7, a Chapter Act, headed 'ordinance of the grammar school,' states that 'after a treaty (*tractatu*) between the chancellor and the mayor and citizens on one side, and the precentor and the dean and chapter on the other, as to the government of the choristers' grammar school in the close, and on the admission and reception as well of outside scholars and others, as of the choristers and commoners with them, in derogation of the rights and regimen of the general grammar school of the city, on the complaint of Mr. John Bracebridge (Bracebryg), the master, this and previous disputes were capitularly ended. The pedagogues or teachers (*petagogi seu informatores*), or masters of the choristers, were to be at liberty 'to teach grammar to the commoners with them, also to the relations (*consanguineos*) of the canons and vicars of the church, or those living at their expense and charity, or dwelling in their family, on every day and time at which lessons are given, freely and quietly without opposition, on condition that once in each of the Michaelmas, Christmas, and Easter terms, they are bound to go down at the ordinary and accustomed hour to the general school under its own master, and at these times to be under the teaching and chastisement of its master, unless of his own free will some other arrangement is made.' But otherwise the masters of the choristers and others above named were to be exempt from all punishment, demand (*exactione*), or payment of collection or salary (*collecte¹ seu salarii*), and all other charges usual in such schools, and were privileged from the obligation of attending the same general school of the church of Lincoln except on the three occasions specified. But no others were to be admitted to the choristers' school. Everyone else, whether living in chantries, or outside or inside the close, who wanted to learn, was bound to go down to the general school, unless by voluntary arrangement of the chancellor and head master (*principalis magistri*) of the school.

This is an extremely interesting document from many points of view. The way in which the ancient school is spoken of alternately and indiscriminately as 'the school of the church' and 'the school of the city,' the evidence afforded of the separation already existing between the dwellers on the mountain and the plain, uphill and downhill, which still plays, or did till quite lately, no small part in Lincoln politics, educational and other, and the rather remarkable fact that the chancellor's school, the ancient cathedral school, was down in the city and not up in the close, strongly suggesting that the school was older than the cathedral, and was there before Remigius built the cathedral on the hill close to the Norman castle; and the indisputable evidence that it was not a free grammar school, but one in which the master was supported mainly by fees; above all, the exceptional and wholly irregular way in which the chapter, running counter to all ecclesiastical law and custom, thus allowed a rival and competing school to their own ancient cathedral school—for of course the ceremonial attendance of the choristers and canons' boys at the old school was the merest formality—render this a most illuminating episode in the history of our ancient schools. It was clearly regarded as a document of great importance in the educational history of Lincoln, since when Thomas Grantham in 1480 began the Liber Albus of the city, containing its records and customs, he inserted it as a great find, with the heading 'composition between the chapter of the church and the mayor and citizens of the city of Lincoln for the grammar school (*scola gramaticali*), found by Thomas Grantham.' Except that the appointment of the master remained with the chancellor of the church, it seems to have had the effect of making the grammar school 'down town' be regarded as entirely the school of the city and its child.

Mr. John Bracebridge appears once more in the Chapter Act books in the assertion of his rights as master of the grammar school. He was, it appears, also a vicar choral, being in fact, as would appear from his resigning it on 17 August,² 1420, the vicar of the stall of Langford Manor.

¹ This is the 'collections' still prevalent at Oxford colleges—a college meeting at the end of term, at which the undergraduates appear to receive judgement on the past term, in many colleges now preceded by an examination. It seems to have been originally arranged for, and to have received its name from, the collection of tuition fees.

² A. 2, 30, fol. 106.

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On 10 August, 1409,¹ he and the sacrist, the treasurer's deputy, Henry Burwasshe, obtained an order from the chapter that they, though vicars choral, were in virtue of the offices they held superior to all other vicars choral, and in processions and all other places where the choir was present were to rank next the canons, the sacrist, Henry Burwasshe, next to them on the north or dean's side, and Bracebridge 'the school-master of the city' (*magister scholarum civitatis*) on the south side; and were not obliged to join the other vicars in the middle of the choir at the book in singing unless there were too few without them, nor to be put on the list for chanting invitatories, responses, or verses.

In 1410² Bishop Repingdon asserts that the master of the grammar school of Lincoln city is allowed to wear a vicar choral's habit, although not a vicar, that he may be able more freely to attend to the instruction of the boys in his school, and complains that the present master has been made a vicar choral and neglects his duties as schoolmaster owing to the performance of his duties as vicar. He directs that henceforth no master is to be appointed vicar, and that if so appointed the appointment is to be null.

A curious point arose on the appointment on 11 June, 1410, of an usher (*ostiarii*) of the school, apparently as no epithet is attached to the word *scholarum*, the great grammar school. John Willoughby had resigned and the chapter appointed in his place William Chesterfield, a citizen of Lincoln. It was objected that, according to an agreement with the city, if anyone holding property in the city came to live in the close, and so would be exonerated from civic office as mayor or bailiff, he ought not to be appointed. The difficulty was got over by adding to Chesterfield's oath of fidelity to the church a clause that if he was elected to the mayoralty or other upper grade of office in the city he would resign the ushership and serve the office.

We know no more about the school or its masters until the sixteenth century, when the earliest city council books now extant begin at 1511. Then, as will be seen, there are copious notices relating to the school. Till then, in the absence of documents, its history is a blank for the whole intervening century. The chapter devoted their whole attention to the choristers' grammar school, and not content with making it a rival to the ancient grammar school, of which the chancellor was protector, also made it a rival to the ancient song-school of which the precentor was protector.

The usher is mentioned again at the obit of William Gray, bishop of Lincoln, celebrated *in crastino animarum*, the day after All Souls Day, i.e. 3 November, 1435, when, in common with the chapter clerk and the clerk of the common fund, he received 6*d.* for his presence.

It will have been noticed that in the compact of 1407 it was settled that except the choristers and their commoners and the relations of the canons and vicars, everybody else even though 'living in chantries' or the close had to attend the high school. The reference to those living in chantries opens up a rather remarkable educational institution annexed to the cathedral, the history of which must be related before returning to the choristers' grammar school.

About half a century before, on 3 September, 1345,³ Sir Bartholomew of Burghershe,⁴ probably carrying out a bequest of his brother, Bishop Henry of Burghershe, who had died some three years previously, though, as usual in such cases, he does it in his own name, founded a chantry in Lincoln cathedral of five priests to celebrate in St. Catherine's chapel on the north side of the choir, where the bishop reposed, and reposes, in a magnificent tomb, with his father, Sir Robert of Burghershe, buried humbly at his feet. The endowment consisted of a payment of £47 a year by the bailiffs of the city of Lincoln, by way of rent charge, presumably in return for some cash payment made to them. The five priests were to live together under a warden, in the house still known as Burghersh Chantry on the north-east side of the close built for the purpose on the site of a prebendal house bought from the chapter. A few years after the foundation, the chapter finding that the payments directed by the founder left a surplus of £10 a year, after all expenses of the chaplains had been paid, made an 'ordinance of children' (*puerorum*) 16 February, 1348-9, which added to the foundation the boarding-house in question. Six boys were to be maintained on the said £10 and taught grammar (*in gramaticalibus instruendi*). On admission a boy was to have completed his seventh year, i.e. was eight years old 'or thereabouts,' and to be 'in need of being there placed, knowing at least his Donatus and fairly to sing (*qui adminus sciat suum Donatum et probabiliter sciat cantare*). Those were to be chosen of whom there was real hope of progress (*de quibus sit verisimilis spes profectus*). They were to remain for eight years and not beyond, being removed when they had completed their fifteenth year, i.e. when they became sixteen years old, or earlier if they contracted any incurable disease, or mental infirmity which gave no hopes of their being promoted to the priesthood. They were to be boarded and lodged in the chantry house, being given maintenance suitable to

¹ A. 2, 30, fol. 15*b*.

² Reg. Repingdon, fol. 46*d.* 'ut liberius informacioni puerorum in scolis suis insistere valeat.'

³ Liber de Ordinacionibus Cantuarum, A. 1, p. 334.

⁴ The family belonged to Burwash in Sussex. The proper pronunciation of this chantry as 'Burrows' chantry' was preserved as late as 1607. Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* 642.

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their age, while 30s. a year was assigned to provide them winter tunics and hoods at Christmas, and shirts if the sum named ran to it, the poorest having the preference for the shirts. In hall they were to sit at the second or at the third table, as the scarcity or plenty of visitors allowed. They had a separate chamber to sleep in. Every whole school-day they were to attend the grammar school, going and coming back together. On feast days they were to attend the parish church at mattins, mass, and vespers, if not able to be present at more, singing the psalms and reading (sc. the lessons) if allowed. At vespers in the chapel in the chantry house they were to say De Profundis, the Lord's Prayer, and the Salutation of the Virgin, with a special prayer for the souls of the bishop and founder. Each of them in turn for a week was to read to the chaplains at meals. The canon who was appointed overseer of the chantry was to look after them and see that they were properly treated and to have the appointment of them, and was never to appoint any of his own relations or friends. Their keep was apparently estimated to cost £1 6s. a year each, or 6d. a week, an estimated surplus of 14s. being directed to be applied for their general benefit.

This foundation was not indeed the first of its kind, for the grammar school boys at Merton College, 1264, and Queen's College, 1334, Oxford, were both earlier, as was also the boarding house at St. John's Hospital, Exeter, founded in 1332¹ for boys attending the high school there, but it was among the earliest. Its special interest lies in the fact that William of Wykeham's chief clerical preferment before he became bishop of Winchester was that of archdeacon of Lincoln, and this Burghershe chantry may safely be reckoned² as one of the institutions which served him as models in developing his magnificent foundation of Winchester College, out of which grew the whole system of the 'Great Public Schools.' The requirement that Winchester scholars before admission should know their Donatus, i.e. the elementary grammar of Aelius Donatus, which went as far as the accidence, is repeated in the statutes of Winchester, as is the Bible clerk, the boy who was in course for a week to read to the fellows at dinner.

To anticipate a little the order of date, we may here say that the Burghershe chantry seems to have been an unqualified success. For, some forty years later, Bishop John of Bukyngham founded on his own account a chantry of two chantry priests and two 'clerks,' as he, like Wykeham, calls his school-boys, building for them chambers over and round the entrance-gateway of the Burghershe chantry. In his foundation deed, 7 March, 1387-8,³ he says that as he 'saw clearly that the Burghersch (*sic*) chantry was and is well founded for the increase of divine worship, and settled on wise, useful and honourable statutes, so that the fruit of good works had grown by means of its ministers and fellows, who were everywhere commended for their remarkable virtues and conduct,' he directed his own chantry priests and clerks to live with those of Burghershe, to wear the same dress and follow their example. His two boys or clerks (*clerici*), who were, like the Burghershe boys, to be over seven and under sixteen, were to be taught grammar and song (*gramaticalibus et cantu instruuntur*), and to be subject to the same regulations as the Burghershe boys, except that they were to pray for Bukyngham instead of Burghershe.

These two institutions for exhibitioners at the grammar school were duly kept up. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁴ of 1535, the chantry priests of Burghershe chantry claimed that in arriving at the net sum on which they were to pay tenths, they should be allowed 'in yearly alms for six poor boys living there according to the foundation, £12 7s. 4d.,' though it is said that the expense, *communibus annis*, was only £10 4s. The one chantry priest of Bukyngham's chantry claimed a similar allowance of 37s. 5d. for one poor boy there. It would appear doubtful whether the boys then attended the grammar school, as an abatement of £1 a year is also claimed 'for one poor person instructing the said boys,' but this may only mean a sum paid for private tuition; for, in the much fuller statement of the endowment given in the chantry certificate⁵ of 1548, the Burghershe chantry is said to be, *inter alia*, 'for six poor boys professing the art of grammar, to be kept at school from seven years to sixteen,' £10 being paid 'for their commons and liveries,' while the Bukyngham chantry⁴ was for two poor boys to be kept at the grammar school. This certificate explains that the two chantry priests and two grammar boys had been reduced to one because the rectory of Lilford (Northants), which formed the main part of the endowment, originally let at £16, was now let at £8 only, and so some forty years before one of the chaplains and one of the boys were extinguished. We can fix the exact date when this reduction took place from the Chapter Act books; for, on 31 May, 1489, on account of the chantry priests paying two-tenths to the king and other exceptional burdens, the chapter granted that one of the boys might be dropped so long as John Dene's son was not the boy excluded. The commissioners for continuing the payments for schools and poor under the Chantries Act, reciting that £10 'hathe been

¹ Reg. Grandisson, ii, 666.

² See chapter on 'Wykeham's Models,' in A. F. Leach, *Hist. of Winch. Coll.* (1899); 'Schools,' *V.C.H. Hants*, ii.

³ Liber de Ordinacionibus Cantariarum, fol. 391.

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 26.

⁵ A. F. Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, 128, from Chan. Cert. 33, No. 7a.

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continually paid to the fynding of six children at the grammer scole out of the revenues' of Burghershe chantry, 'and that Christopher Hunt' and five others named, 'beyng scolers, do nowe enjoye the same, and that 33s. 4d. hathe been yerely given to the fyndyng of a poore childe to the grammer scole out of the revenues' of Buckingham chantry, 'and that Christofer Large, beyng a scolar, nowe doth enjoye the same,' directed that these payments should be continued.

Hence we find in the accounts of the Receiver General of the Court of Augmentation these payments duly made in 1548-9.¹ They continued to be paid out of the crown lands and are still paid to the dean and chapter. Instead, however, of the income being paid to the grammar school, it is paid to a chorister, though it is quite certain that these boys were not and were never intended to be choristers.

There were other exhibition endowments for boys at the grammar school, the origin of which I have not found. Another 'continuance warrant,' addressed by the same commissioners to the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, found that 'certaine poore scollers att the grammer scole in the cathedrall church of Lincolne have had heretofore yearly out of diverse obits found ther 40s. 10d. towards the maintenance of theire living, and that the same poore scollers have heretofore had out of the obytt of John Hymwell,' which is a mistake for Gynwell, bishop 1358-68, '£4 3s. 4d.' This document clearly shows us that the grammar scholars were not choristers, nor the choristers the same as the grammar scholars. For it goes on with a finding 'that the choristers have had heretofore yearly out of the said obytts 36s. 8d.' The choristers also had 12s. 'towards their living out of the possessions of late Bishop Smith's (1495-1541) chantry,' and the 'scolemaster of the said choristers' 26s. 8d. from the same, all which payments were ordered to be continued out of the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster. Accordingly there was separately paid to the chapter half-yearly 17s. 10d. for poor scholars and 16s. 4d. for choristers. These payments are still made by the duchy. But not only the choristers' payments but the payments for grammar scholars are (wrongly) applied to the choristers.

Another class of persons at Lincoln of whom there is frequent mention in connexion with the grammar school, and whose endowments were practically educational, were the poor clerks (*pauperes clerici*) or clerks of the second form (*clerici secunde forme*) as they are sometimes called, the first form being occupied by the choristers, and the third or highest form (*superiori gradu*) by the canons and priest-vicars. The main duty of these poor clerks seems to have been to take care of the various altars in the church, each being assigned to one, and assist the chantry priests ministering at these altars, and to ring the bell for 'first peal' at 5 a.m. They were originally 13, but one of them, the keeper of St. Mary Magdalen's altar, became the chaplain of the church of that name which was built in lieu of it, a parish church outside the close, by Oliver Sutton.² The keeper of St. Peter's altar, at which were celebrated the obits of the bishops, the representatives of St. Peter, became a very august individual, his chief duty being nominally to act as the legal assessor of the chapter, and in fact to sit alone as their stipendiary magistrate, with the title of *auditor causarum*. He was generally promoted to a canonry.³

The other 'poor clerks of the choir who serve the altars,' eleven in number, were by statute made in August, 1293,⁴ 'for their good name and evidence of good conduct' directed to live together in a mansion given to them by Mr. Geoffrey Pollard, and 'not scattered about singly as has hitherto been the indecent custom.' Whether the end was altogether attained seems rather doubtful, as their conduct is frequently the subject of severe animadversion by the chapter. On one occasion they kept a young woman in their house all night, and even as late as 1526, when Bishop Langland revised their statutes,⁵ his revisions were largely taken up with prohibitions against dicing and card-playing, quarrels and giving women passes or introducing them into their house, and frequenting taverns of ill-fame outside. It appears from the chapter act books that the age of these clerks was from 18 to 24, at which age they were required to be ordained to holy orders. Their ecclesiastical duties apparently occupied a very small part of the day, and the rest of their time was expected to be devoted to learning and study, in preparation for orders. A constant struggle went on between the deans and the chapters as to whether the right of appointment to the office of a poor clerk belonged to the dean alone or to the dean and chapter. After it had been supposed to be settled in 1321 it broke out again a century later in a tremendous fight between Dean Macworth and the chapter, in the course of which the dean's men assaulted the chancellor, Peter Partridge, on his way back from church, dragged him by the hair, though he was in his vestments, through the close, beat him and left him half dead. On 19 October, 1415,⁶ this dean by letter presented Richard Ireton to the office of a poor clerk and the keepership of St. Michael's altar. The chapter

¹ P.R.O. Ministers' Accts. 2-3 Edw. VI, No. 90.

² Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* lxi, from *Reg. Antiquissimum*.

³ Black Book, 325-30, 347.

⁴ A contemporary list of the altars is given in the *Reg. Antiquissimum*, fol. 211b; Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* lxx.

⁵ Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* ii, 559.

⁶ A. 2, 30, fol. 40b.

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asked Ireton whether he had been personally examined in Latin (*litteratura*) and singing according to the custom of the church. He answered No, but he had been sufficiently examined by the dean and was not prepared to be examined a second time. So the president and chapter considering the boyish appearance (*staturam puerilem*) of the said Richard, his mean learning (*modicam erudicionem*) because by his own admission he was only learning Donatus¹ at school ('qui Donatum ut dixit in scolis audiebat'), postponed his admission, not thinking him fit.

On 23 February, 1436-7, the whole of the poor clerks were warned by the subdean and chapter in the person of their provost, Nicholas Bakewell (Baukwell), to go to the public school and learn effectively, on pain of the loss of their commons and the whole benefit which they received from the common fund of the church. Moreover, no one was to presume to teach them (*informare*) in private places, such as their own rooms (*propriis cameris*). Apparently they proved disobedient, as on 12 April following one of the vicars-choral was appointed 'Overseer of the Poor Clerks' to look after their teaching and government (*regimen et gubernacionem*), particularly in singing and reading in the church, and further that they learn and attend school regularly ('addiscant et scolae adeant et frequentent') and to report to the chapter, 'so that those who make no progress may be removed.' On 28 September, 1448, the dean being under excommunication by the chapter, one John Lofts was admitted as poor clerk and keeper of St. Michael's altar, on condition of better learning grammar and singing and more diligently attending the grammar as well as the song school ('quod diligentius vacet scolistam in gramatica quam in cantu') on pain of expulsion. Again on 31 December, 1463, Dean Fleming presented William Stryngar to the office of poor clerk and keeper of St. Andrew's altar, after he had been duly examined in singing and reading, and he was warned that every weekday at the proper hour after his office in the church was duly fulfilled he was effectively to attend the grammar school and the song school on pain of deprivation. On 17 June, 1477,² Richard Husbandman, a poor clerk, who had been put in prison by the city bailiffs for misconduct with Miles Anderton's wife, was suspended from office. At the same time all the poor clerks, 'because they had long failed to attend the grammar school in the choristers' house, and had threatened the schoolmaster and often abused him,' were publicly suspended unless they attended properly. The position of master seems to have grown somewhat perilous, for on 22 September, 1488, 'one James, the choristers' cook,' was sent to the Wynd Prison for a week-end for drawing a dagger on the grammar schoolmaster. On 7 November the same year the poor clerks were admonished to abstain from playing at dice or cards, at all events for money, and to attend school better. As a month or two later John Davy, the song schoolmaster of the choristers' house, and Christopher Digles, the grammar schoolmaster, were found at the visitation to have been negligent in teaching the boys going to their schools, the fault was, perhaps, not solely in the poor clerks. On 26 January, 1492-3, an examination of the poor clerks was held, at which ten appeared, and their ages on the following Lady Day, ranging from 23 to 19, are given. They were all warned to frequent the grammar school or the song school daily, and to do their duty at the services and to stop walking about the church and talking during service on pain of deprivation. On 29 June following three of them were called before the chapter for not doing their duty at service time, but playing tennis and not attending school, and were threatened as usual and ordered to tell their colleagues that they would incur the same penalty. The fact was that it was rather absurd to make these young men of university age attend the grammar school, especially as in later years it would appear that they attended not the public school but the school of the choristers. Eleven years later, 27 January, 1503-4, when a new poor clerk was admitted he was specially made to swear to attend the grammar school. On 18 June following the whole of them were summoned for not attending the grammar school, and four days later the dean 'removed from the habit' all but the four juniors, but at the request of the treasurer and Canon Grantham he readmitted those deprived on condition, 'etc.' The chapter clerk must have smiled as he penned this 'etc.,' knowing well that the *fulmen* was always *brutum* and merely a form of words. On 18 August, 1520, 'for the second time,' three of them were warned to attend school better. The entry is noticeable as being the first time in the chapter act books that the school is in the singular (*melius vacent scole gramaticali*). A generation later again, 13 November, 1547, the poor clerks were directed 'for the future diligently and studiously to attend the grammar school (*scolam gramaticalem*) according to the . . . injunctions of the Royal Commissioners given at the king's visitation,' which had been issued in September, 1547. No copy of them is preserved at Lincoln. They were sent in almost identical terms to other cathedrals;³ but as there were not poor clerks in most cathedrals the precise article referred to is not ascertainable.

¹ Donatus, as we saw, was 'the accidence,' a knowledge of which was required of the Burghershe and Buckingham boys on admission at the age of seven.

² A. 2, 38, fol. 67.

³ Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* 579; and Kitchin, *Winch. Cath. Doc.* (Hants Rec. Soc. 1889), 179-88.

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Further injunctions were, however, issued 24 April, 1548,¹ article 22 of which provides that 'the Chapter shall fynde such choristers as have serveyd in the sayde church fyve yeres or more and have their voices chaungeyd, at some Grammer Scoole, and gyve them yerely £3 6s. 8d. of the revenues of the common lands for the space of fyve yeres. And yf yt shall pleas the Deane, to conferre and admyt any such choristers into a roome of any of the pore clerkshippys then they shall for as moche as any of ther porcions shall be less than 5 marks, they to make it up to the somme of 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) of their commen lands. And if any other of the sayd choristers or pore clerks be proveyd by the Scolemaister there to be unmeyt to learne or negligente, and suche as wyl not diligently to applye themselves to learnyng, then the sayd Deane and Chapitor to be dischargyd of the fundyng of them untyl they shall have other that be metir.'

The chantries were all suppressed in 1548, and the purpose of the poor clerks therefore ceased, and it is rather strange that the Royal Commissioners did not abolish them too. But they remained, though they had now nothing to do, except to swell the number of those attending services. On 20 August, 1555, Thomas Flower, succentor, gave to Gervase Fishborne, poor clerk, 6s. 8d. and my 'Ortus vocabulorum with all my gramer bokes.' In 1556, however, the bishop, John White, promoted from the wardenship of Winchester, where he had been from 1535 to 1541 a very successful head master, and a person keenly interested in education, seems to have endeavoured to make the institution of poor clerks of some use by converting their house into a boarding house for thirty boys, an institution which if maintained might have made Lincoln, like Westminster with its forty scholars, one of the great public schools.²

On 20 June, 1556,³ the bishop in person attended the chapter, and held an admission of the first 'clerks or scholars of the New College or School of Thirty Poor Clerks ('clericorum sive scholarium Novi Collegii sive Schole xxxta pauperum clericorum'). Eleven were admitted, the youngest, Christopher Digles, being 15 years old, three were 16, three were 17, and the rest 18, 19, and 20 respectively. One came from Yorkshire, one from Leicestershire, one from Nottinghamshire; the rest were from Lincoln city or county. So that it seems to have been intended to be a veritable 'non-local' public school. At the same time the chapter admitted two other poor clerks on the old foundation, while provision was made reserving to four others of the 30 poor clerks of the newly created college, when they left, certain emoluments called "'Two Stewardryes," being twenty weeks' pay, due to them by the ancient custom of the "old house of Poor Clerks," which they did not receive at their admission, the custom having been to deduct twenty weeks' commons on admission and give it to them on leaving. This custom itself was declared to be abolished. After the bishop had left the chapter, two more 'clerks in the New College,' one from Louth and the other from Nottinghamshire, both aged seventeen, were admitted. On 19 May, 1557,⁴ Thomas Gilby, clerk, of Saltfleet, gave by will 'To the newe college towards the maintening of the poor clarkes thereof 5s.' On 6 November, 1557, two more 'scholars of the New College,' Thomas Williamson of Dunham-on-Trent (Notts), aged 15, and Richard Burges of Shrewsbury, aged 20, were admitted, and 'swore obedience to the Bishop and Dean and Chapter "according to the statutes of the newly-created college."' William Graves of Bakewell, Derbyshire, aged 20, was admitted on 16 April, specially on condition of behaving himself properly to the dean and chapter, 'and that he will frequent the Grammar School (*Scolam Gramaticalem*) and attend to his books with all his diligence.' Admissions are recorded up to 1 November, 1558; while on 8 October Jerome Loveday, whose rights were reserved in 1556, was admitted a junior vicar-choral. It is not quite clear whether the new college was kept up after this. No mention is made of 'the College' afterwards. On 19 September, 1559, we relapse to the usual warning to the poor clerks to attend school (*incumbere scolae*) and ring the day bell at 5 a.m. as usual. But as late as Trinity Sunday, 1569, one Robert Eystor was admitted to 'the number of clerks or scholars' of the said church. On 11 April, 1579, the emoluments of a poor clerk were granted by the chapter to one John Hudleston, a poor clerk, while residing at Oxford or Cambridge, as if he was present at Lincoln, in 'consideration of his skill in grammar as well as music and through pity for his poverty.' Apparently this was resented by the rest, as on 23 September, 1581, the poor clerks were warned to pay John Hudleston, 'one of the poor clerks living in Oxford Academy,' his salary according to the former grant. Oddly enough, another copy of these same chapter acts substitutes Cambridge for Oxford.

There was an even higher and older class who were frequently being told by the chapter to attend the grammar school. This was the vicars-choral, the deputies or vicars of the canons,

¹ Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* 583, from A. 3, 6, fol. 388. Unfortunately, Canon Wordsworth has omitted from his printed copy a whole line in the middle of the second clause of the article.

² Unfortunately the instrument under which this was done is not to be found either in the episcopal or chapter records. The latter, however, show the foundation at work.

³ A. 3, 5, fol. 412.

⁴ A. R. Maddison, *Linc. Wills*, 55; James Williamson, *Linc.* 1888.

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in their choir duties of singing and performing the services. They occupied the upper row (*superiori gradu*) in their masters' absence, but normally the second row (*secunda forma*), second that is from below, above the choristers and other youths, not as Mr. Maddison seems to suppose,¹ second from above, though as there were only three forms it was also that. The vicars-choral were divided into senior and junior vicars. At first, probably, the distinction was merely one of standing, but when Bishop Oliver Sutton, at the end of the thirteenth century, provided a house for them to live together—the 'Bownegarth' at the east end of his own garden—the senior vicars, some twelve to fifteen in number, who lived there were priests-vicars, the others were deacons and sub-deacons, the latter being, of course, in the Roman Church, also in 'holy' orders. It was not until 1328² that the junior vicars were granted by the chapter a piece of land on which to build a common house at the east of the senior vicars' house, enlarged about 1390 by Bishop Bukyngham.

These junior vicars were often recruited from the poor clerks, though it was not uncommon for a chorister to be made a vicar straight away. As early as 1236³ the Statuta Vicariorum provided that every new vicar should be examined whether he knows how to read and to sing; and if he knew both reasonably (*probabiliter*) he should be admitted on probation for a year, that in the meantime he might learn the antiphons and hymns, and if at the end of a year he knew them without book, next year he should be set to learn the psalter in the same way, and if he knew both reasonably should be admitted, and if not, rejected. As reading meant reading the lessons in Latin, a knowledge of Latin was implied. The admission examination was conducted by the vice-chancellor in reading and by the succentor in singing. This we learn on the admission, 13 April, 1439,⁴ of John Ingleton, described as 'organista' and as a junior vicar, viz. of the second form, who is stated to have been so examined 'according to the form used in the church of Lincoln.' He swore to 'excuse' his master, who was Thomas Kempe, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, from all 'hours by night as well as by day,' and to know his histories (*ad sciendum historias suas*). On 6 February, 1404, the chapter had ordered the vice-chancellor and succentor to examine all the vicars-choral as to 'historias totius anni.' The 'histories' which they were required by statute as early as 1236⁵ to know by heart and sing without book were the responds and verses which followed the lessons, taken on Sundays from the historical books of the Old Testament and on saints' days from the stories or legends of saints. Originally, no doubt, the 'histories' were the lessons or legends (the words at first were the same) themselves, but the name had been transferred to the responses at the end, and the various histories were known by their first words, 'Deus omnium,' and the like. A similar order was repeated, 21 May, 1450, to all the vicars, 'to know their histories without book according to the ancient custom,' and they were ordered to say them at fitting times of the year to the succentor and the vice-chancellor, who were to report to the chapter.

But they were also required to acquire real learning. On 20 December, 1432, William Wode, newly admitted a junior vicar, was ordered 'to learn his grammar so that he might be fit to take orders at Easter, or otherwise to provide himself with service elsewhere than in the church of Lincoln.' In 1452-3 Richard Byrksland, *alias* Chapman, late a chorister, was admitted a vicar-choral of the prebendal stall of Merston, and it was enjoined on him that he should for a whole year from that day go to the grammar school and attend it regularly and sedulously and diligently learn on pain of deprivation. At the end of the year he was to come back and be examined and formally admitted if fit. So on 13 October, 1459, Thomas Stokeley, a junior vicar and an acolyte, was warned once, twice, and thrice to abstain from the society of ribalds (*ribaldorum*) and women of bad character in the town, and to attend the grammar school (*melius vacet scolis gramaticalibus*) better for the future, with a threat that on the next complaint he would be removed. Attendance at the song school was also required, as on 10 January, 1482-3, a vicar-choral was admitted 'if he is sufficiently instructed in playnsong, pryksong, discant, and faburdon.' On 12 November, 1491, Hamo Thwyng, who had been a poor clerk, was admitted a vicar-choral, but 'as he was not perfectly instructed in song and grammar he was sworn to use his diligence to learn the organ and discant, and grammar, within the year following.' On 25 March, 1524-5, a vicar of the first form, William Freman, was himself admitted song master or instructor of the choristers.

On 20 May, 1542, three of the junior vicars, who, 'contrary to custom, had their chambers in taverns and other houses of laymen in the close and outside,' were ordered to sit at table for their

¹ *Short Account of the Vicars-Choral, Poor Clerks, Organists, and Choristers of Lincoln Cathedral*, cited as 'Maddison.' London, 1878, by A. R. Maddison, Priest-Vicar, p. 27. The first form, as already stated, was the lowest.

² Maddison, *op. cit.* 8.

³ Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* 145.

⁴ A. 2, 33, fol. 7b.

⁵ Proctor and Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum Sarum*. mcc. 'Sciendum autem quod haec predicta Historia, "Deus omnium" semper dicatur usque ad primam Dominicam post Kalendas Augustii . . . in prima Dominica post Kal. Aug. semper inchoetur Historia "In principio,"' and so on. The respond on beginning to read the Book of Kings on First Sunday after Trinity was 'God is the hearer of all, he sent his angel and took me from my father's sheep,' a sort of musical dramatizing of the story of David.

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commons either in the vicars' house, the choristers' house, the fabric chantry-house, or that of Burghershe or Cantilupe chantry, and to frequent the grammar school at proper times and not 'wander round hither and thither as they now did'; while six poor clerks were warned at the same time. So a vicar 'of the second form,' William Smythe, on 14 November, 1545, was brought up before the chapter 'for not staying at nights in the vicars' house, but in laymen's houses outside the close, and being very remiss in getting up for mattins and reading the holy Scriptures and attending the grammar school as he is bound.' He confessed his fault and promised reform. In the injunctions delivered by Queen Elizabeth's commissioners for Lincoln Cathedral, September, 1559, article 2 ran: 'Item, that your petye canons,' as they were now for the first time called, 'shall dailye, all such as be not maryed, and not hable of themselves to studye Goddes worde, at vacant houres aforenone and afternone (the servyse tyme onlye excepted) resorte unto the gramer scole and there learne suche thinges as they may thereby afterwards be the more able to serve God.' After this we hear no more of forcing the vicars to attend the school.

About this time¹ they were reduced in number from twenty-five or more to twelve. The junior vicars disappeared, and only the priests, now mostly married men, who lived cleanly and soberly, remained. They did not require the antidote of attendance at school to provide them with occupation and keep them out of mischief.

It does not appear whether the school which the junior vicars, and latterly the poor clerks, were supposed to attend was the high school or the choristers' school. If the latter, the master of it must have had a curious mixed team to drive, ranging from 7 years to 30 or thereabouts, and the time-table must have been a little difficult as well as the discipline. The difficulty must have been enhanced by the fact that the masters were usually drawn from the ranks of the vicars themselves.

We can with more or less completeness trace the succession of the masters of the choristers' grammar school and also of the masters of the choristers' song school, which was soon afterwards set up as a separate institution, though sometimes one master was appointed for both.

In June, 1410, the bishop² ordered that the choristers were to speak Latin and not English among themselves in church and in the close, and not to make a noise round the altar, and to treat their seniors kindly and honourably. They are not to go out of their house without leave; are all to sleep in their dormitories, and their master is to treat them like gentlemen (*honeste*), and to clothe them and feed them according to his means, and the food is to be good.

In September, 1415,³ the will of Robert Walker, schoolmaster of the choristers (*magistri scolorum choristerum*), was proved in chapter. He was apparently succeeded by Thomas Maupas, since on 21 September, 1427, John Swaton, chaplain, was admitted by the chapter on the resignation of Thomas Maupas, last master and keeper, to the rule (? teaching) and keeping (*regimen et custodiam*) of the choristers; and he is sworn to govern them and their college churches and stewardship (*iconomiam*) in temporals and spirituals. It must be allowed that this looks more like the appointment of a steward of the choristers' house than their schoolmaster. In fact, if the appointee had been a canon one would have supposed this to be an appointment of the canon overseer. On 21 May, 1429, John Retford, clerk, 'master or teacher of the vicars and choristers in song (*cantu*),' asked permission to resign his office for the service of the noble lord Sir Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. Here then the choristers' song schoolmaster appears separate from the grammar schoolmaster. But in consequence probably of Retford's absence being only temporary, on 11 August, 1431, William Frankys,⁴ chaplain, was, on the presentation of the precentor, admitted 'to the school of song and grammar in the close of the church of Lincoln especially to teach the choristers their song and grammar.'

On 20 December, 1432,⁵ John Tenelby, a canon, was appointed supervisor choristarum and magister regiminis, while the same day John Dawson was appointed steward (*seneschallus*) of the choristers with the same fee as 'Sir Makyns' had and a chantry lately held by Rowston.

By 26 June, 1434,⁶ John Retford, the 'master of the choristers' Song School,' had returned from the service of the earl of Northumberland, as he was on that day excused by the chapter from getting up to midnight mattins and from attending choir on weekdays that he might more easily find time for teaching the boys singing, which the chapter regarded as a meritorious work for which he was necessary. What happened to Frankys's appointment as grammar and song master does not transpire, but as he is found on 4 February, 1435-6,⁷ as 'Clerk of Re and Ve,' a mysterious title which is short for 'recessit' and 'venit' because his duty was to record the goings and comings of the canons, so as to see that their residence was properly kept and that they only received their share of daily distributions and obits and the like, he had been relieved of his teaching functions.

¹ Maddison, op. cit. 47.

² Reg. Repingdon, fol. 46b.

³ A. 2, 30, fol. 39.

⁴ A. 2, 32, fol. 59. His name has been misread as Faukes, Fawkes and Foukys.

⁵ Ibid. fol. 67b.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 94.

⁷ Ibid. fol. 114.

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On 12 January, 1436-7,¹ the chapter consolidated two chantries, that of William Ulph, otherwise Wolf, a former canon, which had sunk in value to only £1 a year, and Stretton's chantry worth five marks, in the hands of Thomas Farford, and at the same time declared that no one should teach boys, youths, or old men reading, song, or grammar, or any liberal science, in any private place in the close; but there should be for the future one school for all, kept in the choristers' inn (*hospitium*) for reading and song, and one pedagogue or teacher for it, receiving in respect of the choristers 16s. 8d. a year from the choristers' house, and from others such fitting amount as is customary; and Farford took this duty on himself, the precentor promising him a dividend of 40s. But nevertheless there would be as usual another pedagogue to teach grammar provided at the expense of the choristers.

This was expressly said to be without prejudice to the agreement made about keeping the schools in the city and in the close. Thomas Farford was still in office on 5 October, 1448, when as 'instructor of the singing'² of the choristers' he assisted the succentor in examining a chorister on admission.

Meanwhile, on 18 August, 1440,³ John Broune had been admitted pedagogue or master of the choristers in grammar. There is no further mention of the choristers' grammar schoolmaster in the act books until 12 July, 1483,⁴ when the chapter conferred on Robert Harecorte, grammar master of the choristers, the chantries of John Chedworth and John Colynson. This use of Chedworth's chantry was very appropriate, as he was a fellow of Merton transported to Cambridge to become one of the first fellows of King's, and soon after provost, and then bishop of Lincoln. It was probably Harecorte against whom the choristers' cook drew his dagger and was sent to prison for it on 21 September, 1488.⁵

The wills proved before the chapter at this time are full of educational bequests. Thus on 29 December, 1455,⁶ John Leek, chaplain and sacrist of the minster, gives to William Clark, his servant, a chalice and patten and set of vestments, and the bed he lay on at night, and also his maintenance at the grammar school (*exhibicionem suam ad scholas gramaticales*) for two whole years, and likewise a silver salt-cellar and a maple bowl. On 8 May, 1463,⁷ John Breton, clerk, gives to his 'brother, Master John, to continue school £20 at the disposition of Master Thomas Breton, his brother, viz. four marks a year; and if the said John be beneficed or called to any promotion then the residue to be distributed at the discretion of the said Thomas to any secular priests attending school (*scolas exercentes*) to celebrate in the university of Cambridge 'for me and my benefactors.' This was, of course, a university, not a grammar-school exhibition. So is the next bequest of John Tylney, clerk, 4 May, 1473,⁸ 'I will that Robert Porch, my servant, be maintained (*exhibeatur*) at the University of Cambridge out of my goods for a year.' Again, 2 March, 1477-8,⁹ Mr. Robert Wymbysh, sub-dean, directed that Thomas son of John Wymbish, no doubt a nephew, should be maintained at the grammar school (*exhibeatur ad scholas gramaticales*) out of his goods for a year.

On 11 February, 1491-2,¹⁰ John Raskyll, chaplain of Chedworth's chantry, was ordered to remove for 'certain demerits,' and the same day it was ordered that the next chantry falling vacant should be conferred by the chapter as a body on the coming grammar schoolmaster, notwithstanding it was the chancellor's or anyone else's turn to present. The new master's name is not given. He was apparently the hero of a woful tale told by the sub-dean, who was canon supervisor of the choristers' house, 2 November, 1499,¹¹ of how that house was suffering great damage owing to the paucity of commoners in it, and that the choristers' master in grammar had already departed from having his commons there, because he had no companion at table except the steward of the house, who being often absent on business, he was left to dine alone. The sub-dean also complained that the chantry priests had their commons in taverns and other houses of laymen contrary to the ancient custom of the church and the orders of the chapter, to the damage of clerical reputations. The chapter discussed a resolution that all the chantry priests should commons either in one of three chantry houses, or the choristers' house; but eventually postponed the matter. On 2 March, 1501-2,¹² Mr. William Thrope or Thorpe, 'master of the school in the close,' was admitted chantry priest of Russell's chantry in the chapel of St. Blaise. Russell's chantry was again an appropriate appropriation to education, for he had been scholar of Winchester, and scholar and fellow of New College and first chancellor of Oxford University to be elected such for life. On 18 January, 1504-5, Thomas Dernley was admitted master of the grammar school in the close, and to the chantries of Bishops Russell and Chedworth.

The next appointment mentioned is somewhat mysterious. On 1 March, 1538-9,¹³ Mr. William Dighton was appointed to the keepership (*custodiam*) of the grammar school in the

¹ A. 2, 32, fol. 120.

² A. 2, 34, fol. 2b.

³ A. 2, 32, fol. 137.

⁴ A. 3, 1, fol. 18b.

⁵ A. 2, 37, fol. 46b.

⁶ A. 2, 35, fol. 28b.

⁷ Ibid. fol. 97.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 135.

⁹ A. 2, 38, fol. 97b.

¹⁰ A. 2, 37, fol. 70.

¹¹ A. 3, 1, fol. 164.

¹² A. 3, 2, fol. 191.

¹³ A. 3, 5, fol. 163.

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close of Lincoln, with all and singular the lands and tenements to the keeper of the same belonging, to enter at Lady Day following.' He seems to be the William Dighton who appears for many years as master of the ancient grammar school, the school in the city, and was afterwards sheriff and mayor of the city. Perhaps as the word 'custodia' is used he was only put in temporarily and ran both schools together. On 27 February, 1547-8,¹ John Plumtre, master in arts, was admitted by the chapter to the office of master of their grammar school (*sue scole gramaticalis*), the first time this school is spoken of as *scole* in the singular instead of *scolarum* in the plural. He was to hold at the pleasure of the chapter with the fee due to such office. Plumtre or Plumtree was a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1538, and M.A. on 21 July, 1542.

The commissioners of Edward VI on 24 April following directed that 'in this cathedrall church the Kyng's majesty wolleth that of the common lands and the revenues of that church shalbe ordeyned kept and mayntayned contynally a Free Grammar Scoole, the Master to have yerely 20 marks and his house rente free, and the Usher yerely £6 13s. 4d. and his chamber fre.' As we noticed above, when the school was first established in 1407² it was to be free only for the choristers; others were to pay reasonable fees. The royal injunctions made the school a free school, that is free from tuition fees. The choristers were now to have exhibitions to keep them at school on ceasing to be choristers. 'Item, they shall fynde suche choristers as have servyd in the sayd church fyve yeres or more, and have their voices chaungeyd, at somme Grammer Scoole, and gyve them yerely £3 6s. 8d. of the Revenues of the common lands for the space of fyve yeres,' with a provision, already stated apropos of the poor clerks, that if they are 'proveyd by the scholemaster then to be unmeyt to lerne or negligente and suche as wyl not diligently to applye themselves to learnynge' the chapter was to be discharged of 'fyndyng of them.' On 4 January, 1558-9,³ James Maydwell, B.A., was appointed to the office of pedagogue of the grammar school in the close (*ad officium Pedagogi scole gramaticalis infra clausum*). He was a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree on 17 June, 1555. In the September following, Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners⁴ (Thomas Bentham, William Fletewood, and Stephen Nevinson), repeated the injunction of the commissioners of Edward VI as to the maintenance of a 'Free Grammer Scole,' with stipends of £20 and a house to the master, and £10 and 'his chamber free' to the usher. They added that 'the chaunter' should have the nomination and admission of the choristers—thus reverting to the custom before 1293—'after they be adjudged hable and mete to the said rowmes by the Scolemaster and teacher of the said choristers,' and directed 'the said schoolmaster to have his free commons among the choristers over and above his whole ordinary patent and stipend, to the intent he may serve to the honest good ordering of them in cleane keeping and good maners, and so as he may make answer for their defaults.' It will be seen, however, that the schoolmaster and teacher of the choristers had by this time come to mean the song schoolmaster and organist. On 5 November, 1565,⁵ William Sanderson was admitted 'master of the Grammar School of the church,' which apparently means the choristers' grammar school. On 26 June, 1577,⁶ the precentor and chancellor, at the door of the outer cloister, promised Mr. Christopher Digles, LL.B., the office of schoolmaster (*Ludimagistri*) of the grammar school in the close when it became vacant. He had been nominated scholar of Winchester College by Bishop John White, then warden of Winchester, in 1556,⁷ became scholar of New College 3 June, 1562, and B.C.L. 19 February, 1570. He was perhaps too big for his place. On 20 September, 1580, at the chapter's visitation, he was 'detected of negligence in not teaching and instructing the boys coming to his school,' and warned to reform on pain of removal from office. He did not reform, however, and on 6 February, 1581-2,⁸ the dean, being about to depart south on business, gave his consent beforehand, 'in view of the marked and manifest negligence of Digles in not teaching the boys committed to him,' that he should be peremptorily warned to provide for himself elsewhere before next Michaelmas and no longer exercise his office. On 27 April⁹ they presented him to the vicarage of Frystroppe. So Digles disappeared from the school, to reappear on 22 January, 1583-4, as rector of St. Mary Magdalen's, in the close; in 1585 as rector of Partney; and on 21 September, 1592, as canon with the prebend of Sixty Shillings. With him disappeared the grammar school in the close, killed partly, no doubt, by his neglect, to be merged in the old grammar school in the city. But of this anon.

To finish with the choristers' masters. In 1448 we saw that Thomas Farford was song master to the choristers. The next mention of one is 29 April, 1474,¹⁰ when William Staynclif, chaplain, was admitted to wear a habit in the church like a chantry chaplain and to inform and teach the choristers and clerks in the church aforesaid.

¹ A. 3. 6.

² A. 3.

³ A. 3, 5, fol. 441b.

⁴ A. 3, 2, fol. 83.

⁵ A. 3, 8, fol. 24b.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 58.

⁷ T. F. Kirby, *Winchester College*, 133.

⁸ A. 3, 8, fol. 64.

⁹ A. 3, 8, fol. 99.

¹⁰ A. 2, 36, fol. 53.

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On 29 March, 1477, a new departure was taken in the grant by letters patent of the dean and chapter to William Horwode, clerk, for life, of an annual rent or fee of 100s. and 3 yards of woollen cloth for a gown of the suit of the chapter's gentlemen (*ad sectam generosorum nostrorum*), and also that he should be a fellow (*socius*) and servant at the altar where the daily mass of the Blessed Mary is said, and to serve there as well in singing and playing the organ in person or by a sufficiently instructed deputy, receiving from the provost of that altar the usual rate for a fellow of the same, and 13s. 4d. a year for playing the organ. This grant was on condition that he would teach the boys, i.e. the choristers, of the church as well in the science of singing, viz. 'playnsonge, pryksonge, faburdon, diskant, and cowntour,' as also playing on the organ, and especially to teach playing the clavicord to two or three of them whom he found fit and teachable for such playing; the boys taught this science and art finding their own clavicords at their own expense.

Till then the choristers' song schoolmaster had been a separate officer distinct alike from the public song schoolmaster and the organist. Now for the first time the practice began which has prevailed ever since, except in 1524-38, of making the organist also the teacher of the choristers in singing and music.

This requires a little explanation, as this and similar entries have been confused through its not having been noticed that there were in fact two entirely distinct 'pairs of organs,' and therefore two different organists, in the minster, until the sixteenth century, when the two offices became united in the hands of the choristers' music master.

An organ is mentioned in the second chapter act book, when, in 1311, Thomas of Ledenham was appointed to the custody, blowing, and cleaning of the organs. The casual nature of the entry shows that an organ had existed before, and no doubt one existed from the foundation of the church.¹ In the customs of the church compiled in 1260² appears a paragraph 'on organ playing at the lectern.' Speaking of feasts and vigils when the prayer is said at the lectern in choir, the document proceeds: 'When the prayer is finished let some good singers who have been warned beforehand by the master of the song-school go and chant to the organ (*organizent*) at the lectern.' This was only on 'major doubles,' i.e. the greatest feasts. On 'minor doubles,' or lesser feasts, the boys of the choir were to 'organize' in surplices, and this 'organization' was to be arranged by the succentor. At the end of Lauds again the vicars or the choir-boys were to 'organize' at the orders of the succentor.

When in 1321-2³ the chapter revised the scale of payments to be made from offerings at the tombs of the Blessed Hugh, Robert (Grosseteste), and John (Dalderby), bishops of Lincoln, owing to the offerings having fallen off, among those who received payment of their labour about St. Hugh's tomb was the person who carried the organ (*trahens organa*), who received the large sum of 6s. 8d., half a mark; while among those paid in respect of St. Robert's tomb on 8 October was everyone singing to the organ (*cuilibet cantancium organum*) 3d., and again to the organ carrier, and probably player (*trahenti organa*), 6s. 8d. This makes the pay of the organist 13s. 4d. a year, and that is the sum which was still paid in 1452-3:⁴ 'to William Myham, chaplain, for keeping the organ, 13s. 4d.'

There was another organ, however, for the purpose of the Lady Mass daily performed at prime, though not as usual in a Lady chapel, the whole church being dedicated to the Virgin. The accounts of the clerk of the common fund for 1305⁵ show the large sum of £16 os. 8d. paid for the commons of a chaplain, eleven poor clerks, and two others, ministering at the altar of Our Lady at mass throughout the year. This altar was at first in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen,⁶ at the extreme west end of the church on the north side, but after the chapel was converted into a church outside the minster, was translated to the chapel of St. John the Baptist at the east end of the church behind the high altar, and the Lady Mass was celebrated there while the bell was ringing for prime.⁷ It is expressly stated 18 December, 1434,⁸ that this mass was sung *organice*, with organ accompaniment. On 13 April, 1439,⁹ John Ingleton, organista, was admitted a junior vicar and particularly undertook to say the mattins of the B.V.M. in choir. This seems to imply an extension of the use of the organ.

On 10 September, 1442,¹⁰ the question of a new organ in the high choir was discussed in chapter, and it was agreed 'that such organs shall be made in the best manner possible and set up before Christmas next as appears in a bill indented between the chapter and one Arnold, "organer" of the city of Norwich,' and 5 marks were to be paid him from the fabric fund. Thirty years later a tenant of the chapter was excused half a year's rent because an organ builder who had built a new organ

¹ There is a famous description of an organ in Winchester Cathedral in 971 which required two players and 70 blowers, and which was thumped (*pulsare*) and could be heard all over the city.

² *Black Book*, 368. Cf. as to date p. 125.

³ *Ibid.* p. 357.

⁴ Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* xlv.

⁵ B. j. 2, 4.

⁶ Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* cclxix. Nos. 18-20.

⁷ *Ibid.* 6, 7.

⁸ Maddison, *op. cit.* 32.

⁹ At the episcopal visitation in October, 1437, he was a chorister.

¹⁰ A. 2, 33, fol. 51.

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had lived there for half a year; but whether this was a new organ for the Lady Mass does not transpire. In 1477, as we have seen, for the first time the organist of the Lady Mass became also the choristers' music master. On 10 January, 1482-3, he was further admitted to play the organ in the choir. It looks as if the offices became separated again under the next master, as on 7 November, 1488, the chapter agreed that John Davy, 'song master of the choristers' house,' should have a grant of his office by deed, at pleasure (*quamdiu eidem capitulo placebit*), though his predecessor had it for life; while on 18 December, 1490, John Warcop, a junior vicar, was given the office of playing and the keepership of the 'organ in the high choir (*officium lusus et custodiam organorum in alto choro*) at the usual fee of 26s. 8d., as John Davy held it.'

In 1501,¹ at the bishop's visitation, the treasurer complained that the song master (*in cantu*) of the choristers does not use diligence about teaching them, but hardly teaches them once a day. In 1506² Leonard Pepir was appointed organist in the choir (*ad lusus organorum in alto choro*). In 1508³ he was clerk of Re and Ve, and also vice-chancellor, a combination which seems to have prevailed from 1352 at least. Thomas Ashwell, instructor or informant of the choristers, appears on 29 January, 1507-8, as examining a chorister before admission. Ten years later Mr. John Gilbert was, on 27 March, 1517-8, admitted to the office of 'master of singing or of the choristers.' On 25 March, 1524-5, he was described as 'bachelor of the art of music,' and given the office of organ player (*lusoris ad organa*) in the choir as well as at the altar of the Blessed Mary, with a fee of 40s. a year for the latter and 13s. 4d. for the former on Sundays and principal double feasts, with 4 yards of cloth for his gown. At the same time and place the office of 'song master or instructor of the choristers' was given to William Freman, a vicar of the first form. So on 24 October, 1528, letters patent were granted to Robert Dove, vicar-choral, of the office of song master and teacher of the choristers for life. The offices of organist and master of the choristers were again combined in the person of Thomas Appilby, admitted 20 April, 1538,⁴ 'in magistrum cantus sive instructorem choris-tarum necnon in lusorem ad organa tam in choro quam in capella B.M.V. ubi videlicet missa B.M.V. quotidie celebratur.' It thus appears that owing to the Lady Mass being daily celebrated in the chapel of St. John Baptist, that chapel began to be called the Lady Chapel. On 4 October following,⁵ in the presence of the bishop after a visitation, letters patent were ordered to be given to James Craue of the office of song master or master of the boys of the choir and player of the organs, the duties of both which he now discharges,⁶ with the ancient salary and an augmentation of 13s. 4d., which last, however, was not to appear in the letters patent. The patent is then set out, and it appears that the pay was £4 as choristers' master and 3 yards of second best cloth, 40s. as organ player at the Lady Mass, and 13s. 4d. as organ player in the choir. He was to teach 'Playn song, Prykyd song, Faburdon, Discante and Countor, and the clavicords.' He had a chamber over the outer gate of the choristers' house.

A generation elapses before another appointment is recorded, when we discover from his being mentioned as present at the admission of a chorister on 24 December, 1553, that William Moncke was then 'Master or Instructor of the choristers,' and therefore probably organist as well.⁷

A famous musician next appears on the scene in the person of William Birde. On 24 April, 1563, he was given for life by letters patent of the chapter, 'in consideration of his services already given and in future to be given in the office of song master and master of the chorister boys (*magistri cantus sive magistri puerorum choris-tarum*), all wages, fees, liberties, and profits thereto belonging at £6 13s. 4d. a year, payable by the choristers' steward, and also the office of organist (*pulsantis sive lusoris ad organa*), viz. another £6 13s. 4d., payable five marks by the clerk of the fabric and the other five by the clerk of the common fund.' He therefore received exactly double what his predecessor in 1539 had done. But in the interval the chantries had disappeared and the various pickings in the form of payments for obits and the like; so that it may be doubted whether the real profits were any greater than they had been. Six years afterwards he was 'convened,' 19 November, 1569,⁸ before the chapter and his salary as organist was stopped till further order, but this order was revoked 31 July, 1570. Not long after⁹ he went off to the Chapel Royal (*sacello regio*), Thomas Boutler or Buttler being appointed 7 December, 1572, on his nomination to succeed him as master of the choristers and organ player; but in the latter capacity he received only half Birde's salary, viz. £3 6s. 8d. The meaning of this was that Mr. Bird, as he is now called, received the other £3 6s. 8d. by way of pension. For the chapter, on 2 November, 1573, sealed a grant of an annuity of £3 6s. 8d. to Bird somewhat grudgingly, saying they did it

¹ Reg. Smith fols. 140-7, 'non adhibet diligenciam suam circa doctrinam coristarum.'

² Maddison, op. cit. 81.

⁴ A. 3, 5, fol. 159.

⁶ Probably, therefore, Appilby was dismissed as a result of the visitation for not performing the duties of his office in person.

⁷ A. 3, 6, fol. 379.

³ Ibid. 80, 79.

⁵ Ibid. 169b.

⁸ A. 3, 8, fol. 44.

⁹ Ibid. 50.

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'because certain noblemen and Councillors of the Queen have directed gracious letters to them on behalf of the said William Birde, and not for any other reason or for any other right they recognize in Byrde.'

Butler held office for a long time, though not without his troubles. On 20 September, 1580, he was convened before the chapter for his negligence in teaching the choristers, which had been 'detected' at the bishop's visitation. On 5 November, 1584, his pay as organist and also as poor clerk was sequestrated until he exercised his office as organist on vigils and week-days as well as Sundays and feast-days; a month later, 4 December, this order was revoked. No doubt he had conformed to the requirement. Ten years later, described as 'organista et choristarum ludimagister,' he was brought up, 11 January, 1594-5,¹ for his notorious negligence in not teaching some of the aptest of the church to play the organ (*ad modulandum organa*) so that they might supply his place in his absence. On 16 December, 1597, John Allen was appointed to the office of organist and schoolmaster of the choristers. Thenceforward the offices were always combined. But as long before this the organist had ceased to be a general educational officer we need not follow the fortunes of the office further.

With the sixteenth century we can resume the history of the grammar school proper, the ancient grammar school of the city and church of Lincoln, which its natural parents, the dean and chapter, had abandoned, and which the mayor and corporation of the city fostered.

The first appearance of the school in the earliest city minute book of the city council now extant, beginning in 1511, shows the council engaged in providing new buildings for the old school. On 15 March, 1517-8,² it was

agreed that a byll schal be made of all the names of Aldermen and Scheryff peres³ and chamberlein's peres³ within this city, and Mr. Maior to call all theym togeder to know what that every man wyll gyff accordyng to their valour to the purchasing off a Scholehouse for the mayster of the Grammar schole,

i.e. a committee was appointed to get a new school or a new master's house, it is not very clear which. On 10 June, 1517, it was agreed by the council that 'Mr. Dighton, Mr. Alanson, and Mr. Wymark shall have communication with Mr. Chaunter for a tenement in Skolegate that belongeth to the Prior of Markby, and they to geit it off the sayd Prior for terme of yeres, and at [= that] this so to be in effect and stable.'⁴

The school was in 'Skolegate,' probably the same street that is now called Free School Lane. If so the school remained on almost the same site for 800 years, as it was only in 1900 that the branch of it called the Middle School ceased to be carried on there. On 25 August, 1516,⁵ Richard Talour had taken lease of a garden in Skolegate for ten years at 8*d.* a year, and on 15 April, 1518, the mayor and the chamberlain of the north ward were directed to oversee two tenements in Skolegate 'lyke to fall down and the tyle of theym to be takyn down and savyd to the use of the comyns.'

The provision of the new schoolhouse took almost as long in those days as it has done in these. On 2 October, 1518,⁶ 'reparacions' were ordered of the 'Skole house,' and on 21 October⁷ four members were directed to collect money of the inhabitants. It was not till 7 April, 1519,⁸ that Bartylmew Wyllyfford was told to ride to Markby Abbey 'to speak to the Prior, for the sealing of the deed of the house for the schoolmaster and to bear the money with him that is owing the same.' On 24 October⁹ all the money 'gadered and graunted to the beeldyng off the skolehouse' should go to the 'purtchesyng' of the same, and Mr. Efford undertook to deliver the money and see the prior seal and deliver his deed. But the prior was dilatory. Two years after, on 20 April, 1521,¹⁰ it was again agreed by the council that the prior should receive the rest of the purchase money 'when that he hath sealyd and delivered is dede, sealyd under the convent seall of the same abbey, off ii tenements in Skolegate.' A rent of 1*s.* a year was to be paid for these. The city seems to have entered into possession, as on 31 December, 1521,¹¹ it was agreed that 'reparation of the house of the skolemayster shall be made to be done at March next coming.'

But two years after, 12 October, 1523, Mr. Mayor was to charge the schoolmaster to remove no stuff that is in the house next St. Rumbold's Church in Schoolgate until further consideration be had in the same. This was repeated 2 July following. On 4 January, 1526-7, 'comyth Mr. William Dyghton schoolmaster and takyth the tenement next the Scolehouse' on a building lease for forty years from Michaelmas, 1526, at 2*d.* a year rent, to re-edify the same within the first yere off the termes off his proper cost and charges.' Apparently there was some dispute about it, probably because he did not carry out the building as agreed, for on 4 May 'Mr. Dyghton

¹ A. 3, 7, fol. 121.

² Council Book, i, fol. 73.

³ The sheriff's 'peers' were those who had served the office of sheriff, just as the chamberlain's peers were those who had served the office of chamberlain.

⁴ Council Book i, 23.

⁵ Ibid. fol. 59*b*.

⁶ Ibid. 89.

⁷ Ibid. 90*b*.

⁸ Ibid. 95.

⁹ Ibid. 104*b*.

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 129*b*.

¹¹ Ibid. fol. 142.

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scolemaster comyth and grauntyth to stand to the taking of the tenement sett betwyx Saynt Rumbold Churchyard without Glaskyttgate and the Scolehouse according to the takyng off the same by him takyn afore' and gave sureties to appear in the court and make answer to all actions against him. On 19 July¹ the mayor was to cause the house 'to be beeldyd sufficiently at the costs of the Comyn Chaumbre, as well in tymbre wark as in stonewark and all other necessary reparations.' On 7 January, 1527-8,² Mr. Sapcott, gentleman, was given a lease of the same house for eighty years at the rent of 8s. a year on a repairing lease. But 3 June, 1529, 'whereas Mr. Dighton, the Scolemaster, has graunt of a tenement at the Scolehouse and after that Henry Sapcott had another graunt of the same,' because 'writings were not yet sealed by the Prior of Markby' both leases were declared void, and Mr. Burton was to ride and get the deeds sealed. As there is no more said about it we may hope that at length, ten years after the negotiations for the purchase began, the prior of Markby duly sealed the deeds and the proceedings were complete.

The schoolmaster during the whole of this time seems to have been Mr. William Dighton, a relation no doubt of Mr. Robert Dighton, mayor. As 'Willelmus Dyghton de civitate Lincolnie, skolmayster,' he appeared before the mayor and two justices of the peace of the city, 26 November, 1520,³ and had to get two aldermen as his sureties in £5 and himself in £10 for keeping the peace towards the king and all his people, and to appear at the next sessions. On 10 December⁴ following he joined with John Welcome, scrivener, in giving security for a 'scoler' of his to keep the peace. An assault more or less was not, however, a very unusual thing among the gravest of citizens or clerics in those days. Dighton must have been a man of some substance, as on 9 October, 1522,⁵ when the mayor was directed to 'set workmen for the tylyng off the scolehouse,' he gave the lime, while 'Mr. Chauncelar of the church of Lincoln grantyth all the tyle that shall goe to the same.' It is satisfactory to find that the chancellor of the minster still performed his duty to the school though the dean and chapter had set up a rival to it. It would not appear, however, that it received an endowment from him. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535⁶ the valuation of the chancellorship (*dignitas cancellarii*) is given as £63 13s. 8½d. (which at the under-estimate of 20 to 1 is equivalent to some £1,270 a year of our money) and includes 10s. 'for the rents of divers lands belonging to the Chauncellor Fee with the Grammar School (*cum scola grammaticali*)' and 7s. 6d. 'for a pension (i.e. fixed payment) paid by the dean and chapter for wines of the schoolmaster (*magistro scholarum*).' But there is no allowance claimed, as there certainly would have been (since it is claimed by the chapter but not allowed in respect of the choristers' schoolmaster), for any payment to the ancient grammar schoolmaster.

There is a mysterious entry in the council book under the heading 'Scolemayster' 20 May, 1527, 'that the said Mr. Dyghton grauntith to get an able leardyng man to kepe the Gramour Scole in this citie, wiche man shalbe assigned and admitted by Mr. Chaunceller of the church of Lincoln.' This is followed by an entry already noted,⁷ in which he gave sureties to appear in court on Monday next and make answer to any action brought against him. The agreement seems to have been made in view of his appointment on 1 March, 1528-9, to the keepership of the grammar school in the close. On 14 September, 1533, he was elected sheriff of Lincoln,⁸ and he was afterwards mayor. On 15 October, 1549, Alderman William Dighton was sought to be made answerable for the 'cheipe' of silver of the great sword, which was gone in his mayoralty; but on 25 August, 1550, he was discharged and a new 'cheipe' was ordered at the council's expense.

On 12 November, 1539,⁹ it was agreed by the common council 'that there schalbe a large door mayde at the layt Scowlehowys that the pagents may be sent in and every pagent to pay yerely 4d. and Noy schyppe 12d.' This interesting entry shows that the ancient schoolhouse was still standing. The 'pageants' were the movable platforms and properties of the plays shown by the various craft-gilds or city companies, representing scenes from old and new testament history. At Lincoln the great play does not seem to have been, as usual, on Corpus Christi Day, but on St. Anne's Day, the day of the Virgin's mother, 26 June, which had been made a special feast day by papal order in 1383.¹⁰ The mention of Noah's ship as an extra-sized, and therefore more highly-rented, piece of pageantry, is an interesting reminder that Lincoln was in early days a great seaport.

From 1539 the school disappears from view for a whole generation, until 3 September, 1560. Then the common council agreed that the usher of the 'Fre Scole,' as it is now for the first time called, should have £10 a year 'out of the rents of the three parsonages.' These were the livings of Hanslope in Buckinghamshire, Surfleet, and Hemerswell, which the city obtained from Henry VIII in 1545, out of the spoils of the monasteries, to enable them to pay their fee-farm rent to the crown,

¹ Council Book, i, fol. 198.

² Ibid. fol. 206b.

³ Ibid. fol. 125.

⁴ Ibid. fol. 126b.

⁵ Ibid. fol. 153b.

⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 17.

⁷ Council Book, i, 197b.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 229.

⁹ Council Minutes, ii, 27b.

¹⁰ Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* 541; Wilkins, *Conc.* iii, 178. A special commendation of her had been added to the Hours and Masses of the Virgin in 1336. Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* 839.

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they alleging that the removal of the staple for the export of wool to Calais had led to the decay of the city, so that there were 200 houses vacant and the fee-farm rent could not be paid. The grant now made by the city was conditional on the free school being 'kept in the old Scolehouse within the city, and so that the maisters of the Close (i.e. the dean and chapter) make the said house an able Scolehouse' and keep it in repair. The arrangement seemingly was that the dean and chapter in accordance with the queen's injunctions had to maintain a free grammar school, paying £20 to the master and £10 to the usher; the city consented to relieve them of the latter payment if the school was kept in the old grammar school down town and not up on the hill in the close. Two years later, 6 August, 1562, the corporation ordered the usher's stipend to be paid to Michaelmas, and then he 'to have warnyng no more to trust unto any more stypent, untill suche tyme as the maisters of the close have further agreed towchyng the reparacions of the Scolehouse and contynuanace of the said Free Scole there.' Matters as usual dragged on. On 18 September, 1563,¹ Mr. Recorder and Mr. Robert Monson were to 'make an end' with the chapter as to the yearly stipend of the usher and the repairs of the school. On 13 November² 'towching the common Scole keeping' they offered £5 towards the usher's pay. But apparently negotiations broke down, for on 13 May, 1564,³ the mayor and his brethren agreed themselves to provide 'a learned Scolemaister to keep up a Free Scole within the cytye' to be paid £13 6s. 8d. 'out of the parsonages.' On 8 July⁴ there was also to be an usher, and a place was left blank and never filled for the name of the usher, with £6 13s. 4d. a year. On 12 June, 1567,⁵ John Drope, a 'Bachiler of Arte allowed and sent by Mr. Arch-deacon of Lincoln,⁶ shall be Usher of the Fre Scole,' and to have 'yerely of the Comon Council £10 for his waiges, as John Mason late Ussher had,' so we may conclude that John Mason was the usher appointed in 1560, and was perhaps the chorister of that name who had been admitted 24 December, 1553.⁷ It would also appear that a compact had been arrived at with the chapter, for a year later we get the first mention of the building which for the next 300 years was to be the home of this ancient school.

On 8 May, 1567, it was resolved that 'Forasmuch as Robert Mounson, Esquire, is pleased to make a Free Scole of his own charges in the late Gray Freers, it is agreid that he shall have all the glasse remaynyng in the Free Scole towards the wyndowes glasyng in the newe scole.' Robert Monson, who we saw in 1563 already interesting himself in the school, was one of the Monsons still settled at Burton near Lincoln, and was a barrister; in September, 1563,⁸ counsel for the city; and three years after this, 12 July, 1570,⁹ made recorder of Lincoln and afterwards a judge of the common bench.

The Grey Friars, the house of the Friars Minor or Franciscans, which thus became the site of the school, as the Grey Friars of London had already become under Edward VI the site of Christ's Hospital, was close to the old school. The house of the Grey Friars of Lincoln was surrendered in 1535, and granted to John Pope. A John Pope was chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral in 1548. The building now adapted by the munificence of Robert Monson for the purposes of the school consisted of what was apparently the church, standing on an upper floor, approached by a (now modern) outside staircase, about 120 ft. long, running down the middle of it above an under-croft of eight pillars. Until quite recent years it was only the upper story that was used as a school; and that was divided into two rooms; the eastern one, formerly the church, forming the school, and the western one in early days being put to base uses as a store-room, a magazine, and the like.

This gift seems to have given new educational zeal to the corporation, for on 31 October, 1571,¹⁰ we find them granting 26s. 8d. to 'Robert Marschall, his son being a student within the University of Crist's College in Cambridge, for and towards his first tearme of his exhibition.' On 12 April, 1572,¹¹ when an usher was about to 'newly enter' it was settled that he should have £6 13s. 4d. a year; and on 14 March, 1574,¹² it was agreed to pay 'to the Scholemaster £10,' and a committee was appointed to 'travell to other citizens to knowe what wilbe giffen of good wyll.' On 2 October, 1574,¹³ an agreement was made with Mr. Justice Mounson, as he is now called, to give him a reversionary lease of the parsonage of Hanslope for forty years, for a fine of £100 and £80 a year, 'and in consideration also that he shall assure to the corporation the scite, house, and grounds cauled the Grey Freers . . . for ever.' Monson was to have a lease for his life at a penny a year rent; but if the lease of Hanslope fell in during Monson's life, then the lease of the Grey Friars to remain to the corporation for ever. Accordingly a deed of covenant was duly made 10 December, 1574, whereby, in order that the corporation might enjoy the conduit or water-course lately¹⁴ in question—it had been made by the warden of the Grey Friars with licence from the

¹ Council Book, iii, 180.

² Ibid. 184.

³ Ibid. 186.

⁴ Ibid. 188.

⁵ Ibid. 188, 1565-99.

⁶ Was also president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

⁷ A. 3, 6, fol. 379.

⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 56.

⁹ Ibid. 64.

¹⁰ Ibid. Council Minutes, ii, 61b.

¹¹ Ibid. 63b.

¹² Ibid. 79b.

¹³ Ibid. 84.

¹⁴ On 21 May, 1571, it appears that the conduit had been stopped and the common waters of the city were low and corrupt. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* 65.

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city 5 April, 1535—and also ‘for the desire that Robert Mounson had towards the maintenance of a Free Grammar School in perpetuity, if the mayor and commonalty shall so think it good, as they do well and charitably intend it hereafter if they may.’ Mounson covenanted to convey the premises to the corporation. On 14 December,¹ as the corporation had to pay £300 to the earl of Rutland for a release of part of the fee-farm of the city which had been granted him, a longer lease of Hanslope for 99 years was granted to Monson in consideration of £200 fine. The voluntary subscriptions for the payment of the schoolmaster did not come in freely, as on 19 February, 1574–5,² it was resolved that the whole city should be assessed for the master. In other words, resort was had to an education rate. Next year on 22 August, 1575,³ the mayor was ordered to pay the schoolmaster quarterly, and ‘appoint an officer to gether the same.’ On 10 December the chamberlain of the east ward was ordered to repair the school windows.

On 10 July, 1576, ‘the scolemaster, Master Plumtre, shall have his stipend of 20th marks payd quarterly . . . by Mr. Maior.’ Was this Mr. Plumtre the son of John Plumtre, M.A., who on 27 February, 1547–8, had been admitted master of the grammar school of the church? On 5 December, 1576, William Mayson was appointed to be usher at £4 a year and a ‘freis’ gown. On 14 September, 1578, John Herd, son of Antony Herd, was appointed to be usher ‘at Christmas and Mayson now usher then to depart.’⁴ Herd, however, did not appear in time. So on 25 February, 1578–9,⁵ the council resolved that ‘whereas John Herd was appointed . to have entered at Christmas last, and . came not . It is now agreyd . that William Knowles shalbe Usher of the said Grammer Scole, and to entre at Our Lady Day in Lent next.’ His stipend was to be ‘£4, and for and toward a freeis (frieze) gown 10s.’ Knowles proved only a stop-gap, as on 7 May, 1580,⁶ ‘John Hyrd, clerke, now vicare of St. Maryes,’ was offered the ushership to enter at Midsummer at £4 10s. a year. On 13 January, 1581–2,⁷ the stipend was ‘amended and encreasyd’ by 30s. a year, making £6 in all.

We now come on another university exhibitioner maintained by the corporation, this time at Oxford. 11 January, 1580,⁸ William Storr, a scholar in Oxford, was given 20s. ‘towards the buying of bokes and his furtherance in learning.’ On 24 March, 1581–2, he was given ‘towards the buying of apparel and bokes’ 40s. and ‘towards his mayntenance at lerenyng, beyng a power scolar’ 20s. a year so long as the mayor and his brethren should think meet. He matriculated at Corpus Christi College 28 November, 1581, and took his B.A. degree 9 July, 1584. On 30 October, 1587, £5 was given him ‘towards his proceeding bachelor next Lent,’ coupled with the somewhat ungracious remark ‘in consideration that he do not hereafter challenge any more exhibition of the city.’ It was not, however, B.A. that he was going to become, but M.A., taking that degree 25 May, 1588.

On 27 August, 1580,⁹ negotiations were again started by the council with the dean and chapter, a committee being appointed to ask them ‘whether they be content to join the two schools together.’ Nothing seems to have happened till 22 December, 1582, when as ‘mocyon haithene heretofore maid betwene the maior sheriffs and commonaltie of the one partie and the dean and chapter’ of the other ‘towchyng the election of a lerenyd scolemaster, and also for the election of an ussher, that better order of teachyng may be had for the profite of youthe and scolers in the Fre Scole, all whiche matters are wrytten at large in articles and openly redd,’ the council appointed the mayor, recorder, and two aldermen to confer with the chapter.

Apparently as a result of the negotiations, on 12 August, 1583,¹⁰ the council agreed that ‘the Scolemaster Mr. Temple shall have lent of the common chamber 20 marks’ for three years from ‘Barthilmewetyde,’ to be repaid ‘in anno Domini 1586 or at suche tyme as he shall giffe over teaching at the scole within the said citie.’ On 22 December, 1583,¹¹ new articles according to the effect of the first articles were to be ‘drawn and pennyd by learned counsell of both parties’ and ‘engrossed on parchment;’ and a month later, 18 January, 1583–4,¹² the ‘Indentures of Covenants touching the Grammer Scole,’ or the ‘free Grammer Scole’ as it is also called, were sealed by the dean and chapter and by the council.

By this document, which as far as the grammar school proper was concerned seems only to have confirmed the actual practice since 1560, an end was put to the rival school, the Close Grammar School, which the chapter had set up 250 years before. Thenceforward the state of things existing from 1090 to 1409 was to be restored. There was to be only one grammar school, and that one the ancient school in the city, now carried on in the Grey Friars.

The deed¹³ is remarkable for its outspoken confession of the evils of overlapping: ‘Whereasthere haithene heretofore two Gramer Scholes kept at Lincoln, whereof the one of them was kept

¹ Council Book, iii, 85.

² Ibid. 87.

³ Ibid. 88.

⁴ Ibid. 108b.

⁵ Ibid. 111.

⁶ Ibid. 117b.

⁷ Ibid. 127b.

⁸ Ibid. 116.

⁹ Ibid. 118b.

¹⁰ Ibid. 134b.

¹¹ Ibid. 137.

¹² Ibid. 138.

¹³ The original, much eaten by rats, is among the City Muniments. I am indebted to Colonel Williams for a correct transcript of it. An imperfect abstract of it in C.C.R. xxxii, pt. iv, is all that has hitherto been known of it.

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within the close . . and the scholemaster that taught there was maynteanyd by the Dean and Chappiter . . and had his wages and stipend paid by them ; And the other was kept within the citie . . and the scholemaster that taught ther was maynteaned by the mair sheriffs and comon-altie . . and had his wages and stipend payd by them and whereas the Scholers that were taught in the two severall scholes did not (as by experience yt ys found) so muche profit and procede in lerenyng as it was looked for and wysed by ther parents and kinsfolks to ther no litell greyffe, whereby dyverse did withedrawe ther children from the said scholes and others beyng thereby discoredged did forbere to put ther children to schole to the hynderance of good knowledge and lerenyng, and the gretest cause hereof thought to be in this that the said severall stipends were not sufficient to fynd and mayntene able and sufficient scolemasters to teache in the said severall scholes ; For reformation whereof and for that one schole ys thought to be sufficient for the teachyng and bryngyng up of the children within the said citie in good lerenyng and vertuus lyfe.' Therefore they proposed to 'unite and yone' the schools and make one school with a master and usher. The deed then provides that the dean and chapter should appoint the master, who was to be 'at the tyme of the election a master of arte and a continewer in one of the universities untill he be a Master of Arte and well able to teach bothe the Greke and Latten tonges learnedlye and skylfully.' They were to pay him £20 and the city £6 13s. 4d. a year. The city, in the persons of the mayor, recorder, and five 'of the auncient aldermen whiche have been mairs,' was to appoint the usher who was to 'have at the tyme of election commendable knowledge in the Latten and Greke tongs and be also able to versifye and teache the Greke gramer at the least,' and they were to pay him £13 6s. 8d. a year. The schoolhouse, unless ordered to the contrary by the parties, was to be for ever kept in the late Grey Friars 'as now occupied and used' which the city was to keep in repair. The bishop on his part covenanted that he would not 'licence any nether willyngly or wittingly promyt and suffer any other gramer schole . . witheyn the said citie, the suburbs or procinct or witheyn three myles of it.' Only children or scholars 'able to enter into gramer' were admissible. The school was to be a free grammar school for the children of freemen and of other inhabitants of the city and county of the city, and of the close and 'ball' or bailey of Lincoln, the choristers and 'the poure clarks of the cathedral,' who were to pay 6d. entrance fee under the usher and 1s. under the master, and 'no other payment or duties shall be demaunded or tayken of ene such child or children of suche men as are afore naymed unless the parents, kinsfolke, freyns or freynd of such child will of ther own goodwill bestow any more or better reward of the ussher or scholemaster.' The dean and 'thre of the auncient residensers,' with the mayor, recorder, and two or three of the 'auntiente aldermen,' were to visit the school twice a year or oftener, and the chapter to reform any 'default on the master's behalf,' the city on the usher's.

The whole of the Grey Friars was not used for the school. On 10 February, 1583-4, the 'close' adjoining it, which Mr. Robert Monson lately held, and the Friars itself 'except the water-course and the scholehouse with libertie for scholers as haithe been before tyme,' was agreed to be let to the then mayor, Mr. Robert Rishworth, at £6 13s. 4d. a year for twenty-one years ; but before the council broke up the mayor surrendered it back again, and took the close only at £4 a year. The Friars itself was to 'remane and contineawe yerely to the maior for the tyme beyng . . . towards the mayntenaunce of ther houskepyng.' On 26 June, 1589, the 'chamber at the schole house end' was made 'a storre howse for the gun-powder and the matches ; and also the armore that belongyth to the common chamber.' It is terrible to think what our present-day educationalists would say to the school being a powder magazine.

On 11 December, 1585, 40s. a year was allowed of the common chamber for four years to John Harewood 'a blynd young man and a scoler in Cambrige, and that he do and shall profite in lernyng and be placed in some colledge there,' while Thomas Yates, also a 'scoler in Cambrige,' was the same year allowed 40s. for three years.

The Mr. Temple under whose auspices the new order of things was inaugurated was a person who attained to no small distinction in his day. He had been a scholar of Eton, whence he passed on to King's College, Cambridge, in 1573, where he took his M.A. degree in 1581. He would not appear to have stayed at Lincoln more than four years, as in 1586 he was—during the ineffective demonstration of the English forces in Holland, made famous by the death of Sir Philip Sidney at the skirmish of Zutphen—secretary to that poet and hero. He accompanied Leicester's protégé Essex to Ireland in a similar capacity and became provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1609, M.P. and Master in Chancery, was knighted in 1622, and died, aged seventy-two, in 1626. Perhaps his chief claim to distinction now is that he was grandfather of his namesake Sir William Temple.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

It is interesting a few years after this to find the city engaging in the promotion of technical education in the days of Elizabeth, though it must be admitted that it was rather by way of a poor-law measure than from a zeal for education. On 31 July, 1591, a committee was appointed to

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confer with Mr. Greene of Boston, who offered, if the city would find him a house and lend him £300 freely, i.e. without interest, for five years, to set 400 poor on work at wool for that time. On 8 October certain rules drawn up in conference with John Cheeseman, knitter, for the establishment of a knitting school were confirmed. Cheeseman, on receiving £6 to pay his debts, undertook to 'set on work' in his 'science' all that are willing to come or are sent by the aldermen 'and to hide nothing from them that belongeth to the knowledge of the said science.' Forty stone of wool was to be provided by the council, which Cheeseman was to take at the rate of two stone a week, paying for the previous week; 'his stipend to be according to the agreement made at his first coming.' What that was is not stated. But on 4 August, 1592, further 'Articles' were agreed on 'at the knitter's house' in St. Saviourgate between Cheeseman and Francis Newby. Newby and his wife Jane were to daily repair to Cheeseman's house to learn his trade of 'knitting, spinning, dressing of wool, and keeping his mill' until well instructed. They were then for the wages of £2 a year to overlook 30 scholars to see that they do their work, and work according to pattern, and to receive in addition 2*d.* for every pair of stockings made by the scholars and the full market price for every pair made by Jane, while they were to have the profit on all mending and footing of stockings brought to them. Ten spinning wheels were provided, for which Cheeseman was paid 16*s.* 8*d.* How the experiment answered does not appear.

On 23 November, 1597, William Marett was granted a lease of the ground where the sheep-market was kept, 'saving the wekelie Shepemarkett as yt is now used by Mr. Sheriff,' and 'the romes under the Schole' to 'dwell in yt and leave yn it to sett the poore on work in suche sorte as he dothe now.' This was by spinning, as on 29 February, 1612,¹ when Mr. Marett, having gone at Mr. Mayor's request to Peterborough, 'and brought with him one to set the poor on work to knit and spin' his charges were paid.

On 12 November, 1612,² 'there shall be a house of correction made according to the statute, of the house called the Freers under the free school, and malt querns and such other provision as shall be fit to set poor on work be provided.' On 15 July, 1615, the house under the free school was let for 11*s.* a year to certain citizens who combined to buy wool and set the poor on work there. On 14 December one John Bracewell was fined 3*s.* 4*d.* for charging 'the mayor and his brethren with swaggering dealing, when they with mildness were executing their office, to the use of the poor children at the spinning school.' At the same time a 'marshal' was paid 1*s.* a week 'to bring all wandering and begging persons to the house of correction and spinning school, there to be set on work.'

Ten years later the spinning school had again failed and another doctor was called in. On 16 November, 1624, Gregory Lawcock, a freeman, 'is contented if he have convenient stock to take upon him to set all the poor of this city upon work to spin, knit stockings, weave garterings, make stuffs and other manufactures of wools and out of the cloth to clothe the same poor.' £60 given by Mr. Dennis for loan to the poor was to be called in and lent to Lawcock, and £20 given him to provide tools, bring workmen, and £10 a year paid 'towards the charge and loss in teaching young spinners' and the mayor's 'account dinners' were to be curtailed to meet the expense. Every citizen after Easter following was to wear 'at least one suit of apparel and one pair of stockings of such cloth or stuff as shall be made in the city.' On 6 December coals were to be allowed out of the common coal house 'to the poor scholars in the spinning school, so it do not exceed one chalder all this winter.'

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AFTER THE UNION

To return to the Grammar School. On 1 March, 1586-7, the usual difficulty as to school windows was felt. Apparently it was the custom at barrings out at Christmas, and on Shrove Tuesday, for the boys to break all the windows, a custom which the common council sought to put an end to. They agreed that the 'windowes in the Scole-house now broken and defaiced shall forthwith be newlye glazed and amended,' but 'after the repairing the Scolemaster to stand to the upholding thereof with glasse when neede require.'

Mr. John Plumtree appears as usher on 12 December, 1588,³ when the council agreed that if the chapter would give Mr. Plumtre, the usher of the school, £3 6*s.* 8*d.* a year for life 'this house' will give him £5 yearly, and the benefit of a freeman, and so he be discharged from teaching any longer, because he is old and doth no good upon the children. The chapter acceded to the proposal, for on 9 September, 1589,⁴ we find them granting Mr. John Plumtre, late usher (*sub-pedagogo*) of the Grammar School of Lincoln, a pension of five marks a year, to begin at Christmas, 1589. The council seem to have performed their part of the bargain by making the incoming usher pay the pension of his predecessor. On 22 May, 1590,⁵ Mr. 'Walwoodde' was elected usher; and on 5 September⁶ following we read that 'Mr. Walkewoodde, usher, shall have a gowne to be given him of the cyttie's chardge, at this time onelie, in consideration of the yerelie stipend that Mr. Plumtre, the late usher, hath nowe owt of the said Mr. Walkewoodde's wages.' So poor

¹ Council Minutes, iv. 82*b.*

² Ibid. 113*b.*

³ Ibid. 182.

⁴ A. 3, 7, fol. 114.

⁵ Council Book, iii, 193*b.*

⁶ Ibid. 195*b.*

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Mr. Walkewoodde was only getting £10 a year. But who was the usher Plumtre? Was the man who had been master reduced to the position of usher, and then thus got rid of altogether? Or was he a son of the master of 1576, and thus the third Plumtre in succession to bring forth the fruit of learning in due season for the nourishment of Lincoln Schoolboys? The making a special favour of the gown because Walkwoodde paid his predecessor's pension was rather mean on the part of the city fathers. For, as we saw, they always used to give the usher a gown, and from later entries the custom appears to have continued up to the Restoration.

There do not seem to be any entries in the Lincoln records of the appointment of Mr. Nethercotes, whom we find, from the admission register of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, to have been head master in 1593-4, one of his pupils, John son of James Botterill, aged 18, being admitted in that year. Nethercotes had gone before 24 November, 1597,¹ when the council gave both 'Mr. Mason, the scolemaster, and Mr. Walkewide,² the ussher of the Frescole,' a cloth gown, 'at this tyme onelie of the cyties curtisie and liberalitie,' at the price of 40s. for the master's, and 33s. 4d. for the usher's gown. Though this 'livery' was an annual custom, the city did not want it made a legal obligation, as on 20 February, 1602,³ we again find the schoolmaster and usher having 40s. 'for a gown so as the same be no precedent,' and again in 1606 their gowns are given them, 'the cost of each not to pass 40s.' How long Mr. Mason stayed as head master we do not know. John Phipp, or Phipps, occurs in the chapter act books as head master in 1616. There was some dispute between him and Walkwoode, as on 20 October, 1621,⁴ 'Whereas there hath been great contention and suit between Mr. Phipps and Mr. Walkwood, late the free schoolmasters, about a promise of 20 nobles (£6 13s. 4d.) for Mr. Walkwood's goodwill to give over the school, it is now agreed that for the ending of the controversy one half of the said money, viz. 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.), shall be paid to Mr. Phipps.'

Exhibitions were maintained. On 13 October, 1602,⁵ 20s. a year for three years were allowed to Edward, son of Edward Rockadine, deceased, 'if he so long remain a student at the University of Cambridge,' and on 14 July, 1617,⁶ 'John Galland's son, now ready to go to Cambridge, shall have 40s. per annum until he shall commence bachelor or have a scholarship or other means to maintain him there.'

On 27 March, 1617, King James I made a 'progress' to Lincoln from Grantham and stayed a week there. Whilst on this visit 'he went to the "Spread Eagle" to see a prize played there by a fencer of the city and a servant to some attendant in the court who made the challenge, when the fencer and the scholars of the city had the better, on which His Majesty called for his porter, who called for the sword and buckler, and gave and received a broken pate, and others had hurts.' No doubt the boys thoroughly enjoyed beating the representative of the court at fencing, and appreciated the fray with the king's own porter.

On 22 April, 1624,⁷ free books were ordered to be provided at the Free School for the use of the children of poor inhabitants.

Nathaniel Clarke, the schoolmaster at the time, must have been a judicious man, as he retained office through the whole of the Civil War and the Interregnum. We can trace some of his scholars going up to Cambridge at St. John's and Caius, the only colleges at either university which have assisted the history of schools by recording, in the admission of their undergraduates, the schools and often the names of the masters of the schools from whence they came. Thus, on 24 April, 1630, we find William, son of Anthony Haire, the mayor of Lincoln, going up as a pensioner, i.e. a paying undergraduate, not a scholarship holder, at the age of 16. At the same age Thomas, the son of Timothy Kent, rector of Donington, went up in January, 1635. James Boulton, the son of a husbandman, i.e. farmer, at Bardney, went up as a sizar in 1637 at the early age of 15. The next boy from Lincoln School, Hincliffe, son of the vicar of Timberland, who went up as a sizar in 1640, was 17; as also was the next, in 1651, Robert Brittain, whose father was a merchant; while it is not uncommon to find boys admitted at 19 and 20. The average age of the first 25 recorded admissions at St. John's in 1630 is 17.

Deans and chapters were abolished by Act of Parliament 30 April, 1649, and their 'temporal possessions, manors, lands, and the like,' ordered to be sold; but an express saving clause was contained in the Act for all payments for schools and other charitable objects. The 'spiritual possessions,' rectories, vicarages, tithes, together with the first fruits and tenths, which now form Queen Anne's Bounty, were vested in certain 'trustees for the maintenance of ministers' upon trust to assign salaries and augmentations to 'preaching ministers and schoolmasters settled or confirmed in living or place by Parliament.' It does not quite appear whether it was because an order

¹ Council Book, iii, 243.

² This makes us wonder whether the real name of the usher was Wallwood, Walkwood, or Walkwide. It was probably the latter, derived from some bandy-legged ancestor. A Mr. Walkwide was usher at Louth School in 1560.

⁴ Corporation Minute Books.

⁵ Ibid. 18.

³ Op. cit. iv. 12b.

⁶ Ibid. 143b.

⁷ Ibid. 196.

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of the trustees was necessary for the continuance of the payments for schools, or whether it was because of some hitch in obtaining payment; but whatever the reason, an order was made on 9 July, 1652,¹ in favour of Lincoln Grammar School. 'Whereas the yearly summe of £20 was heretofore payable by the deane and chapter of Lincolne to the schoolemaster of the Grammer Schoole of Lincolne at 4 tymes a yeare by equall porcions towards his wages and stipend for teaching there, the payment whereof is since transferred and charged upon the said trustees; It is therefore ordered that the said yearly summe of £20 be from tyme to tyme paid and continued unto Mr. Nathaniel Clarke, the present schoole master there, by quarterly payments for soe long tyme as hee shall continue schoole master there as aforesaid, to be accompted from the 16 day of October, 1650.² Also in pursuance of an order of the said trustees of this instant, 9 day of July, It is ordered that Lieutenant Colonel John Robinson, Receiver, doe from tyme to tyme pay unto Mr. Nathaniel Clarke, schoole master of the gramer schoole of Lincolne, the yearly summe of £20, by quarterly payments, to be accompted from the 25 day of March, 1651, the same being formerly payable by the dean and chapter of Lincolne.' On 14 July following the immediate payment of a half-year's arrear due 25 March, 1651, was ordered.

Clarke must have died about 1656, for on 28 May, 1658, we find Charles, son of George Walker, gent., aged eighteen, a pensioner of St. John's, Cambridge, noted as having been educated under Mr. Umfrevile. Scholars 'bred' under Umfrevile were admitted at the same college up to 1665. So he remained in office at the Restoration. A year or two after, the school had on 20 September, 1662,³ to disgorge some books it had acquired on the dissolution of the chapter.

In November, 1668, the city actually invited the interference of the chapter, and determined that there be 'further address made to the said bishop and the said dean and chapter, to desire their care and pains in visiting and making inspection into the school.'

In 1681 Mr. Bromsgrove was master;⁴ in 1683 Mr. France. In that year,⁵ Nathaniel Gibson, M.A., lately made *ludimagister et principalis preceptor* of the grammar school, resigned, and Mr. Samuel Garnston was elected. There seems to have been some dispute between the master and the usher, as at the visitations of the school on 8 and 14 April, 1684, some interesting statutes were made by the visitors, mostly directed to regulating the respective spheres of master and usher. General was the request to the city to assign a place in St. Peter's Church for the boys, to which they were to be taken by the master or usher. The school hours were fixed at 7 a.m. from 10 October to 10 February, and 6 a.m. for the rest of the year. 'The master and usher shall use their utmost endeavour to break that mischievous custome of barring out the master at Christmas, and the better to effect that and gain reputation to the school. . the master shall take care that at their breaking-up at Christmas some publick exercise may be performed by them.' He was also to 'reduce the pretended customes of playings at the assizes to a day or two at the most.' As there were only 15 boys in the upper and 40 or 50 in the lower school, the master was to remove boys from the lower school to make the number equal. The master was to exercise authority 'over all the boys. . . that the masters of all other schooles have and his predecessors in this school have formerly enjoyed. (9) Because it would be highly prejudicial to the school if more than one method of teaching shall be used, and tis fitter that the master should prescribe a method to the usher then the usher to the master; Therefore the master shall appoint what method shall be used throughout the school, and the usher shall observe such a method. . as hee shall appoint.' When the master removes boys to the upper part of the school, 'he shall not pick out such as may probably pay him best to the prejudice of the usher, but shall take them according to the bookes they learn or the classes in which they are.' (14) 'And that nothing may be wanting to the flourishing of the school and rendering it useful to the publick, the master and usher shall use their utmost care to improve the boyes in the Latin and Greek tongues, and to teach them the true science of religion towards God, conformity to the church, obedience to their prince, and good manners towards their betters. . . (15) And that the city and county may have publick testimony of the flourishing state of this school, the master shall appoint two boyes every year on Michaelmas Day. . to congratulate the choice of the city in two orations, the one Latine and the other Greeke.' Garnston seems to have done his duty. In 1685 he sent a boy to Cambridge, and was still sending boys there in 1720.⁶ In 1711 he was thanked by the city for his sermon on 30 January, and £10 voted for defraying his charge of printing it, and on 26 October, 1714, he was elected vicar of Hanslope.

On 26 May, 1688, the usual stipend of £20 was granted to Mr. Christopher Colson, lately elected usher of the free school.⁷ A distinguished usher was Peniston Booth,⁸ who on 9 December,

¹ Lambeth MSS. Aug. 969, pp. 113-4.

² This is signed John Thorowgood, Wm. Steele, Nic. Martyn, Richard Yong, Jo. Pococke.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 104.

⁴ Chap. Act Bk. 1670-1702, fol. 102.

⁵ Chap. Act Bk. 1670-1702, fol. 112.

⁶ St. John's Reg. 1, pt. ii, 81, 93, 101.

⁷ St. John's Reg. 2, 24.

⁸ *Ibid.* 115.

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1718, was desired to print his sermon preached at St. Mary's upon account of the Anabaptists, and £10 was paid him for defraying the charge. The sermon, *Friendly Advice to the Anabaptists*, or *A Reply to Mr. Ebenezer Hall's 'Antidote,'* was duly printed at Cambridge, 1719. Hall answered it, and on 9 February five guineas were given to Mr. Booth for printing his book *A Replication to the Anabaptist's Answer*. This hammer of Anabaptists was eventually rewarded with the deanery of Windsor.

On the appointment of a new head master in 1724, it was resolved on 8 July that 'the stipend given by the city for the master of the free school be increased from twenty nobles to £20 per annum, with £10 for a house, it being found that a deserving man will not accept of it under a salary of £50, the dean and chapter only allowing £20.' Mr. John Goodall was appointed, 'the dean and chapter having been unable to find a person duly qualified as having been educated at Westminster or Eton, and of the degree of M.A.' It does not appear whence the qualification of Westminster and Eton was derived. Probably by way of increasing the pay without further charge to themselves, on 10 May, 1731, the city decreed that no persons not born within the city were to have the freedom of the school—an order which, of course, did not mean that others were to be excluded from the school, but only that they would have to pay tuition fees. It was quite contrary to the agreement of 1584, but in the absence of further endowment desirable and even necessary. Goodall sent a considerable contingent of scholars to Cambridge. He died on 25 May, 1742.¹ Mr. Shelton, the usher, supplied his place till 10 September, when the Rev. Mr. Rolt was elected master.

In 1765 Mr. Hewthwaite was master, sending a scholar to St. John's College, Cambridge. He was probably the John Hewthwaite admitted a sizar at St. John's,² 13 January, 1746–7, who became vicar of Cottingham, near Beverley, in 1757. On 28 October, 1766, the city paid him twenty guineas for globes and maps, he having undertaken to teach the scholars geography gratis. He held with the mastership the vicarages, first of Morton and Haunby, 31 December, 1766, then Messingham with Bottesford, 8 September, 1768, and finally Bicker, 9 April, 1766, which he held till his death, 16 September, 1802, aged seventy-three. Like most masters in the majority of schools in all parts of England in this century this master held office too long. On 17 May, 1792,³ an inquiry was ordered by the corporation into 'why the free grammar school has been long upon the decline.' The report of the inquiry is not forthcoming, but as on 15 August the corporation determined to hire a house for the head master, and on 29 October advertised for an usher in place of the Rev. Mr. Carter, late usher, appointed head master, it may be assumed that the cause of the decline was the head master's age, and the result of the inquiry his resignation. The usher's salary was raised on this occasion from £30 to £50. In March, 1793, two houses in Broadgate were bought for £600 for the head master's residence. Some interesting extracts from the *Stamford Mercury* of this date show that the summer holidays at this time began at Lincoln as at other public schools, e.g. Winchester and Eton, at Whitsuntide. The 'Potation Day' was held in 1796 on Thursday, 12 February, which was probably a substitution for Shrove Tuesday, when 'speeches were delivered by the young gentlemen, who acquitted themselves to the great satisfaction of a very numerous audience. A large party of gentlemen who had been educated at the school dined together at the "Reindeer," and spent the day with that harmony and conviviality which is usual among old schoolfellows. It is intended that this same meeting shall be annually held.' In 1802 the 'Potation Day' was altered to Thursday before Whitsuntide. The midsummer holidays began on Friday before Midsummer Day, and lasted for a month; the Potation Day in 1812 was removed to the week before, and the Old Boys' dinner to the 'Saracen's Head.' Some good verses recited on the Potation Days have been preserved, but cannot be reproduced here. In December, 1820, both head and second masters resigned, and advertisements were issued for candidates to take office at Lady Day, 1821.

In 1839 the Commissioners of Inquiry concerning charities reported⁴ that the corporation paid the master, Mr. Adcock, £46 13s. 4d. a year, and that he 'teaches the usual routine of a classical school.' He had some boarders besides day boys, of whom all paid an entrance fee of £1 1s., while sons of freemen of the city paid £1 1s. a year, and of non-freemen £4 4s. a year; a distinction which the commissioners found to be the subject of complaint, and to be unauthorized by the deed of 1584.

The lower school under the usher, Mr. Sandon, was 'commercial,' and the sons of freemen in it paid only 10s. 6d. a year, the others paying the same as in the upper school. The commissioners reported that he had reduced the pay-boys by half and the free-boys by three-quarters during the last five years, and they 'were compelled most reluctantly to listen to a long series of charges brought against the usher, Mr. Sandon, respecting his ill-treatment of the children.' They

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 117.

³ *Corp. Min. Book*, iii, fol. 781.

² *Reg.* ii, 121, 564.

⁴ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxxii, pt. 4, 341.

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commented on his exhibition of temper, and pointed out to the governors that they had the power of dismissal, which they immediately exercised.

In the middle of the century the ecclesiastical and the municipal corporations came to see that it was quite impossible to maintain the school efficiently under the existing conditions as to endowment, so by a deed of 8 November, 1850, they varied the agreement of 1584. The curriculum of the school was extended from classics to include French, mathematics, English literature, history, geography, 'and such other arts and sciences as the parties might agree upon,' and the head master, instead of the corporation, was to appoint the usher. But while the curriculum was extended and the organization improved, the qualifications for the masters were narrowed. Hitherto there had been no legal restriction on the religious opinions of the masters, now both were to be members of the Church of England, and the head master was to be a clergyman, as no doubt he had in fact been for some centuries. The stipends were increased. The dean and chapter increased their £20 to £50 a year minimum, and if there were not less than 60 day-scholars to £80 a year; and the corporation agreed to pay the £39 hitherto paid by them to the master, and £50 to the usher; with an augmentation to the master of £30 to £50 a year, at the rate of £1 a head for each scholar up to 50.

Mr. G. F. Simpson, the head master under the amended agreement, was successful for some time. But ill health overtook him and he died in April, 1857. In June of that year there were only 47 boys in the upper school, as the master's part of the school was called, including 16 boarders, and 28 in the lower or English school, and the average age of the latter was under ten years.

The Rev. John Fowler, who had been head master of the Devon County School, was then appointed. He at once raised the standard of teaching in the lower school, adding mathematics and elementary science, and instituted a regular system of promotion to the upper school. Next year two schemes of the Court of Chancery for two ancient hospitals connected with Lincoln came into operation which greatly helped the school. One was for the Mere or Meer Hospital of St. John the Baptist in the county of the city of Lincoln, founded in 1244¹ by Simon of Roppelle or Ropley for 13 poor men and a chaplain as master, appointed by the bishop of Lincoln. In 1553 the number had been reduced to three. In 1680 the hospital had ceased to exist, and there were only 6 out-pensioners receiving £4 a year, and the warden £8 a year, the lands being let on leases on which the 'ancient and accustomed rent was reserved.' In 1819 the then warden Richard Pretymen, son of the bishop, received over £9,500 on a renewal of the lease of the lands. The Commissioners of Inquiry certified the case to the attorney-general in 1837. The result was a scheme made by the Court of Chancery on 16 June, 1858, by which the ancient number of poor was restored with pensions of £20 each; and of the rest of the income, then about £1,200 a year, half was paid to the Lincoln Diocesan Training College for Elementary Teachers, £200 a year to the national schools, and £145 a year to the grammar school. The other hospital was that of Spital (i.e. hospital) in the Street, also founded in the thirteenth century, or perhaps earlier. Under a scheme, 16 June, 1858, £2,501 of its accumulated income was paid for the improvement of the grammar school buildings. A new boarding-house was provided for the head master situate not down in the somewhat sordid part of the town where the school was, but on the hill a little way east of the cathedral close. The Schools Inquiry Commission in 1864² found 55 boys in the upper school, of whom 14 were boarders paying forty to fifty guineas a year, while there were 65 boys in the lower school. But the head master had taken to sending the most promising boys off to compete for scholarships at Shrewsbury, including the present head master of Shrewsbury, Dr. H. W. Moss, and Mr. T. E. Page, a house master at Charterhouse, whose classical editions are well known, and who is the president of the Assistant-masters Association. The result was very good for the boys sent there, but not very good for the school itself. Mr. H. W. Eve, however, reported unfavourably on the system as a whole under which the English school was subsidiary to the grammar school. The result was that the mistake of 1409 was repeated. In 1871 the school was cut in half, the lower school being placed under an independent master, and each school divided in half. Thus the classical school, as it was now called, was divided into an upper classical school with fees of ten guineas, and a lower classical school at fees of eight guineas a year; and the lower, now called modern school, was divided into a lower modern at fees of three guineas, and an upper modern at fees of four guineas a year. This exceedingly complicated arrangement was confirmed by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, under the Endowed Schools Acts, begun in 1877 but not passed till 23 August, 1883. In the interim, Canon John Fowler was succeeded in the head mastership by William Weekes Fowler, of Jesus College, Oxford, who had for seven years been a housemaster at Repton School, and though a classical man was specially great in entomology.

The scheme of 1883 completely severed the two schools. The Grammar School was removed to a new building erected just below the head master's boarding-house, the money being found by a

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxxii, pt. iv, 394.

² *School Inquiry Rep.*

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grant of £10,000 provided by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in recognition of the liability of the chapter estates to maintain a cathedral grammar school, while the chapter contribution was increased from £90 to £300 a year. A separate governing body was established for it, consisting of the dean and four canons, the Lord Lieutenant and Chairman of Quarter Sessions, and five co-optatives, the city being represented only by the mayor. On the other hand the lower school, now called the Middle School, was placed under a governing body on which the chapter was represented by a single representative, the rest being the mayor and four appointed by the town council, and four by the governors of Christ's Hospital. The fees were fixed at £4 to £10 a year, and there was provision for 30 scholarships for boys from elementary schools into it and for twelve scholarships of £25 a year out of it to the grammar school.

The money for these scholarships was mainly provided out of the endowment of Christ's Hospital, Lincoln, founded by will of Richard Smyth, M.D., of Welton, near Lincoln, 10 November, 1602, who gave the manor of Potter Hanworth, on the other side of Lincoln, for 'creating, founding, and establishing a' Blue Coat school, a small imitation of Christ's Hospital in London. By patent of 21 June, 1611,¹ granted on the request of Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor, one of the executors of Dr. Richard Smith, the hospital 'for the sustenance, relief and education, and maintainance of poor orphan and indigent boys' was incorporated of one master, six governors, and twelve poor boys. The master was the mayor ex-officio, the governors were Sir Anthony Thorold, of Blankney, of whom the manor of Potter Hanworth, which formed the main part of the endowment, was held by knight service, and his heirs male, the junior residentiary canon of Lincoln, the recorder and the senior alderman, and the town clerk ex-officio, and one resident in the borough of Lincoln. One of the boys was always to be named by Thorold and his heirs. 'Ordinances to be observed within the Hospitall of Jesus Christe in the city of Lincoln founded by Richard Smyth, Doctor of Physicke,' were made 4 January, 1613-4, by Sir Thomas Egerton, knight, Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor. 'The said children shall firste and especialye be taughte to read Englishe, and to write and to cast accompts, whiche when they shall have well and perfectly attayned unto, then if any shall be found apte for further learninge, the master and governor may appoint such as they shall fynde soe fytte and apte to be sent dailye to the grammar schole to be there taught as other scholars.' The rest were to be 'trained in some industry and labour,' and apprenticed. A poor man and two poor women were 'to provide and dresse meate and drink for the children and to wash their clothes and every way to look to them that they be kept cleanly and wholesome.' Of the twelve children 6 were to be born in the close or bailey of Lincoln, three in Potter Hanworth, and three in Welton. This hospital with an income of £2,800 a year was giving in 1877 an elementary education with board, lodging, and clothing to about 20 boys. Yet it was the opposition caused by the proposed application of the bulk of this endowment to exhibitioners at the middle school, and of the residue to founding a girls' school in Lincoln, which caused the long delay in passing the scheme, or rather schemes, for there were five of them. However, after being laid before Parliament they were all approved by Queen Victoria in Council, 23 August, 1883.

The two schools sanctioned by the scheme were fated in a comparatively small place as Lincoln then was to overlap and compete with each other, and each to prevent the other from being a large and strong school. So they did for some fifteen years. At length, the Rev. Robert Markham Hill, the head master of the middle school, beginning to fail in health, and both schools being subjected to competition from a new secondary day school established in the Technical School by the town council in its upper work, and from a higher elementary school established by Chancellor Leeke in the old buildings of Christ's Hospital in its lower work, some change was seen to be necessary. At the end of 1897 the governors asked the Charity Commissioners to consider the case. There were then 100 boys in the grammar school, of whom 26 were boarders; and in the middle school 92 boys, of whom 55 were scholarship-holders, and only 31 paid the tuition fees of £6 a year. On the other hand the girls' school established under the scheme, though owing to the fall in the value of land it had received no endowment beyond its very fine building on the hill-side below the cathedral, was extremely flourishing, with 196 girls in it. On 26 June, 1898, after interviews with an assistant-commissioner from the Charity Commission, the governors of the two schools and the city council resolved on the re-union of the two schools under one governing body. Effect was given to this by a scheme which became law by the approval of the Queen in Council on 11 January, 1900. This constituted a single governing body of 15 members, a majority (8) appointed by the city council, one each by the Lindsey and Kesteven County Councils, three by the Dean and Chapter, and two by the Christ's Hospital Governors, who are practically a joint committee of the chapter and the city council. The Grey Friars, which had been ruined as a school site by the erection of a very large rebuilt St. Swithun's Church close above it, was now left vacant, and is used by the city as a museum. The whole school was removed to the grammar school site. But the essence of the scheme was the direction to provide new buildings on a better site. Mr. Frank

¹ Pat. 9 Jas. I, pt. ii.

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Harding Chambers, an exhibitioner of Balliol College, Oxford, where he obtained a first-class in mathematics, afterward an assistant-master at Charterhouse, was appointed head master of the re-united school in 1900, Canon Fowler retiring to a living.

A splendid new site of 24 acres was bought in 1901 on the top of the cathedral hill, just east of the town on the Lindum Road, and plans have been prepared of new buildings to accommodate 150 boys, towards the erection of which the city council, under their newly-acquired educational powers under the Education Act, 1902, have given £11,000. There are now 134 boys in the school under a staff of six assistant-masters. It cannot be doubted that an era of success greater than it has ever enjoyed before is in prospect in modern times for this ancient foundation.

EARLY LINCOLNSHIRE SCHOOLS OUTSIDE LINCOLN

Among the schools of Lincolnshire outside Lincoln it is difficult to know to which to give the palm of antiquity. For the first reference to schools in the county outside the city, the digest of Lincoln cathedral customs sent to Scotland in 1236, implies the existence of several schools. It is to the effect that the chancellor of the church 'appoints to all the schools in Lincolnshire as he pleases, except to those in prebends.' Rather oddly the particular schools in the county which happen to be first mentioned in the records which remain to us are some of the exceptions, that is schools in prebends, i.e. manors or estates appropriated to and under the jurisdiction of a particular canon, exempt from the chancellor's prerogative. Thus in 1264 mention is made of the schoolmaster of Louth in a mandate of the bishop directing him to induct a vicar of Louth; Louth being a prebend in the cathedral, the prebendary of Louth had jurisdiction over the school, and it never appears in the Chapter Act books. So again at the beginning of October, 1309,¹ the chapter discussed the mastership of the grammar school at Strubby ('regimen scoliarum gramaticalium apud Strubby'). 'At length, with the consent of Mr. Richard Stratton, then provost (i.e. the canon who for the time being managed the estates belonging to the common fund of the chapter), to whom the appointment was asserted to belong in virtue of the provostry, he expressly refusing to make such appointment, at the request of Sir Henry of Rowell, chaplain (no doubt the vicar or parish chaplain appointed by the chapter as rectors), granted the mastership to William called Priour, of Orreby, clerk, for a year from Michaelmas Day,' which was the Monday before the meeting. Accordingly, letters patent of the chapter were sealed appointing him. Nearly a generation later, 20 September, 1334,² we find the chapter conferring the grammar school of Strubby, vacant by the resignation of Adam of Strubby, clerk, on John of Strikenay, clerk, by letters patent, addressed 'to the vicar of the prebendal church of Strubby.' The grant was expressed to be 'for the teaching of boys wishing to frequent the same school for a year from Michaelmas Day, and the vicar as deputy of the chapter was directed to give him bodily possession of the school.' Fleeting personages were these mediaeval schoolmasters, always on their promotion. For next year³ when the chapter held a visitation of their prebendal churches on Thursday after St. Peter and St. Paul (29 June), among the matters inquired into were the character, life, and behaviour (*moribus, vita, et conversacione*) of Mr. John of Gunthorpe, schoolmaster (*magistri scoliarum*) of Strubby. The jury of inquiry said that his reputation was good, and he was free from vice as far as they knew. Strubby School does not again appear in the chapter records nor elsewhere. No doubt the provost regularly appointed, and so the appointments do not appear in the chapter books.

It is not until 1329 that we get any definite evidence of what other schools there were in the county under the chancellor's jurisdiction. In that year, however, the chancellorship was vacant, and the chapter therefore exercised its powers and performed its duties. Hence we find an entry in the chapter act books which merits special notice for its illuminating importance in the history of schools.

Memorandum, that on the Ides of June, in the year aforesaid (1329), the reverend men and masters (*Domini*), the Lord (*Dominus*) Dean of the Church of Lincoln, and Giles of Redmere, and John of Schalby, Canons of the Church of Lincoln, as vicegerents and in the name of the Chapter, sitting in a certain low room below the Lord Dean's chapel in his house, and discussing the collation of the Grammar Schools in the County of Lincoln which were vacant, through the vacancy of the Chancellorship of the said church of Lincoln thereby in their hands, and as to the persons to be admitted to such schools; Finally conferred the Grammar School of Barton on William of Gurney, the School of Partenay (Partney) on John of Upton, the School of Grimsby on William of Coleston, the School of Horncastle on John of Beverley, the School of St. Botolph (Boston) on Robert of Muston, and the School of Graham (Grantham) on Walter Pigot, clerks, from Michaelmas, 1329, to the same feast next year, in such name as above and by way of charity ('*nomine quo supra et intuitu caritatis*'); expressly granting that they and each of them should be inducted into the bodily possession of the said schools in accordance with their respective collations.

¹ Linc. Chap. Act Bks. A. 2, 21, fol. 20.

² A. 2, 23, fol. 21b.

³ A. 2, 24, fol. 5 and 6.

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The chapter, it will be observed, would not take upon themselves to make a permanent appointment, or for what was probably the full statutable term of three or four years; but only made an *interim* appointment for one year. Accordingly, on 29 May in the following year, 1330, the chancellorship being still vacant, the dean, Antony Beck, and canon Giles of Redmer, again meeting in the dean's house, this time in a room described as being under the parlour (*solario*), and treating of the collation to the grammar schools belonging to the chancery of the church of Lincoln, called the masters before them and continued them for another year to Michaelmas, 1331. The same process was repeated in 1331, the chapter using these words: 'as you hold them so hold them (*uti possidetis ita possideatis*).' On this occasion we are told expressly that the masters of Stamford and Boston were not present, and sent no excuse for their absence. Stamford, it will be observed, was not among the schools included in the appointments of 1329. Next year, the dean being absent, the sub-dean and chapter renewed the appointments, and in the two following years, meeting in the chapter-house, did the same. Thus the same masters were continued from 1329 until 1335. Then, the chancellorship being filled up, the schools disappear from view.

We know, indeed, that there were other schools, if not in 1329, at all events not very long after this date. Thus on the Saturday after Corpus Christi Day the chapter in the vacancy of the chancellorship admitted Sir John, son of Edward Smith (*Fabri*) of Brune (i.e. Bourne), to the mastership of Bourne School on the presentation of the abbot of Bourne. This was, of course, no 'monastic school' in the sense of being a school for monks or conducted by monks. The abbot presented no doubt as lord of the manor, not as abbot.

There were then at least eleven grammar schools, including that of Lincoln itself, and we may well suppose that of the fourteen places in Lincolnshire which belonged to the cathedral as prebends Louth was not alone in maintaining a grammar school in the single county of Lincoln, a county which, though important and one of the largest and richest in the country, yet was not the largest and richest or most populous. Yet the origin of Grantham School has been attributed to Bishop Fox in 1528, of Stamford to Alderman Radcliffe in 1530, of Grimsby to King Edward VI in 1547, of Louth to the same king in 1551, of Barton to King Philip and Queen Mary in 1554, and Horncastle to Lord Clinton in 1571. These attributions of origin are now seen at the best to represent restorations or augmentations of schools long previously existing. With these evidences before us we may shrewdly suspect that Alford, attributed to 1565, and Gainsborough, a 'Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth,' may boast far more ancient pedigrees than those with which they are credited.

BOSTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL

We have seen how this school appears in the Lincoln chapter act books from 1329 to 1335 under the mastership of Robert of Muston. It is clear that the school was a settled institution then and not a new creation. As will be seen there is good reason to think that it was an endowed school from at least 1260, and very likely existed long before that. It is natural to suppose from the importance and antiquity of the town, due to its celebrated fair, the Nijni Novgorod of mediaeval England, that it may well claim precedence in antiquity for its school next to the Cathedral Grammar School itself. But the existing Boston records do not begin till the fourteenth century.

The school, however, reappears in the chapter act books on 5 February, 1387-8,¹ when the sub-dean and chapter promised Mr. John of Newbald (i.e. probably Newball in Lincolnshire) the grammar school of St. Botolph on the first vacancy. He had not long to wait. On 17 June following² the dean and chapter in the vacancy of the chancellorship addressed their letters patent under the seal *ad causas* (i. e. for legal business) to Mr. John Newbald, master in arts, and appointed him to the rectorship of the grammar school of the town or borough (*ville sive municipii*) of St. Botolph. Six months afterwards, 17 January, 1389-90³, the dean and chapter, using the same formula, conferred the school on Mr. John of Bracebrygge.

The next mention we find of a schoolmaster at Boston is in connexion with one of the few surviving records of the numerous gilds which existed at Boston, as in all ancient towns. In the British Museum⁴ is preserved the register of one of the most important of the gilds, that of Corpus Christi. It was founded 8 May, 1335, as appears, says the register, from its book of statutes (which has alas disappeared), by Gilbert Alilaunde, twenty-six members joining at its inception.

¹ A. 2, 27, fol. 30.

² A. 2, 28, fol. 21.

³ A. 2, 27, fol. 36b. The chapter act books numbered 27 and 28 overlap without being identical. Probably one is the rough draft and the other the official copy.

⁴ Harl. MS. 4795.

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Amongst the distinguished company who later belonged to it we find entered under the year 1367-8 the schoolmaster of Boston (*magister scholarum Boston*). Unfortunately his personal name is not given. The fact of his admission as a member being recorded may be taken as evidence that he was not one of the chaplains of the gild, and therefore that the school was not maintained by the gild. In 1404¹ we find the entry of a member of the scholastic profession as a member of the gild which is absolutely unique. In the aldermanry of Hugh Wytham, among the entries is that of 'Matilda Mareflete, schoolmistress in Boston (*magistra scholarum in Boston*).' This title has been translated 'mistress of the school in Boston,' which would mean the grammar school. Apart from the practical impossibility of the chancellor licensing a woman as head master of the grammar school, it is pretty certain that the word 'grammar' would have appeared in the title if she had been mistress of the grammar school. The record gives us no help towards determining the question whether Matilda Mareflete kept a girls' school or was the mistress of a school of the 'petties,' or little ones, a preparatory school for small boys. The second alternative is much the more likely. In 1445 James² Wake, late master of the grammar school in Boston ('nuper magister scholarum gramaticalium in Boston'), was admitted.

The register of the Corpus Christi Gild makes one wish that there were many more of the registers of gilds preserved. At Boston no less than nine gilds are included in the certificates returned into Chancery in 1389; and it is certain that the school was connected with two of them and quite possibly was supported and subsidized by others. The gilds returned, besides that of Corpus Christi, are the Ascension, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Katherine, St. Mary, SS. Peter and Paul, the apostles SS. Simon and Jude,³ and the Trinity. It is probable that some of these gilds were really trade gilds, or at least supported by trades, though it is only in the case of St. John the Baptist's Gild⁴—'The Simple Gild and Company of Cordewaners' (i.e. boot-makers)—that this is expressly stated.

The earliest and greatest of all the gilds was that of St. Mary the Virgin, specially it would seem of the Purification of the Virgin (2 February), on which day 1,000 loaves and 1,000 herrings were distributed by it to the poor. It was founded,⁵ according to the certificate of the warden (*gardianus*) Peter of Newland (which, unlike most of the returns, is in Latin and not in the vulgar tongue, French), in honour 'of the female advocate of the human race,' not only for Bostonians, but—as was also the Corpus Christi Gild—for the whole of England ('nostrum et successorum nostrorum Anglie totius'), on the first Sunday in Lent, 1260. In the certificates of 1389 it is stated that the gild was not then possessed of any lands or tenements. This statement must certainly be taken with some reservation. It probably means that the gild, having been founded before the Statute of Mortmain, had no licence to hold lands and did not want one. For one object of the inquiry into gilds in 1389 seems to have been to make those which did not possess licences in mortmain get them, as the Patent Rolls in the following year are crowded with licences to gilds. It is probable this gild had lands held by trustees and not vested in the gild itself. At all events, in 1394⁶ it took out licence, for which the large sum of £40 (£800 at least of our money) was paid, to hold its lands of Queen Anne as of the honour of Richmond. Hence Queen Anne became the reputed foundress⁷ of this gild, founded at least a century and a quarter before her time. The earliest mention of the grammar school in connexion with the gild is in a bull which the gild obtained from Pope Julius in 1506,⁸ when, in addition to the privileges as to power of choosing a confessor given to the brethren by previous popes, he granted the brethren and sisters that visiting the gild chapel on great feasts, Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, or the Nativity or Assumption of Our Lady, Michaelmas Day, or the First Sunday in Lent or in their octaves, should have the same virtue as a visit to Rome, provided they had paid entrance fees of 5s. 8d. and paid 1s. a year afterwards for the maintenance of the 7 priests, 12 choristers, 13 beadsmen, the lights, and grammar school of the brotherhood.

When Thompson wrote his history, published in 1856, there still remained in the Gildhall, the old hall of St. Mary's Gild in the South End at Boston, the account books of the gild from 1514 to 1546—that is, to its dissolution. Thompson describes them 'as in fine preservation,' and it is obvious from the extracts he gives from some of them that there was a nearly continuous and complete series. But in 1875 the whole of the corporation documents were removed from the Gildhall and bundled in utter chaos, and without protection of box or bag, into a neighbouring

¹ In Mr. Pishey Thompson's *History of Boston*, p. 117.

² In Thompson, *History of Boston*, p. 119, he appears as Jacob. The entry is, of course, in Latin, Jacobus, the translation of which, for a Christian at least, is James.

³ This is the gild otherwise called the Postill Gild, and was the sailors' gild.

⁴ P.R.O. Gild Certificates, 85.

⁵ Ibid. 87.

⁶ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 7, 18.

⁷ Thompson, *History of Boston*, 139.

⁸ Thompson, *History of Boston*, says 1510. But an extant form of admission of a gild member, B. M. Wolley Charters, 394, 'printed by Richard Pynson,' recites the bull as dated 16 May (17 Kal. June), 1506.

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warehouse. Now the only remnants to be found¹ are an account for the year 1525-6 and a rental for the year 1545-6, and from the latter most of the capital letters have been cut out.

Thompson quotes from the earliest accounts then extant, for 1514, the item 'Fee to George Watson, master of the grammar school, £9, and his vestments 8s. 4d.', and 'to other preachers, rectors, etc., £27 17s.' Vestments is a bad translation of *vesture*, meaning simply clothing, the gown or livery of cloth which, as was usual, was provided for the master. Preachers is probably due to a misreading of *predicatoribus* for *presbiteris*, as it is quite certain that the gild did not maintain more than one preacher, if that. The now extant account of 1525-6 shows a gross revenue from endowment of £289, and from entrance fees of brethren and sisters, new and old, of the amazing sum of £1,058, making in all £1,347, or some £26,800 a year of our money. Amongst the numerous details of information supplied by these accounts we learn that the bailiffs paid or allowed £6 for the chambers of the clerks of the gild, ten in number, including '6s. 8d. for the garden of the choristers' master,' and '10s. for the rent of the singing house (*domus cantacionis*) which belonged to the Corpus Christi Gild.' This singing house was either the song school or the house in which the choristers lived, one building perhaps serving for both purposes. Again, the southern chamberlain paid 'for woollen cloth bought for the livery of Mr. Garret, the schoolmaster (*magistro scole*), 10s., and for the other nine chaplains of this gild at 6s. 8d. each, £6.' The northern chamberlain paid the same amount, so that the schoolmaster's gown cost £1 and the other chaplains' 13s. 4d. each; a striking testimony to the importance of the schoolmaster in the eyes of the brethren. Similarly, the Robert Westwoode who was the choristers' schoolmaster heads the clerks of the gild, whose 'livery' cost 13s. 4d., the same rate as that of the lower chaplains. The choristers were given not only 'le brodecloth' for their gowns, but also their tunics, 'birretts' (caps), shirts, shoes, stockings, in fact all their clothing, including combs (*le comys*) at 2d. each, and a 'pair of knives' each and 'le baggs' at a cost of £7 4s. 9d.² Straw for their beds cost 2d. extra. The bedesmen were clothed not in cloth but in russet frieze at a cost of £4 19s. 6d., including the crowns (the town arms) in embroidery or metal plates on the gowns. The aldermen paid the stipends of the staff. Among the chaplains, Thomas Garret, master of the grammar school (*magister scole gramaticalis*, the word school now having become usual in the singular number), heads the list and receives £10 a year, the same salary as the head masters of Winchester and Eton. Of the rest the next chaplain only got £5 13s. 4d., and the keeper of the jewels (*jocalium*, i.e. plate) £5 6s. 8d., which was the salary of five of the others, including two who celebrated in the hospital (*hospicium*) of St. John in the South End. Two others received £8 and one £6. It is surprising to find that the singing clerks (*clerici cantatores*), or lay clerks as they are called in cathedral churches now, received as much as the chaplains or more. The educational clerk heads the list; Mr. Westwoode, the master of the choristers, receiving £13 6s. 8d. besides £3 6s. 8d. for teaching them to sing, while the choristers' commons (*commensalibus*) cost £17 6s. 8d. and their servant 20s.; 2s. 8d. was also allowed for paper and ink for them, so presumably they were taught to write. The organist, John Wendon, also received £13 6s. 8d. The others received three of them £10, one £8, and three more £5 6s. 8d. Singing and music therefore was highly prized in Boston in the sixteenth century. John Broke, the keeper of the Lady choir, the east end of the south aisle, was paid £3 6s. 8d. a year, with 1s. 4d. 'more for seeing the choristers say their mattins every day,' which, with other little payments for calling 'le assembles,' scouring the candlestick, and providing rushes for the chapel, and sleeping in the vestry in winter, brought his total receipts to £4 4s. 8d.

In view of the great establishment shown by the gild account of 1525, it is a little astonishing to find that ten years later, in a return to the crown for the first-fruits and tenths,³ the gild of St. Mary of Boston is said to be worth only £24 'in the income of lands in mortmain given for the salaries of four priests or chaplains founded there by Sir Hugh Wytham, knight, James Frere, and John Palmer, each receiving, for his wages and clothing, £6 a year.' An additional entry of 'lands in the hands of feoffees given for eighty years by John Robynson to the said gild for two priests each receiving yearly £6' is crossed out, no doubt because the foundation was not perpetual. The omission of the other four priests is probably to be explained by its being held that they were supported by voluntary contributions, not by endowments. The result is that the

¹ On my inquiring after them some five years ago, Mr. R. Staniland, the then town clerk, had them transported to his house and let me search them. I found some of the payments mentioned above. He also had boxes made for them, now returned to Mr. Slater's warehouse. By the kindness of Mr. Mabin Staniland, the present town clerk, with the help of some of the grammar school boys, I went through these boxes, but did not succeed in finding any gild records except the account for 1525-6. It is to be feared that the rest have perished.

² Not their trousers, but bags in which the knives were kept. We saw similar payments to the novices in Durham monastery for pairs of knives and 'loculis' or 'bursis' to keep them in.

³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 88.

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gild of Corpus Christi, which is returned as supporting six priests at £5 6s. 8d. a year, actually appears in the *Valor* as a richer gild, with an income of £32 a year, than that of St. Mary, which possessed more than ten times its income. To 1537¹ has been generally attributed the only Boston schoolmaster who is reputed to have been an author, one Wilfrid Holme, who wrote a long English poem, 'The Fall and Evil Success of Rebellion,' on the 'Pilgrimage of Grace.' But the poem itself shows that its author was a country gentleman at Huntington in Yorkshire, and apologizes for omitting any mention of the rebellion in Lincolnshire because it was 'very far distant from my habitacion.' So Boston School cannot claim him.

In 1540 we find the only other gild account now extant. It is a bailiff's rent-roll for the year ending on Thursday in Whitsun week, with such expenditure as was incident to the landed property of the gild. In the fourteen years since 1525 the rental had grown from £102 to £128. The only reference to the school occurs in the mention of 'rent of 20s. for a pasture called Scole-house greene in Boston, lately given to the gild by William Ruscham'; while among the out-goings is one of '6s. for ditching round the same pasture,' this time called 'Scole Grene.'

Five years later, when the dissolution of gilds was impending, a tale is to be told of which sad havoc has been made by the Boston historian. After the dissolution of the monasteries and the death of Henry duke of Richmond, the natural son of Henry VIII, who was lord of the manor of Boston as part of the honour of Richmond, the people of Boston obtained the incorporation² of the town on 14 May, 1545, as a free borough (*liber burgus*) holding directly from the crown as of the manor of Caistor, under a mayor and aldermen, with recorder, town clerk, markets and fairs, and all the usual attributes of a municipal borough, with the special attributes of a port and grant of admiralty jurisdiction. In the letters patent granting this, a very remarkable and exceptional clause was added by which the aldermen, wardens, or master and brethren and sisters of all the gilds of Boston were enabled to grant, and the mayor and aldermen to receive, all the gild lands and possessions real and personal to their own use, the corporation undertaking to maintain and observe all the observances, services (*obsequia*), charitable gifts, and other ordinances of the donors. By other letters patent which passed the Great Seal four days later—18 May—the newly-incorporated borough obtained from the king, at the then huge price of £1,646 15s. 4d. (close on £35,000 of our money, and relatively a much larger sum), the manor of Boston and all the other messuages north and south of the manor of Hallgarth, and a large list of property including Jesar (i.e. Gisors) Hall and the beam in it for weighing merchandise, the office of the beam, the docks and staithes, and customs, together with the Hussey Tower, the mighty red-brick tower which still stands near the school-house, and the rest of the property of Lord Hussey, attainted of high treason in 1538, and the church, rectory, and vicarage of Boston, which had belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Besides these were innumerable items of property in Boston belonging to dissolved monasteries, probably largely acquired for the purpose of house-room when attending Boston Fair from distant Durham, Jervaulx, and Fountains to the neighbouring Swineshead and Thornton. The total yearly income was £160 17s. 4d.; so the town paid for it in only ten years' purchase, about half the ordinary number of years' purchase at the time, but they paid in addition a perpetual rent-charge of £21 12s. The purchase-money was to be paid by instalments, only £107 10s. being paid down, and in fact the payment was not completed till the reign of Philip and Mary.

No doubt the clause in the incorporation charter enabling the gilds to grant their property to the corporation was intended, besides preserving the schools and almshouses, to provide the means of paying for this great speculation in property. It was very promptly taken advantage of. 'Nicholas Robynson, esquier,' the first 'Maior did take his corporal othe in the Guyhalde of the said borrowe,' together with the aldermen, headed by Thomas Sorsby, and other officials on 1 June, 1545.³ On 12 July⁴ following John Margerie, alderman of St. Mary's Brotherhood, Stephen Clarke, master or warden of the Trinity Gild, Thomas Soresbie, master of St. George's Gild, John Tupholm, master of St. Peter and St. Paul's Gild, and Robert, bishop of Down and Connor,⁵ master of Corpus Christi Gild, and the brethren and sisters of the respective gilds, granted all their goods and lands to the corporation. By an odd mistake the conveyance of the last-mentioned gild omitted the name of the gild, so a new grant had to be made on 10 August.

¹ Thompson, *History of Boston*, 103; from *Baker's Chronicle*, 230. ² Pat. 37 Hen. VIII, pt. iv, m. 23.

³ Cor. Min. Books, i, extending from 1 June, 1545, to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Unfortunately most of the earlier entries are missing, it being significantly recorded in 1551, Henry Fox mayor, that 'this man took home with him all the pamphlets of assembles and are so lost and not restored.'

⁴ Not 22 July as in Thompson, *History of Boston*, 150.

⁵ The Irish sees throughout the Middle Ages were largely held by Englishmen who lived in England, and acted as suffragans to English bishops. Thus the first warden of Winchester College became archbishop of Dublin, but lived and died warden of New College, Oxford.

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Unfortunately for the town they had been too conservative in the covenant in their charter. The grant thus made saved the gild possessions from the Chantries Act of Henry VIII. But the obligation imposed to carry out the observances and services directed by the founders swept them within the Chantries Act of Edward VI. Though on 11 June, 1546, the corporation determined that 'the Pageants shode not goo in processyon for that year,' thus putting an end to the Corpus Christi play, and though perhaps other ceremonies were dropped, the superstitious uses were not abolished. The obits and lights were maintained, and that 'little venom poisoned the whole cup.' The return of the Boston Gilds to the Chantry Commission in 1548 showed¹ a very large revenue from the gilds. Gild of Blessed Mary, £323 15s.; Corpus Christi, £114 16s. 7d.; St. Peter and St. Paul, £57 7s.; Trinity, £20 3s. 7d.; St. George, £11 9s. 10d.; total, £527 12s.; while the plate was of great value. According to this return St. Mary's Gild, besides eleven chaplains, kept seven singing clerks and an unnamed number of choristers and of poor bedesmen. The chaplains were still, as in 1525, headed by the schoolmaster, now William² Harrison or Harrison, who received £10 2s. a year, none of the others getting more than £6 2s. But two of the singing men got £8 13s. 4d. The organist of St. Mary's choir was paid £2 3s. 4d. The choristers, probably seven in number, cost £6 17s. 10d. for their maintenance (*exhibicione*), while £10 16s. was paid for their commons, or a commoner with them,³ it is not quite clear which. The maintenance and coals of the chaplains and bedesmen cost £32 14s. 5d. The master of the beggars (*magister mendicantium*) was paid 5s. 4d.; the chaplain's manciple or cook, £1 6s. 8d.; the barber, 13s.; the old woman in the poorhouse, 6s. 8d.; and the washerwoman 10s. 10d. a year. The town's counsel were paid by the gild £13 13s. 4d., and £20 was borrowed from its income for the town affairs.

At first the corporation seem to have been left in undisturbed possession of the gild property. But on 8 May, 1550, the town minutes show us Mr. Sorsby, now 'maior,' being asked to ride to London 'for the affaires of the towne,' and on 4 March following, 1550-1, there were 'showed certen articles concernyng the lands of late Corpus Christi, and nowe to the corporacion, for an answer to be maide to the lorde Admyrall.' The Lord High Admiral was Edward Fynes, Lord Clinton, who had obtained a grant, 24 February, 1550-1, of the lands and possessions of the Corpus Christi Gild, which were thus treated as confiscated to the crown under the Chantries Act. Worse was to follow. On 21 June, 1552, at the common council there were 'oppended letters of the Lord Marquess of Northampton, who had obtayned at the King's maiesties handes all the late gilde landes that perteyned to the corporacion, as Our Lady's, St. Peter's, the Trynytie, and Saint Georges, requiryng the sole lease for the same.' A grant had been made by letters patent, 25 January, 6 Edward VI, to the marquis, then Lord Chamberlain. There was some disposition to resist, but wiser counsels prevailed, and, finally, 'for divers consideracions them movyng . . . for avoydyng of further damages they thinke and so holly agree (that uppon certen condicions) they will make a release and surrender, that is to say, to have this halle and th'arrages with other thyngs as may be obtayned.' Accordingly on 9 July 'the surrender or release . . . was sealed in the Guyhald.' On 20 July⁴ the marquis sealed a deed releasing to the burgesses of Boston 'all goods and catalls of the gilds.' These they appear to have sold, as on 31 October we find that 'this act shall be a sufficient discharge for Henry Hoode, nowe the maier, of and for all manner of goods and processyon garments⁵ solde by hym of late in the Guihald.' The Gildhall they were suffered to keep, the kitchen under it and the chamber over it being on 6 October prepared for a prison and for a 'dwellyng howse for one of the servintts' or serjeants. But the Gildhall had apparently already been granted away by the marquis, as on 17 January, 1553-4, Mr. Foster, the town clerk, was 'to require a letter to Mr. Hunston for his release to the Guyhald.' The matter was not settled for nearly ten years, when, as will be seen, the corporation paid heavily for the Gildhall.

The marquis did not long enjoy the gild lands. He was sent to the Tower 23 July, 1553, tried and convicted of high treason, in consequence of his support of Lady Jane Grey, and, in consequence, though his life was spared, all his property was forfeited to the crown. The corporation of Boston took advantage of this. On 12 October, 1554,⁶ the town clerk and another were sent to London 'for £50 with the faculties.' This is explained by a further entry on 22 October, when a letter of attorney was sealed to them 'for the town's affairs before the Lord Chancellor and elsewhere . . . and for the ereccion of the landes for £50 by yere and other faculties,' to mean the grant of the gild lands and a charter for the school. These were

¹ A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation* (1896), 136, sets out the gild of St. Mary only; Chan. Cert. 33, No. 31, contains the account of the rest.

² In *English Schools at the Reformation* his name was through an oversight printed Willielmo for Willielmo.

³ Pro commensali cum eisdem.

⁴ Corp. Rec. A paper book marked Fox's Lands.

⁵ i.e. the garments used in the Corpus Christi procession and the play which accompanied or followed it.

⁶ Corp. Min., vol. i. The year 1554 is given, but this seems to be a mistake.

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eventually obtained—to judge from an entry of 31 January, 1554–5, ‘agreed that the house which John Mason dwellith in sholde be solde for payment of £100 to the King and Queenes maiestie’—at a cost of £100, or £2,000 of our money. So no deep gratitude need be felt to King Philip and Queen Mary by the people of Boston for the return of the endowment given by their own ancestors, by letters patent of 6 January, 1554–5;¹ though they did recite that the grant was made for the reformation of the enormities perpetrated by the Chantries Act, and because ‘education of youths and children in good letters was their royal duty and function.’ The property of St. Mary, SS. Peter and Paul, and Trinity Gilds, as the same came to William, marquis of Northampton, ‘which now extend to the yearly value of £60,’ was made over to the mayor and burgesses for ever

to the purpose of finding, maintaining, and establishing for ever a Free Grammar School in Boston and a fit master or pedagogue to teach, instruct, and serve in the said school for the education and instruction of children and youths in grammar and also to find two priests to celebrate divine service in the parish church and four poor inhabitants of the borough to pray there for ever for our good estate while we live and for our souls when we have passed from this light, and for the souls of our ancestors for ever.

The lands were to be held as of the manor of Caistor, Lincolnshire, by fealty only, and the rents were to be taken from the day of the attainder of the marquis. That there might be no question that the grant was a trust and not general corporate property, the letters patent go on—

And we will and order that the Mayor and burgesses and their successors shall lay out, expend, and convert all the income from the lands for the maintenance of the Schoolmaster and usher (*pedagogi et suppedagogi*) of the school aforesaid and of the chaplains and poor men and for other necessary things only touching and concerning the said borough, school, chaplains, and poor men aforesaid and the support and maintenance of the same and not in any other manner or to any other uses or intents.

The total property included in the grant consisted of 50 messuages and 227 acres, 5 perches of land, about two-thirds of it derived from St. Mary’s Gild. So that not more than a quarter, if so much, of the whole property of the gilds was bought back. The lands recovered became known as ‘the Erection Lands.’

It has been made a charge against² the corporation that they parted with the lands in Walcot, part of John Robynson’s lands. But the Corporation Minute Book above quoted shows that they parted with them because they could not help it, in order to keep the Gildhall and the rest of the lands. On 27 October, 1561, ‘wher there is a certen demand by Mr. Hunston maid for the hall, the garthyng to it, £10 a yere of the ereccion lands’ and ‘other things,’ now he is contented to comen and fall to talkes for the same,’ a committee was appointed to confer with him. On 23 May, 1562, articles were agreed, and on 14 August he was granted the Stone thyng or Toll thing and appurtenances at Walcot and £90 was paid him in cash, he relinquishing his title to the rest of John Robynson’s lands.

The corporation at this time hoped to recover more of the property, sending on 7 April, 1562, ‘a letter to Mr. Cicell for his favour to helpe us to a lycense of £100 or 100 marks in mortmain and to gyve him £20 for his goodness therein.’ But the money was spent in vain.

After the charter the school was at first still carried on in the old school-building in Wormgate, a tortuous street, running northwards at the west end of the church. It was included in the letters patent as ‘a house in which a grammar school (*scola litteratoria*) is kept,’ part of the possessions of St. Peter and St. Paul Gild. It was not till 1567 that the corporation thought it necessary to provide a new site and buildings. On 19 May, 1567, it was agreed ‘ther shalbe a new Scholehouse erected in the Hallgarth.’ On 12 April, 1568, a committee examined the building account and found that the ‘charges came to one hundryth four schoure fyftene pounds and eleven pence,’ or £195 os. 11d. The final payment was 15 October, 1568, when Anthony Claywood, late mayor, paid £26 balance due from him for his mayoralty; ‘the other £4 was allowed him for 2,000 thatche tile that he delivered to John Dixon for the Scholehouse.’

The school thus erected still forms the main building of the present school. The old stone which was over the entrance porch is still preserved, inscribed ‘A°, 1567, Regine Elizabethe nono Maior et Burgenses de Bostonia uno et eodem consensu puerorum institucionis gracia in piis litteris hanc aedificaverunt Scholam. Gulielmo Ganocke, stapulae mercatore, ad tunc maiore existente.’ This building remained untouched until 1850 when a class-room and a new entrance porch were added. In 1903 considerable additions were made. Two extensive laboratories, both chemical and physical, with a lecture-room, now occupy the whole of the south side of the old playground, and a covered fives court has been erected on the west. These buildings have necessarily contracted the wide open area of the old Hallgarth or Mart Yard.

¹ Not 1553–4 as in Thompson, *Hist. of Boston*, 272. Philip only married Mary, and became king, 25 July, 1554.

² *Char. Com. Rep.* (1837), xxxii, pt. iv, 8.

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Here the great annual fair was held for centuries. It is still proclaimed by the town crier in the very words of the old formula in the school playground. Formerly it was surrounded by shops, which were removed in the eighteenth century.

Positive proof is afforded that the school was carried on in the old school by the church stile till the new building was ready, by the entry on 2 September, 1570, 'at this Assemblie Mr. Bonner did purchase the old Scolehouse at Wormgate with a certen peace of ground nere the same lying within his pasture, which was agreed that he should have the fee symple thereof for £8.' It was not however conveyed till, by a deed 10 August, 1572, it was granted to Robert Bonner on a lease for 99 years perpetually renewable. The commissioners of 1837¹ identified the schoolmaster's dwelling-house with that then and now used for Laughton's School. It seems to have been used by the master long after the school itself was removed to its present site, as in 1580 the corporation directed the schoolmaster to take his house at the North Church Stile and keep the same in repair, and in 1639 it is called the 'house in the churchyard, commonly called the Schoolmaster's house, belonging to the corporation.' The present master's house was not built till 1825 when, to the spoiling of the view of the simple but beautiful Elizabethan building, the hideous structure of yellow brick was built on the west end of the playground between the school and the road and river at a cost of £2,007 12s.²

We find what is probably the name of the first schoolmaster under the 'Ereccion' in an entry of 27 April, 1568: 'Item. that John Dyson shall pay to Master James Smyth 20s. which was dewe to hym at the feast of the Annunciacion last past for his fee, and to take his acquittance for the same for full payment of his fee unto that day.' He seems then to have given place to Mr. Walter Wodroff, who had to borrow money to get to Boston. On 11 June, 1568, 'Where at this Assembly John Wilkinson is in surplusage of the church accompt 65s. 7½d. and hath receyved the some of 100s. of the debt of Mr. Wodroff, scolemaister, that of the same he is allowed the said surplusage,' and having paid the mayor the rest is discharged. And on 31 December, 'Whereas Walter Wodroff, clerke, nowe scolemaister of this Borough stode and is bounden to pay £5 at Christmas last, he is given to Lady Day next to pay it,' and on 25 September, 1570, his 'bill' for £5 was again extended to Christmas, 1570.

An usher was provided for in the charter: and one had probably always existed in the old school. By deed 7 April, 1558, Richard Briggs, yeoman, who was an alderman, gave the mayor and burgesses a messuage in Fishtoft and 32 acres of land in Fishtoft, Boston, and Skirbeck, reserving a life interest to himself and Audrey³ his wife. On 12 January, 1567-8, the corporation 'ordered and agreed that the messuage lands and tenements that are gyven to the maior and burgesses by Richard Bryggs after the death of him and Awdry nowe his wife that the same shalbe to the fyndyng of an Ussher in the gramer schole of Boston for ever.' At the same time a lease was sealed to him for two pastures in the Holmes at £3 13s. 4d. a year 'for 21 yeres yf he and his wyfe lyve so long,' with another lease to Mr. Sowthen of the Marshes at £6 a year 'towards the fyndyng of an Ussher in a Grammar Schole in Boston,' while 'Mr. Hawkrigde hath done and is agreed to pay £2 by yere to thuse aforesaid.' The nature of the transaction is rather mysterious and does not show whether it was a gift by Briggs or a purchase, or partly one and partly the other. The application to the usher of the rents reserved on the leases to the other persons named was probably only a way of providing the usher's endowment until Briggs's lands came into possession. No usher's name however is recorded till ten years later, 25 March, 1577-8, when it was agreed that 'Mr. Pyke shall be the Usher of the Grammar Scoole and to be removeable at the discession of the Corporation upon reasonable warnynge, and notwythstandyng to contynewe chaplen still, and have the fee and stipende belongeinge to the chaplen onelye.' The chaplain thus referred to was the mayor's chaplain, one of the two chaplains provided for in Philip and Mary's charter, not the preacher of the borough who assisted in the parish church and preached there, but another whose special duty was assigned 4 June, 1575, which was probably the time when Mr. Pike was appointed, to do service at St. John's Church in the South End. The nave in this church was pulled down in 1584, and in 1626 the chancel was removed and its stones applied to repairing the parish church of St. Botolph; the licence to do so falsely stating that it 'had not then been employed for any divine use for the space of 200 years or thereabouts.' To use the mayor's chaplain as usher was an ingenious way of saving the corporation's pocket.

The same year it was agreed 'that a dictionarye shall be bought for the scollers of the Free Scoole, and the same boke to be tyed to a cheyne and set upon a desk in the scoole, whereunto any scoller may have access as occasion shall serve.'

In 1586 there was a change in both places, Mr. Peter Lylley being 'chosen to be schoole-master of the Grammar Schole,' while 'one James Harry, Bachelour of Artes, is elected to be usher' and to have £3 for his stipend 'by yere upon good likinge both of this house and of the saide usher.'

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* loc. cit. 9.

² *Ibid.* 11.

³ Not Adrienne, an impossible name for that time, as Thompson, *History of Boston*, 279.

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This was cheap enough, but it is probable that Harris, like his predecessor, was also mayor's chaplain. On 6 January, 1588-9, Mr. Samuel Beadle, 'Mr. of Arte, late of Bennet College,' i.e. what is now known as Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was appointed head master. Next year seats were provided for the boys in St. Botolph's Church. At the next election, 31 December, 1597, the corporation descended to a 'Batcheler of Arte,' John Newall.

In 1601 it was agreed that 'there shall be boughte at the charges of this Corporation two dictionaries, one greek and the other latine, and that the Schoolmaster for the time being shall see that they be well kepte for the use of the Schoole.'

On 15 January, 1608-9, Mr. John Blackburn, M.A., became head master. He resigned 23 July, 1613, and Mr. Bariona (? Barjonas) Doue, elsewhere called Dove and Dowe,¹ came, but 'yealded up his place,' after two years, on 13 February, 1615-6, when Anthony Dixon, who had been usher from 1 June, 1604, to 11 January, 1608-9, was 'entreated to take paines to teach the schollers in the free schole heare untill a sufficient scholemaster can be provided.' On 28 March, 1616, Mr. John Stretton, 'Mr. of Artes this next commencement,' which shows that he was a Cambridge man, was appointed. Three years was enough for him, and he resigned 13 January, 1618-9. On 10 February Mr. John, M.A., was elected 'to have the same wages and house due to him,' but he 'surrendered' 4 June, 1619, and Mr. Thomas James was elected the same day. He surrendered after a year, 31 October, 1620, when William Wattson, 'Mr. of Art,' came. He was an Oxford man of Lincoln College, where he had matriculated 22 May, 1601, at the early age of 15, so that though of nineteen years' standing he was still only 34 years old. He actually stayed for seven years, when 'by Mr. Hicks, his grandfather,' a member of the corporation, he 'surrendered himself, being called to be the minister of Horblinge.' The ushers were even less stayers than the masters. Their dates run: 15 December, 1592, Mr. William Harcastle; 31 July, 1595, 'one Anthonie Bourne'; 9 June, 1598, Mr. Thomas Pearson; 1 June, 1606, Mr. Anthony Dixon, who on resignation apparently in disgust at not being made head master when Newall was appointed 18 January, 1608-9, received £13 6s. 8d. 'as a gratuitye'; 10 February, 1608-9, Mr. John Emmeth, whose stipend was £10 a year. On 12 October, 1613, Mr. Doctor Baron, Mr. Cotton (who was the famous John Cotton, then vicar of Boston, whence he had to fly from the Laudian persecution to what became in his honour New Boston, now Boston, Massachusetts), Mr. Ingoldsbye, and Mr. Wooll (the late vicar) were 'appoynted to make triall whether Mr. Emmath (*sic*) be a fitting and sufficient man to exercise the place of the usher of the Grammar Schoole within this boroughe, and to conferre with him to knowe whether he will conforme himself to teach after such rules as Mr. Dove, the chiefe schoolmaster, doth.' Apparently he would not conform, but he was treated gently on the score of health. On 25 November 'Mr. John Emmith, having been for a long time sicke and weeke, and being not able to continue his place of ushershippe, hath freely and willingly surrendered up the same, which surrender this house hath accepted,' and gave him his wages to Christmas, with £10 more 'for a further gratuity and contribution from this house towards his better relief and succour.' Next day Mr. Robert Boughe was chosen, 'his year to be reckoned at Christmas next.' On 16 October, 1617, Anthony Dixon, after being acting head master, returned to the ushership; he 'shall serve this quarter ensuinge for Mr. Boughe, and he is to be satisfied for his wages during the time of Mr. Boughe's absence.' On 10 February, 1618-9, he was formally re-elected usher, and proved the most permanent of all, only retiring 20 January, 1625, when he was 'now growne aged and weake and very blind.' 'In that he hath been very serviceable in this house' he was given 'as a gratuity during the pleasure of this house the yerely sum of £4.'

Mr. Samuel Winter was elected in Dixon's place, and for the first time an usher succeeded to the head-mastership in his person on 9 May, 1627. On 8 February, 1630, he left, when Mr. William Goodwin was chosen 'heade scholmaister of the Borough.' How long he stayed does not appear, but it could not have been long, as Samuel, son of Abraham Browne, an innkeeper of Boston, is entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, 9 April, 1636, as having been at school under Mr. Atkinson for more than seven years. On 28 February, 1636-7, Mr. Atkinson, 'head scholemaster,' was ordered a 'gratuity from this house out of the ereccion lands, the some of £5 in regard the proffits of his schole hav been so greatly hindered by reason of the late visitacion uppon the Buroughe this last year.' This entry seems to show that tuition fees were charged to those outside the borough, unless perchance it was the Shrove Tuesday cockfight and the presents that accompanied it which had failed. The visitation was the plague. Next year, 18 December, Atkinson received another gratuity of £4 'in regard of his extraordinary paines and dilligence in the schole and for his incouragement therein.' But this encouragement could not keep him. On 20 July, 1640, Mr. Thomas Welfyt was chosen usher in place of Mr. Cooper, 'late usher and now the Head-master'—the first use of this term *simpliciter*. Mr. Richard Cooper was from New Inn Hall, Oxford, where he had taken his B.A. degree 3 June, 1630, at the age of eighteen, and his M.A.

¹ Not Done, as Thompson, *History of Boston*, 285.

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degree 16 May, 1633.¹ He was thus only 24 when elected usher and 31 when he became head master. In the year 1627, on 18 May Mr. Wallys and on 31 July Mr. John Rayner had been successively chosen ushers, and on 18 April, 1628, Mr. Jeremy Vasis or Vasin (who became rector of Skirbeck). Samuel Kendall followed in 1633, resigning on 8 April, 1636, when Cooper was appointed. Welfitt, who succeeded Cooper as usher, received, 20 July, 1640, 40s. for his 'charges comminge from Yorke hither.' On 18 December he had gone, when Mr. Jeremy Collyer, 'Batcheler of Arts,' was elected. He went off to the head-mastership of Ipswich in 1645, and became the father of the famous Jeremy Collier, non-juror writer and bishop. On 5 August, 1642, Mr. Richard Cooper retired, 'being settled at a place in the ministry.'

Between 1642 and 1657 there were no less than four masters, Millington, LL.B., 1648; Eusebius Morton, 1652; Ashall, 1652. Then the corporation, tired of perpetual change, made Richard Palfreyman, 'as master of the Free School belonging to this borough, upon his election engage to this house that he would keep the said School for five years at least, and to give a year's warning when he intended to leave the said School.' Palfreyman only just stayed out his five years till 1662, though his retirement then may have been due to the politico-religious reaction which took place. His successor was Jonathan Jephcot of New Inn Hall, Oxford, vicar of Swaffham, Norfolk, in 1633, but sequestered by Parliament. On his arrival new books were provided, a large folio English Bible, a Scapula Lexicon, a large Calepynus' Dictionary, a large quarto Homer's *Iliad*, and Tully's Six Orations. But Jephcot, who was fifty-three years old, did not find schoolmastering to his taste, and retired after a year. Philip Ormston of Christ's College, Cambridge, came in. He was brought to Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1649, by the Parliamentary Commission, and was second master of Magdalen College School, 1649-51. He, during the Commonwealth, held a living, and when elected was vicar of Claxton, in Leicestershire. He actually held the mastership for thirteen years to 1674.

After Thomas Palmer, 1674-9, the corporation resolved 'that whosoever hereafter is elected schoolmaster shall, while he continues in that office, not accept of any parsonages, curacy, or employment whatever, or preach without licence from the mayor.' Edward Emerson of Lincoln College, Oxford, was elected. But the restriction was not successful, and he went away in a year, though the salary was now raised to £30 a year. A native of Boston, Joseph Bell of Lincoln College, Oxford, who then came, stayed six years. His successor, William Speed, held for four years; Edmund Kelsall for five. He was allowed to preach till February next, and in 1700 to 'assist' the vicar, and in 1702 became himself vicar of Boston. Samuel Coddington held for seventeen years, 1702 to 1719: then Thomas Colborn of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for seven years, having the vicarage of South Ormesby as well as the mastership, and retiring on the vicarage of Walpole, Norfolk. John Rigby, 1726, was in 1728 allowed to 'accept Leverton rectory upon his engaging to attend the school and employ a curate at Leverton.' During his time plays were performed by the boys at Christmas, he writing prologues and epilogues for them.²

On 12 May, 1732, 'upon the question put the Rev. Mr. Joseph Smith is duly elected Master of the Free School of the Borough (there being seventeen Ballots in the Box for his election and six Ballots in the Box against his being elected) with a Sallary of £50 to commence from May Day last on the resignation of the Rev. Mr. John Rigby observing the Proviso annext to the Resolution of this Hall for the Augmentation of his salary.'

In 1737 Matthew Robinson of Lincoln and then a fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, was elected. He was only twenty-four years old and held Kirton vicarage with the mastership. Dying in 1745, he lies buried in Kirton Church. His successor, James Muscatt, was of Merton and then of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was already rector of Staughton, Bedfordshire, and died there. Then came Thomas Bateman, 1758-69, and W. S. Lewis, the first master with two Christian names, who only held for one quarter, June to September, 1769. The Rev. Obadiah Bell of Lincoln College, Oxford, then established a record. Appointed in September, 1769, at the age of twenty-three, he held office for twenty years. The corporation quarrelled with him from 1775 to 1779 over his opening a door into the Mart Yard, as the school yard was then called, and establishing a 'conveniency' for the boys. Bell was also vicar of Frampton. His reign seems to have destroyed the spell of restlessness, probably because the Erection Lands had become more valuable and the place was better. Since then no head master has held office for less than a quarter of a century. John Banks, B.D., ruled from 1790 to 1820.

In 1803 a prospectus or 'Plan of Instruction and Management at Boston School, conducted by the Reverend John Banks, B.D., with the Assistance of well-qualified Masters,' shows that the school was a boarding school as well as a day school. 'The boys are not allowed to go into the

¹ So Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, but it is probably a mistake, as he is described as 'Batchelor of Arts' when elected usher, and as it took seven years to become an M.A. and he only matriculated in 1627, there was not time.

² Thompson, *History of Boston*, 255, from *Spalding Gentlemen's Society*.

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Town without particular Leave ; and the younger ones are never suffered to walk alone near any Place of Danger ; the Head Master walks out with the Boarders when the weather is fine. One of the Masters or Housekeeper visits every room soon after the Boarders have retired to Rest ; and the Head Master goes round to the different Apartments at such Times as he supposes himself to be least likely to be expected by the Boys. With regard to their Manners and good Order it may be justly asserted that they are much praised in the Town and neighbourhood of the School as regular and well-behaved young Gentlemen.'

Dr. Homer, appointed in 1820, had been a master at Rugby, and was at first eminently successful. We learn from the late Mr. Roy's 'Reminiscences' that in 1835 when he was at the school there were 50 or 60 day boys in attendance, but no boarders. During the year he was at the school he says he got through two Greek plays, translations in Greek and Latin prose and verse, with 28 chapters of Genesis in Hebrew, a few Psalms, and six chapters of Isaiah ; but Mr. Roy adds that there were no boys going then from the school to the university.

The Commissioners of Inquiry in 1839¹ seem to have been only interested in questions of the property of the Erection Lands. Of the school itself they only say that there were 20 boys on the foundation instructed in an English and commercial education, while six of them learnt French at a fee of £1 a quarter : and that other boys got classics free but paid £4 a year for English and commercial subjects and £4 a year for modern languages. After the Municipal Corporations Act the Erection Lands were taken out of the hands of the corporation and placed under a body of municipal charity trustees, 15 in number, appointed by the Court of Chancery. Dr. Homer stayed too long. The school dwindled away in his latter years till in 1847 there were no boys at all. At length resort was had to the court, and under a scheme established in 1850 the head master, who was also vicar of Freiston, retired on a pension of £80 a year. The scheme established tuition fees of £3 a year for all boys. But, as was pointed out by Mr. H. W. Eve in 1867,² the scheme was framed as if the head master and the usher were to keep two independent schools ; the head master paying £4 a head to the second master for the boarders, and the two sharing the day boys' capitation fees equally, so that the usher's place, having the separate Briggs endowment, was as good as, or better than, the head master's. The head master taught classics and mathematics, the usher English, French, geography, and arithmetic, and gave religious instruction. Both were to be members of the Church of England, an innovation wholly unwarranted by the charter ; but neither was to hold a cure of souls. George Edwin Pattenden, B.D., who was appointed head master in 1850, quickly raised the school. In 1864 there were twenty boarders, for whom 40 guineas were charged, and about 70 day boys. The assistant commissioner who then visited it spoke highly of the instruction given not only in classics but in modern languages and English and geography, one or two open scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge being won every year. This success was maintained throughout Dr. Pattenden's reign. A report of Mr. T. H. Ward, fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1871, found Virgil, Tacitus, Aeschylus, and Thucydides well done. The Gaisford Greek Prose Prize at Oxford had just been won by G. E. Jeans, scholar of Pembroke, Oxford, a Boston Schoolboy. The mathematics were good and the French 'excellent ; much better than amongst boys of the same age at the great public schools.'

In that year the Endowed Schools Commissioners, in consequence of an application to enlarge the head master's house, held inquiries with a view to a new scheme, the governors being desirous of making the school a whole under the control of the head master. But when the scheme was published a storm of opposition broke out, owing partly to its proposing to raise the fees to the very moderate figure of £5 in the junior and £10 in the senior department of the school, partly because it proposed to amalgamate Laughton's School and the Blue Coat School and make them a girls' school ; while the clergy opposed it because the vicar's and lecturer's shares out of the Erection Lands, which had been raised considerably by the scheme of 1850—when the endowment brought in about £1,100 a year net—had not been increased. The scheme was dropped. In 1877 the corporation again tried to get a scheme passed. The school had then risen to 136, viz. 111 day boys and 25 boarders, with four masters, besides the head master. A new scheme was published 12 February, 1879, but though under it the maximum tuition fees were lowered to £6, yet it was violently opposed because it proposed to increase the payments to the clergy. It, too, was dropped. In 1887 Dr. Pattenden, who had kept up the high standard of the teaching to the last, retired.

Mr. William White succeeded. He had been at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he became a Senior Optime ; and was then mathematical master at Marlborough College. He has never taken boarders, the head master's house not being adequate for more than ten or eleven according to modern standards, and the trustees being unwilling to spend money on enlargement. He has maintained the school at about 90 day boys ; and has always obtained one or

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxxii, pt. iv, 12.

² *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xvi, 162.

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two open scholarships at the universities, chiefly in mathematics or science, every year; besides getting boys into the Indian Civil Service, the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and so forth.

At length on 29 May, 1903, a scheme was made under the Charitable Trusts Acts by the Board of Education. This constituted a governing body consisting of the mayor of Boston, *ex officio*, with five representatives of the Town Council, four of the Holland County Council, one of the Council of the Senate of Cambridge University, and six co-optatives. The tuition fees were raised to a minimum of £6 a year, ten scholarships were established in the school for boys from public elementary schools in the borough, and provision was made for leaving exhibitions of £20 to £50 a year each. The payments to the clergy remain at the amount fixed by the scheme of 1850. About £800 a year out of a gross endowment of £1,475 a year is applicable for school purposes. Under the scheme excellent new lecture-rooms and laboratories for science-teaching have been added. The numbers have risen, the distinctions have increased, and this ancient school gives a highly efficient classical and modern education.

LOUTH

Louth School first appears in records on 23 October, 1276,¹ when on the collation of Gilbert Fitz-Alan of Theddlethorpe (Tetiltorp) to Louth vicarage, a letter was sent to the schoolmaster of Louth to induct him. Louth being a prebend of Lincoln Cathedral, its school was not under the immediate jurisdiction of the chancellor of the church, but under that of the prebendary. Consequently we do not get any mention of it in the chapter act books, such as we find of the other ancient schools of the county when in the vacancy of the chancellorship the chapter exercised the chancellor's powers. Hence 177 years elapse between the first indication of the existence of a school at Louth and the next.

On Monday after Trinity Sunday, 1433,² Thomas Rydlay, master of the grammar school at Louth ('magister scholarum gramaticalium de Luda') was attached in a plea of debt brought by William Smyth and was fined 2*d.* for not appearing.

Louth, like most of these old Lincolnshire towns, was studded with gilds. St. Mary's Gild appears to have been the chief and oldest of them, as in a licence in mortmain by Edward II, 21 May, 1317, it is said to have been then ancient, 'the alderman and brethren of the gild of the Blessed Mary of ancient foundation (*ab antiquo constitute*)' being empowered to receive a new endowment of £4 10*s.* 8½*d.* rent for a chaplain to celebrate in the church of St. Herefrid of Louth. In the gild certificates of Richard II,³ St. Mary's Gild is returned as founded and ordained in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary by William Gypulthorpe and Ralph of Walton and others, A.D. 1329, to find seven serges (*cereos*, wax candles) to burn before the image of the Blessed Mary in a chapel in St. Herefrid; and afterwards a chaplain was added to sing 'Salve Regina' every evening at twilight; and they were governed by an alderman, a dean, and four quartermen. A copy of the letters patent of Edward II, already quoted, is attached to the return, which shows that its original foundation was far more ancient than 1329. It then possessed £15 6*s.* 3*d.* in lands, besides those under the licence amounting to £4 10*s.* 8*d.* Its hall was, par excellence, the gild hall, and was apparently used, like that of St. Mary's Gild at Boston, as the town hall. The gild possessed in 1389 chattels to the value of £15 6*s.* 3*d.*, but, according to the return, no lands except those of the chaplain. This return, however, is quite consistent with the gild's possessing landed property held by trustees, of which there is ample evidence in other cases. In an account book of this gild, now in possession of Lord Monson, which begins in 1473, Nicholas Gysburgh (*magister scholarum*) in 1475-7 paid 20*s.* rent for the house he occupied—a very large sum for those days—the houses of the deans or canons of collegiate churches dissolved being usually valued at that rate.

When we come to the sixteenth century we arrive at absolute evidence that St. Mary's Gild helped to maintain the grammar schoolmaster. In the churchwardens' accounts of the parish church 1533, 'it is agreed by the parishe that Mr. John Godeall, scolemaister of gramer, shall have yerely towards his lyfvyng and wages, 40*s.*, that is to say, 10*s.* of our Lady Gild, 6*s.* 8*d.* of the pece⁴ wiche he now hath, 13*s.* 4*d.* of St. Mighell light, 5*s.* of Corpus Christi Gild, and 5*s.* of Saint Peter Gild.' The 6*s.* 8*d.* was probably for writing the accounts, as in 1528-9 appeared the 'item, John Gooddale wrytyng this accownte 3*s.* 4*d.*' In 1531 this item was increased to 6*s.* 8*d.*, in 1538 it appears as 'John Goddalle wrytyng this accompte 6*s.* 8*d.* Item, to John Goddalle for wrytyng and

¹ I am indebted for this reference to Mr. R. W. Goulding, whose researches into the history of Louth are well known.

² R. W. Goulding, *Court Rolls of the Manor of Louth* (1901).

³ P.R.O. Gild Cert. 126.

⁴ Mr. Goulding says it represents a collection at so much 'a piece.' But this sounds rather unlikely. Is it not 'pence' with the n omitted for abbreviation?

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attending all Ester weke about the town busynes 3s. 4d.' As we saw at Southwark¹ and at Wellingborough² as late as the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign it was a common practice to resort to the schoolmaster for his services as a registrar and keeper of minutes and accounts.

In 1538 Goodall's name disappears from the churchwardens' accounts, probably because he went off to be schoolmaster at the new college or collegiate church into which King Henry VIII had converted Thornton Abbey. It consisted of a dean and four (secular) canons or prebendaries and five minor canons, four singing-men, six choristers, twenty-four 'beidmen,' with an endowment of £616 10s. a year, equivalent to £12,320 of our money. At all events the chantry certificate of 1548 shows us the grammar schoolmaster (*magister scole grammticalis*) John Goodall, 44 years old, receiving yearly for his pension in the said college £20; while the song schoolmaster (*magister choristarum*), Ralph Wadeson, 40 years old, received £10, and six choristers (*vocati Querysters*) among them £16. This college was but short-lived, being dissolved in 1548. But the school at Thornton was continued by warrant of the Chantry Commissioners, Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Kelway.³ 'Forasmuche as it appearith that a grammer scole hathe been contynuallye kept in Thornteton with part of the revenues of the late colledge there, and that the scolemaster there hathe had for his wages yerelie £20, we have assigned . . . that the said scole in Thornteton aforesaide shall contynewe, and that John Goodall, Scolemaster there, shall have and enjoye the rome of scolemaster there and shall have for his wages yerelie £20.' Meanwhile Louth School appears in the chantry certificate under the heading of 'The Holy Trinity Gild,⁴ founded by John Whittingham and others to find a chaplain to celebrate in the church.' viz. Robert Beverley, who received £5 13s. 4d. a year 'and afterwards other lands and possessions were granted to the alderman brethren and sisters and their successors for ever both to find a chaplain sufficiently learned in the art of grammar to teach boys of the said town and the country adjoining good manners and polite literature, and also that 6 poor men or women of the same towne should receive yearly relief from the issues of the said lands, viz. 6s. 8d. a year for their fuel and commons (*commensalibus*) and a house called Trinitye Beid House for their dwelling together; which said grammar school has been continued from the time of the grant of the said lands to the present day, the teacher (*instructor*) of which is Roger Ascue, alias Bawnus, age 35.' The total value of the gild lands was £19 17s. 5d., but it is not stated what the schoolmaster received. The Continuance Warrant,⁵ however, of Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Kelway says that 'the Scolemaister there had 113s. 4d. assigned to hym by dede dated the 17th daye of December,' 1545, and 'Rogger Bonus otherwise Askue' was continued 'scolemaster' at that rate. In the ministers' accounts⁶ for 1548-9, the receiver general of the county of Lincoln accounts 'for an annuity or annual rent of Roger Askewe alias Bawme, chaplain, usher (*subpedagogi*) of the Grammar School in the towne of Louth,' at 113s. 4d. a year. The same payment is made in the later accounts up to and including 1552-3 to 'Roger Askewe alias Ballmes,' in which year £8 10s. is paid for a year and a half ended at Michaelmas. It is not easy to make out what this usher's real name was. In the school accounts he is commonly called Bonus. He is probably the son or other near relation of 'one Bawnus' who was prominent in the Lincolnshire rising in 1536, which originated at Louth, and was contemporaneous with the Pilgrimage of Grace in Yorkshire, who 'coming into the church declared how that their jewels and ornaments should be taken away,' and who is described by other witnesses as 'one Bawnes' also as 'Balneus,'⁷ and as 'William Askew alias Bonus, tailor.'⁸

Not only was there a Grammar School in Louth before the Reformation, but also a Song School. In 1532-3 it was agreed by the commonalty of the town that Robert Beverley, the singing-man, should have 'of the comon pece, 10s. for every quarter from henceforth unto such time as he be priest.' As we saw in 1548, he was then chantry priest of the Trinity Gild. The churchwardens' accounts for 1534-5 contain a payment of 11d. for 'bordes, nayles, and crookes to the Song Scholehowse dore' and 5d. to 'John Kytchen for making thereof.' The Song School is mentioned again in 1535-6, 1537-8, 1546-7, 1553-4, and 1556-7. When the new Grammar School was built in 1557-8 the payments included 'for 1 quarter [i.e. a thousand] of thacke [or thatch] to the Song Scole and Kirkebie house, 4s.'

An inscription on the pedestal on which stood the statue of King Edward VI in the old school building, removed in 1869, told how John Bradley, merchant of Louth, persuaded his

¹ V.C.H. Surrey, ii.

² V.C.H. Northampton, ii.

³ A. F. Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reformation* (1896), 135, from Chan. Cert. 33, No. 124.

⁴ Ibid. 138. This gild was of much earlier foundation than there stated, having been founded in 1376, by George Darcy and others, the chantry of Thomas of Louth (*de Luda*) canon of Lincoln, founded in 1317 but then decayed, being annexed to it. It was refounded and the chantry removed to St. James, the parish church, by letters patent, 7 Oct. 1450, with further licence in mortmain, 16 Jan. 1453.

⁵ Ibid. 138.

⁶ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 2 and 3 Edw. VI, 90.

⁷ Misprinted in State Papers as 'Balnens.'

⁸ Ibid. 194, misprinted 'Ashen.' The vicar of Louth, Thomas Kendall, was implicated and hanged.

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half-brother Richard Gooderiche to petition Edward VI who converted into a school (*ludum literarium*) what had been a chamber of priests (*cubiculum sacrificorum*),¹ endowing it with large estates which had belonged to the brotherhoods of Trinity and Our Lady and the chantry of John Louth. A warrant signed by Richard Sakevyle issued out of the Court of Augmentations on 10 September,² 1551, setting out lands worth £40 a year which

the King's highness is pleased to geve twardes the mauntenance of a free scole in Louth and towardes the sustentacion of 12 poore folkes to continew for ever. His highnes pleasur is also that there be a corporacion made to take and purchase over and lese premisses landes and tene-ments. His further plesur is that there shalbe a Scolemaster and an vssher, for [to teche children] frelie and the Scolemaster to have for his stipend £20, the vssher £10. To have thissues and profettes from the feaste of thannunciacion of our Lady last past.

The 'parcels' of the lands set out were part of 'John Louth's Chantry lands worth £6 os. 17d.' gross and £5 18s. net; part of the Trinity Gild lands £5 16s. 3d. gross, £5 15s. net; part of S. Mary's Gild lands £16 7s. 11d. gross, £16 os. 3d. net; part of the Gild of Blessed Mary in Garthorpe, worth £4 13s. 9d., and part of the manor of Louth late belonging to the bishopric of Lincoln, then in the king's hands, worth £10 a year. The total net value was £42 11s. 10½d.; of which it was estimated that 51s. 10½d. should be 'diducted and allowed for yerely charges towards the maintenance of freshe water drennes and sea banckes.'

The letters patent or charter granting the lands and founding the schools were sealed on 21 September, 1551. With exceptional frankness they reveal that the so-called foundation was no new foundation, but a mere revival. Most emphatic, too, is the testimony to the efficiency of Louth School in the past as a public school, not only for its own youth but for the youths of all the country round, who must have come there for the most part, as they have ever since, not as day-boys but as boarders. The preamble is a striking confession of faith in learning as the foundation of wise management of the state.

'The town of Louth,' which was not then nor for another century a municipal borough, was incorporated under the title of the Warden and Six Assistants of the town of Louth and free school of King Edward VI in Louth,³ to be elected in the Gildhall, for the management of the school, with power to make statutes, to be approved by the bishop of Lincoln. Lawrence Eresbie was appointed in the charter as first warden and John Bradley 'merchant of the Staple of the town of Calais' was the first of the six assistants with John Chapman, gentleman, and four other persons who are described as merchants. The lands given were, it may be noted, only part not the whole of the possessions of John Louth's chantry and the gilds. John Louth's chantry was then a comparatively modern one, founded only 20 February, 1466,⁴ under the will of John Louth, gentelman, for a chaplain in the chapel of the Holy Trinity and All Saints on the north side of the parish church of St. James, Louth, for the souls of John Louth, Simon and Alice Louth, his father and mother and others, with licence in mortmain up to 12 marks a year. It was returned in the chantry certificate⁵ as worth £12 19s. 9d. gross, and £11 16s. 11d. net. An extant lease of 28 July, 1547, shows that Chapman, the second of the six assistants, was then its patron. By the grant 'part of the manor of Louthe,' Louth obtained possession of its own markets and market-tolls, acquiring as part of the possessions of the manor the quarrell or quarry in which the beast market was held, the Wednesday and Saturday markets of the town, and the three yearly fairs on the Sunday after Easter and the two days after, St. James's Day and two days after, and Martin mass with the courts of piepowder held at them. The market tolls were let out at £10 5s. a year. John Goodall,⁶ presumably returned from Thornton, was named in the charter 'first and present master'⁷ for life with a salary of £20, while Roger Bonus, his successor in the old school, was named usher (*subpedagogus*) with £10 a year. The schoolhouse was to be 'Saynt Marye church near the town,' which the master and assistants were empowered 'to convert to the use of a school and for a house for boys and youths to be taught in.' As the charter states that the church is 'now occupied for a school,' the Protestants of 1551 were not responsible for this conversion of ecclesiastical property to educational purposes. A similar conversion also took place at Stamford, where to this day St. Paul's church forms the

¹ *Louth Records*, 113, where *sacrificorum* is mistranslated 'monks.'

² A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 143. From Aug. Off. Particulars for Schools, Edw. VI, No. 1.

³ *Custos et sex assistentes ville de Louth et Libere Scole Regis Edwardi Sexti in Louth.*

⁴ Pat. 5 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 1.

⁵ Said in *Louth Records* 174 to be of 37 Hen. VIII, but it was in fact 2 Edw. VI.

⁶ He is described as John Goodale of Louth. So it is just possible, though not at all probable, that he was not the same as the John Goodall, master of Thornton College.

⁷ *Primus et modernus.*

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large school-room, while at Northampton St. Peter's church was in like manner converted into a grammar school by Cardinal Pole himself.

Besides the school and its masters, the warden and assistants were to maintain the bedesmen, twelve in number, 'in like manner and form as they were hitherto and heretofore sustained, fed, and maintained by the late gilds of St. Mary and of the Holy Trinity.' The chantry certificates show that each gild had maintained six poor men or women, giving them 6s. 8d. a year each, in 'Our Lady's Beidhouse' and in 'Trinitye Beidhouse' respectively.

The only records remaining of the warden and assistants before 1605 are the yearly accounts, which are fortunately extant from the beginning to 1686 in a paper book of 944 leaves. The first account was rendered at Michaelmas, 1553.

The accompt of Lawrence Eresbie, gent., warden of the King's Fre Scole, in Lowthe, of all the rents by him receyved from the feast of thanunciacion of our ladie anno regni nuper Regis Edwardi Sexti quinto to the feast of St. Michael tharchangell anno regni Marie Regine primo, that is to say, by the space of twoo yeres and a half.

It shows that the total rent for the first year was £41 8s. 11½d. This went in paying 'Mr. Goodall for his wages £20,' 'Mr. Bonus £10,' twelve poor Bedefolkes £4. Other items were 'the case to the letters patents, 5s.'; 'searching at the Rolls for the copie of the corporacion of the graunt of the towne of Newark, and for writing the same, 10s.' The Newark grant was apparently used for a precedent. In the two other years in this account the whole property, other than the market toll, seems to have been let at £33 15s. 8d. a year. The account for 1554-5, which is made by John Thew, 'baillie,' shows that the toll was paid by 'Mr. Doughtie, late grave (gerefa) or reeve (or bailiff) of Lowth,' it being that year £10 3s. 4d. He paid the net cash after payment of quitrents and repairs of the Bedehouses over to John Bradeley, whose account as warden follows, for the year Michaelmas 1553-4.¹ This account already shows an additional endowment in the shape of 'rents and profittes belonging to Mr. Taillour's lands due at mydsomer,' £7 8s. 6½d. The Charity Commissioners in 1837 could not ascertain the origin of this, but in the account for 1554-5 we learn that Mr. Taillour's name was Thomas, and that the lands were situate at Garthorpe, now called Grimthorpe, and that he, by will, 12 February, 1523, gave² lands and tenements said to be worth £4 18s. 10d. net for a chantry priest to pray for his soul in the parish church, 'if the law should allow it,' and if not, for their 'scole.' Thomas Tailor, draper, was churchwarden in 1501-2 and 1509-10. The inhabitants on oath told the commissioners in 1547 that the income had been applied ever since Taylor's death in repairs of the tenements, which were in great decay, and so no priest had ever been found. They therefore somehow managed to retain the property, whether by authority or not, and applied the rents, now bringing in nearly double what was stated to the Chantry Commission. This endowment was utilized to maintain the Song School. Among the outgoing, both in the account for 1534-5 and in the first account, are the 'wages of Mr. Man.' This was the Mr. Man who 'sings bass in the choir at Lowthe,' who took part in the rebellion of 1537. In 1552-3 he received 16s. 8d. for a quarter's wages, and this year he received half a year's wages out of Taillour's lands, 42s. 8½d. and 6s. 8d. more to make up his whole year's wages, which were £4, while the churchwardens this year paid 12d. for two boards and two tressles, a lock with two keys for 'William Man's' scolehow; the Song School house. He last appears in 1560, when 4½d. was paid for washing his surplice. Meanwhile a real elementary or preparatory school had been set up. At the end of 1553-4 we find 30s. paid 'to John Laycoke for teachinge the petie scole, in parte of £6 for his hole yere's wages for one quarter, due at May Day last.' Laycock was succeeded in 1556-7 by Mericock. This petty school, a preparatory school for the petties, or little ones, is no way mentioned in the charter, but putting two and two together it may probably be inferred that it was due to Taylour's benefaction. It lasted for nearly 200 years, and was then apparently abolished at the same time that another great breach of trust, of which hereafter, was committed by the people of Louth and the school governors.

Some other interesting items occur. The repairs of the school cost 6s. 1d. There was given 'to the mynstrelles 12d.' as if there was a play, or at all events a speech-day at the school, and two gallons of wine, costing 2s., were 'bestowed upon my lord of Lincoln,' together with a 'sugar loaf 5s. 2d., 2lb. figs 6d., ½lb. almonds 4d., 100 walnuts 4d., in the whole 8s. 5d.' It looks as if the bishop, who was John White, ex-headmaster of Winchester, had come on purpose to visit the school, probably to make statutes. No statutes are extant, but they are referred to in a minute of

¹ Not, as Mr. Goulding has mistakenly inscribed in the original book, 1554-5. Mary's reign began 19 July, 1553, hence Michaelmas 1 Mary was Michaelmas 1553, and she married Philip on 25 July, 1554, the year then being called 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, i.e. 1 Philip and 2 Mary; and Michaelmas 1 and 2 Philip and Mary was therefore 29 September, 1554.

² Chan. Cert. 33, No. 129. This is Edward VI's commission, not, as Mr. Goulding says, Henry VIII's, as is clear from the Grimsby certificate, which gives a deed made 12 July 1 Edward VI.

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1664. Among other items is 'paid for drawing and graving the common seale of the said scole, 22s. 4d.' This seal is still extant, and is highly interesting. It is round. The legend is Sigill[um] com[mune] Libere Scolæ Gramatic[alis] Reg[is] Edwardi 6ti. in villa de Lowthe, and on a space in the inner part of the seal is 1552 in arabic numerals. In the inner rim is shown a placard suspended by a knot of ribbon—

QUI : PARCIT : VI.

RGE : ODIT : FILIU.

Below is a stalwart pedagogue seated with his legs apart, and on his left knee a boy; the pedagogue's left hand is holding up the boy's garment and baring the parts below the middle, on which a mighty birch erect in the pedagogue's right hand is about to fall. The boy's hands are clasped in a vain appeal for mercy, while three boys standing behind are interested spectators, and two in front seated with a large book on a stand above them look as if their turn was coming next. The seal was evidently intended as an advertisement that Mr. Goodall, at all events, was a believer in the precept of Solomon.

At Louth as elsewhere the schoolmaster was the playwright or stage-manager of the day. In the account for 1555-6 appears, 'for wyn when Mr. Hennage was at the play, 13s. 5d.; to Mr. Goodale for money laid forthe by him at the playes, 13s. 3d.' So in 1556-7 'paid to William Jordayne and other ii mynstrelles for their paynes at the plays, 2s.', and in the account for 1557-8 (wrongly headed in the account book, 1556-7), 'paid to Mr. Goodall for certyn money by him laid forthe for the furnishing of the play played in the market stede on Corpus Christi Day, the yere before my entering,' i.e. 1556-7. The old Corpus Christi play appears thus to have been revived under the Marian reaction. It then ceased, and no further reference to a play occurs till 1568, when the old play had become the modern interlude, when 'Mr. Polsenne,' the then usher, was given 5s. 'towards his charges of an enterlude he set out.'

In 1556-7 Mr. Bonus the usher died.¹ There was 'gyven in reward to Mr. Goodale for his paynestaking during the tyme that Mr. Bonus rowme was void,' 26s. 8d., and there was 'gyven in reward to Nicholas the ussher for a furthnight that he served before our Lady Day, 6s. 8d.' So that Bonus died in January, 1556. Nicholas the usher was, as appears from the 1558 account, Nicholas Corker. At Michaelmas, 1558, he was teaching the petty school.

In 1556-7 the school was removed to the site where the main body of the present school stands. From the first St. Mary's church seems to have been regarded as unsatisfactory. In the first account appears a payment of 6s. 8d. 'to one ffre mason that came from Lincoln to view the scole.' A memorandum of 25 November, 1560,² says that 'Saynt Mary church late occupied for a school (*gymnasio*) now stands empty and disused, because the master and usher (*Pedagogus et Hypodidasculus*) frequently and urgently petitioned the warden and assistants that they . . . and the scholars might be removed, and that they might no longer be compelled to teach their scholars in the said church (*templo*), especially in winter, because of the extreme cold.' The bishop's licence to pull down the church, which cost the town '8s. for wine when my lord bishop was in towne,' and '2s. 11d. for wild foull that was cared to my lord bishop,' was dated 24 December, 1560.

In 1556 the first step was taken towards a new building by a payment of 1s. 6d. to Simon Kellam 'for three days for making ther sawe pytt at the Quarrell.' The 'petie scole' was first taken in hand in 1556-7. On 25 January, 1557, two cottages were bought of Mr. Eresbie, the first warden, for £12; and land was given by Mr. Langholme apparently for the site for the grammar school: 'paid to Thomas Grene for making one dede from Mr. Langholme to us, 3s. 4d.' Next year, 1557-8, the cost of the building is set out under the headings of the various trades employed: Joiners, Wrightes, Sawers, Glasyers, and Thacke (thatch), candills, nailles, waynscotes and other bordes, Smyth work, Thack-tyles, lyme, spetches, plaster and hart lattes, and the Thekers (thatchers), Clay and timber leading, and Laborers. The total cost was £43 12s. 6d.³ From the absence of any mention of stone, brick, or masons it is clear that the building was of the post and pan order, with clay and timber walls, and a thatched roof. From 9s. being allowed in the next year's accounts 'for a decayed rent for two chambers now converted to the school house' it would appear that part of the building was not entirely new.

A new usher came when the new school was completed. 'Paid for the carriage of Mr. Angell stuff at his first commyng, 12s.' and 'paid the 23 day of Marche in full payment of his half yeres pension ended at Lady Day, 1559, £5.' He went at Christmas, 1559, Mr. Walkwide being paid at Lady Day, 1560, for a quarter. He only stayed till Midsummer. In 1559-60 Henry Day was paid 7s. 4d. 'in recompense of his paynes for going to Cambrige for Mr. West to

¹ Churchwardens' Accounts, 'Pd. for laying down the graves of Arthur Grey and Roger Bonus 8d.' In the Parish Register his burial is recorded 2 Nov. 1556, as that of 'Rogerus Ashide, clericus.'

² Account Book, fol. 46. The memorandum then went on to record that the stone and glass of the church were being spoiled, so they determined to sell them.

³ In *Louth Records* Mr. Goulding makes the amount £34 8s.

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be usher'; and 2s. 6d. more 'for his horse hire the same jurnaye,' and Mr. West was paid a quarter's stipend to Michaelmas, 1560. He stayed only till Michaelmas, 1562. The account for 1562 shows 5s. 'paid to one that went with a letter to Blithe for an usher.' The result was 10s. 'in reward and geven for an ernest pennye to one Mr. Lunt, ussher,' and he received his first quarter's wages at Christmas. But at Michaelmas, 1563, he gave place to Robert Gawdrie. He stayed a year and a quarter; William Calthorp being paid for 1565, and Justinian Johnson for the last half of 1566. At last the school found rest in Mr. Richard Pelsonne, who came in October, 1566, and endured 11 years and then became headmaster.

In the years 1562 and 1564 St. Mary's church was dismantled, a chantry chapel attached to it was made into the school counting-house, the rest was disroofed and the lead sold to Mr. Fairfax for £50, which was spent in building a new bridge—a curious way of applying the proceeds for the benefit of the school. In 1564 an interesting account is preserved of the costs of Mr. Miles Graye in obtaining from Queen Elizabeth the grant of the whole manor of Louth, part of which had already been acquired from Edward VI, and the rest of the gild lands. He pursued her to Windsor, stayed there for nine days, and at last got audience by giving Mr. Thamworth's man a shilling 'for letting me into the parke to delyver my supplycacion to the Queenes Maiestie.' By this grant the townsmen became the owners of their Gildhall. But the chief gain was in the fines for the renewal of leases, falls of timber, and amercements or fines and incidental gains belonging to the lordship of the manor.

In the accounts for 'the yere ended at the Feast of Pentecost Anno Domini 1577' John Goodall, for the last time, appears. 'Paid to Mr. Goddall for his wages dew to him for a hole yere ended at thannunciacion of our Ladie, 1577, within the tyme of this accompt £20,' while Mr. Pelson, his 'under teacher,' received £9 8s. 6d.; why 11s. 6d. less than the full £10 is a mystery. The parish register records the burial of John Goddall, *ludimagister*, on 19 August, 1576. Goodall's mastership was certainly a record for any school in England in the sixteenth century, and probably a record to the eighteenth century. For assuming that he was already master when he first enters the churchwardens' account in 1529, and he is expressly so described in 1535, he held office for no less than 47 years, whereas it is very rare in the sixteenth century to find any master who held office for more than twelve years. Whether he was in holy orders we do not know, though it is probable. At all events, he exercised the liberty conferred by the Reformation to take unto himself a wife. On 5 May, 1568, Emma uxor Johannis Goddall was buried, and on 8 November, 1571, Margret, his daughter, was buried.

Mr. Pelsonne, the usher, succeeded Goodall as master at the same wages, but the new usher, 'Mr. Alday, his underteacher,' received £12 10s., an increase of £2 10s. He only stayed a year. At the same time £7 10s. was paid to Robert Odling, 'techer of the petie Scool,' and £6 to 'Richard Yngoldsbie, his underteacher.' Odling had been there since 1574, and in 1579 became usher of the grammar school, but at the old salary of £10 a year. He was succeeded in the mastership of the petty school by his usher, 'Mr. Yngolbye.' Pelsonne gave place to Mr. Bucke as master of the grammar school in 1579–80. The accounts give us little more information about the schools than the names of the masters. Buck held till 1587, when he was succeeded by William Finniman, who was buried 8 December, 1591. In the early part of the seventeenth century, during the mastership of Mr. Smith, which ended in 1617, boys were being sent to Cambridge. In 1623 we find 16s. paid 'for a Greeke lexicon,' evidence that school books of this kind were not yet the possession of individual boys. In 1626 Mr. Allen became master, but he was not a great success, and after several warnings, on 11 April, 1636, the warden and six assistants determined to appeal to the bishop of Lincoln 'concerninge the ill government of the schole of Louth as his honour hath already been informed.' Probably the large item in the accounts 'paid to Richard Clarke for going to Boston to the Lord Bishopp for hipocrise wine and two sugar loafes bestowed upon him, £3 18s.' is connected with this. In 1637–8 Allen went, 2s. 6d. being paid Mr. Wadsley for writing and drawing 'at Mr. Barker's appointment.' In 1639–40 appears the first augmentation of the schoolmaster's pay. Besides £43 6s. 8d. the 'Schoolemaister's wages' appears 'Paid to them extraordinarily, £5 13s. 4d.' but how divided does not appear. The whole rental at the time was £191, and the town hall had been rebuilt in 1636 and 1638 out of the school funds. Next year, 1641, 2s. 2d. was 'paid to Mr. Wardall when he went to Lincoln about the Orders,' and 'spent when the orders were graunted to betwixt maister and schollers, 3s.'; but nothing is said as to what these new statutes were, though several pages are left blank apparently for them. The next four years' accounts have never been entered, though space is left for them. But it would not appear that the Civil War affected the school to any extent, as in the accounts for 1644–5 the masters are paid as usual. In the year 1646–7 appears the first mention of the curious custom of 'barring-out.' 'Expended on the Schoolmaisters at their shutting-out, and on the companie with them and the schollers, 30s.' It appears that the statue of the so-called founder, King Edward VI, was not contemporary; for now there was paid 'For the statue of Edward the

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Sixt, a diall and other ornaments for the schoole, £6,' and 'for bringing them hither and setting them up, 28s.' The usual accompaniment of Parliamentary reforms was reform all round. Here, as elsewhere, the pay of the schoolmasters was increased. In 1646-7 'Mr. Barker, the head school-master, had by consent £5,' and Mr. Walker, the usher, £2 extra. On 25 January, 1646-7, the increase is increased and made permanent.

It is this day ordered that Mr. Anthony Barker of the free Grammer Schole shall have by way of [MS. torn] to the stipend of King Edward the 6th, the Fownder of [MS. torn] being £20, £6 13s. 4d. added and to be paid him quarterly [MS. torn], augmented allowance to begin at Midsomer quarter ensuing the date above written Memorandum the order [MS. torn] to his successors with reference to the discretion of the [MS. torn] Assistants and soe longe as such head maister bene se gesserit. Soe the headmaisters allowance [MS. torn], £26 13s. 4d.

It is likewise ordered the day and yeare above written that Mr. [MS. torn], the present Usher of the said schole, shall have added £5 to the founders stipend, beeing £10 to be paid quarterly. This order likewise to extend to his successors, with reference to the Warden and Assistants discretion, and soe longe as the Usher bene se gesserit. Soe the Ushers allowance to be £15 yearly.

The next two years' accounts, 1647-9, are omitted. But in 1649-50 the schoolmasters were paid £51 13s. 4d., and extensive repairs at the school took place, costing £35 14s. 3d., while £1 14s. 8d. was laid out in 'wyne, sugar, and sacke, tobacco and cakes when the scholars shut out their masters.' There are no accounts for 1650-1. In the interval Mr. Barker retired leaving behind him a lasting memorial in a book, still in the school library, called *Theatrum Historicum*, published in 1629, a new system of chronology. In 1651-2 we find 'Mr. Walker, head scholemaster,' receiving the augmented stipend of £26 13s. 4d., and 'Mr. Skelton, usher,' £15. Mr. Walker, who was of Lincoln School and Trinity College, Cambridge, had been usher since at least 1646. He held the head mastership for six years, till 1657, when he received preferment as head master of Grantham. The Commonwealth and Protectorate were prolific in new theories and books on education. Louth felt the influence, and Walker celebrated his tenure of office at Louth by writing a school book, which he dedicated, 25 April, 1655, 'To the Right Worshipful the ornament and encourager of the learned Mr. Peter Bradley, Warden, and the Venerable company of Assistants.' The book is '*A Treatice of English Particles . . . whereunto is affixed "Idiomatologiae Anglolatinae Specimen,"* or a taste of an English Latin Phraseologie, at first intended for the private benefit of Louth School, but now published for the common good . . . London, 1655.' No less than fifteen editions were published, a copy of that of 1720, 'corrected and amended by A. Tooke, Usher of Charterhouse School,' being in the Louth School Library.

On Walker's departure in 1657, Skelton the usher succeeded, and saw the Commonwealth out, no doubt assisting at the expenditure of £2 19s. 7d. 'on the proclaiming of the king att Mr. Kilborne's,' 1659. Mr. Kilborne was the usher. The head master's salary was cut down to £25, and the usher's to £13 6s. 8d. At this time the petty school seems to have done without an usher, Mr. Burke, 'petty scholemayster,' receiving £10, and no usher being mentioned.

In 1665, Mr. Babb was appointed master at a salary of £25, including the 'ogmentation,' and £1 8s. was 'spent on gentellmen at ye enstallment of Mr. Babb into ye Schoole.' He held for twenty years, Kilborne continuing as usher for the same time. They were succeeded by a Mr. Browne and Mr. Wetherall, apparently in 1685-6, but as the four years' previous accounts are missing, that is not certain. Browne's salary seems to have been cut down to the original £20. But as this year's account is the last in the original book, and the next account book now extant only begins in 1735, it is doubtful.

A copy of Minucius Felix in the school library inscribed 'Jos. Smith, Scholae Ludensis Archididasculus, 1699,' shows that Smith was then master, but when he came there is no evidence.

On 20 January, 1702, an inquisition under a commission of Charitable Uses, issued from Chancery 16 May, 1701, was held at Louth, which redressed the wrongs from which the school and schoolmaster had long suffered, and which were threatened to be increased by the reduction of their salaries, then £30 and £20 a year, to the original £20 and £10 a year. This inquisition says that the schoolmasters, Myles Hodgson, master, and William Steward, usher, had 'been then possessed of the school scarce three years complete.' The commissioners found that the warden and assistants had 'wilfully broken their trust' by long leases on fines, by leases at undervalues and expenditure on treats and feasts by the warden and the assistants. They set aside the leases, and ordered £276 11s. 7d. to be paid to the master, and £138 5s. 9½d. to the usher for arrears out of the lands granted by Queen Elizabeth. For the future the rents were to be paid, half to the master, a quarter to the usher, and a quarter to the twelve bedesfolk, who had been allowed to fall into abeyance altogether, but were now revived.

Hodgson held office for fifteen years after his triumph, being succeeded in 1720 by John Ocolme of Trinity, Cambridge; then by John Wadeson, 1728-67, who was followed by John Emeris, fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, from 1767 to 1796, then rector of Tetford. Thomas Orme, 1796-1814, was of St. John's, Cambridge, and from 1801 prebendary

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of Louth in Lincoln Cathedral. He began a School Register in 1798, when there were seventy boys including Charles Tennyson, afterwards the Right Hon. Charles Tennyson-D'Enycourt, M.P. for Grimsby and elsewhere; Edward Fowke, who became a baronet in 1814; and John Franklin, the famous arctic explorer, who perished *circa* 1847. The school was then of very high repute. But in 1808 it had sunk to forty-eight boys, and continued to sink, no doubt owing to the advancing age of the master, till in 1813 only four boys were admitted. Orme died suddenly on 20 October, 1814, aged seventy. John Waite, of St. John's College, Cambridge, succeeded on 27 October, 1814. There were then only twenty-two boys in the school. An immediate rise took place, thirty-four boys being admitted in the remainder of that year. In that and the next two years entered in succession that wonderful trio of poetical brothers, Frederick, Charles, and Alfred Tennyson, the last and greatest bringing up the rear. This is the account given by his son of the poet's school-days:—

¹ 'When he was seven years old,' he was born in 1809, 'he was taken to the house of his grandmother at Louth. His mother had been born in that town, being the daughter of the vicar, the Rev. Stephen Fytche, and he was sent to the grammar school there, then under the Rev. J. Waite, a tempestuous, flogging master of the old stamp. He remembered to his dying day sitting on the stone steps of the school on a cold winter's morning, and crying bitterly after a big lad had brutally cuffed him on the head because he was a new boy. I still have the books which he used there, his *Ovid*, *Delectus*, *Analecta Graeca Minora*, and the old Eton Latin grammar. Among the incidents in his school life he would recall that of walking in a procession of boys, decked with ribbons, at the proclamation of the coronation of George IV, and how the old women said that "the boys made the prettiest part of the show." Later in school life he one day stood on a wall and made a political speech to his school-fellows, but was promptly ordered down by an usher, who asked him whether he wished to be the parish beadle.' This appears to be the occasion on which he addressed the boys at Louth School, in the person of his uncle, Charles Tennyson, then M.P. for Stamford, in a long and comic speech.

² 'A few years ago the present master of Louth School gave a holiday in my father's honour. The compliment gratified him, yet he said, "How I did hate that school! The only good I ever got from it was the memory of the words '*sonus desiliensis aquae*,' and of an old wall covered with wild weeds opposite the school windows. I wrote an English poem there for one of the Jacksons; the only line I recollect is, 'While bleeding heroes lie along the shore.'"

'In 1820 he left Louth, and came home to work under his father.

'So much had he hated the school that, when in later life he was at Louth, he would not go down the lane where it was.'

It is only fair to remember that Tennyson was a very small boy to be sent to a grammar school. It is noticeable that he does not seem to have complained of the master particularly, but rather of the other boys. Waite must have been a good teacher, as even Tennyson's progress shows. The school under him and the usher, Mr. Dale, went up by leaps and bounds, the high-water mark being reached in 1829, when there were 116 in the school, sixty day boys and fifty-six boarders, and there were two assistant masters besides the usher, and a visiting French master.

A vivid picture of the school life under this modern Orbilius, Mr. Waite, is given by John W. Hales, late professor of English literature at King's College, London,³ to which, unfortunately, we can only give a bare reference, as it is too long for quotation here.

Oddly enough the school has left its mark in poetry by a 'ghost-word' in Tennyson's *Dirge*, in which the poet wrote:—

The balm-cricket carols clear
In the green that folds thy grave.

It appears that there is no such thing as a balm-cricket. The poet, when challenged, explained that it is due to a school book used at Louth, *Analecta Graeca Majora*, which in explaining a line in one of Theocritus's Idylls, blindly followed a German editor in translating *Tettix* the *cicada*, as 'anglice the Balm-cricket'; balm being a mistake for baum, a tree, the tree-cricket. As Tennyson was only a little over eleven when he left the school, he must have been very well on with his Greek for his age to be reading Theocritus even in an *Analecta*. He was certainly well on with his Latin, as he seems to have read some Catullus while at Louth; for in 'Edwin Morris; or, The Lake,' he writes:—

Shall not Love to me,
As in the Latin song I learnt at school,
Sneeze out a full God bless you right and left?

an adaptation of Catullus xlv, 8 and 9, and 17 and 18:—

Hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistra ut ante
Dextra sternuit approbationem.

¹ *Memoirs of Alfred, Lord Tennyson* (1897), i, 6.

² *Ibid.* ii, 376.

³ *Genl. Mag.* Dec. 1892, but first printed in the *London Student* in 1868, and then in the *Journal of Education*, by John W. Hales.

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Notwithstanding his dislike of the place of torture Tennyson on 22 May, 1865, sent copies of the 'Idylls of the King' and other works to that date to the library of the school, then under the milder sway of George Christopher Hodgkinson. Hodgkinson was a wrangler from Trinity College, Cambridge, and a scientist of some note in actino-metrical researches. He held from 1864 to 1878, retiring on a pension of £200 a year, when on 14 August, 1878, a new scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts was approved by Queen Victoria in Council. This scheme dissolved the old corporation of Warden and Assistants for a new body of governors, of whom the Lord-Lieutenant of Lincolnshire and the High Steward of Louth were *ex officio*, and the Town Council appoint four representatives, the rest being co-optative. To them by a scheme of 26 August, 1893, two representatives of the Lindsey County Council have been added. The scheme incorporated or reincorporated with the Grammar School Hardie's Charity under will of 17 August, 1562, subject to a fixed Sunday dole to the poor of North Somercotes, 'for the schooling and bringing up in learning of poor men's children,' an English school founded by Dr. Robert Mapletoft, dean of Ely and master of Pembroke Hall or College, Cambridge, by will 29 June, 1676, for a fit person to teach children to read, write, and cast accounts, and teach them accidence and make them fit for the grammar school. It also added the Butter and Coal charities of Richard Wright, founded 10 October, 1573, and 24 November, 1575, one to buy Newcastle coal to distribute among poor householders, and the other to buy 30 stones of butter in summer and salt it, and in the winter distribute it to 32 poor people, and the residue of the income for cloth to be bought and distributed. These additions, though a very poor substitute for Queen Elizabeth's grant, added some little endowment to the school. The first master under the new scheme was Herbert Branston Gray, exhibitioner of Winchester and Scholar of Queen's College, Oxford, an assistant-master at Westminster 1875-8. In his short reign of two years he doubled the school, and filled the church by his sermons. But he was soon tempted away to Bradfield College, which he has augmented sixfold in numbers, and has permanently established among the great public schools. The Rev. Walter William Hopwood of Pembroke College, Oxford, who had been second master for twenty years, after an interval as headmaster at Alford 1881-4, returned to Louth as head master in 1885, and held for twenty years of fair prosperity.

In 1900 Arthur Harvey Worrall succeeded him. From Grantham School he won a scholarship at St. John's College, Oxford, and there obtained a first in Moderations and second in the Final Schools in classics. He was an assistant master at Lancing, and then sixth form master at Bradfield. Under his auspices the school has opened its doors to modern learning, and built an excellent block of science buildings at the bottom of the beautiful cricket ground, known as the Sycamore Field. The Lodge above, as the headmaster's house is called, has been rebuilt on modern lines of space and comfort for boarders. The school now numbers about a hundred, of whom thirty are boarders, with five masters. Its reputation is high and its numbers will soon be higher.

LOUTH GIRLS' GRAMMAR SCHOOL

This school is an offshoot of the Grammar School. The scheme of 1878 provided for its institution within three years, but mainly on account of financial consideration the school was not actually started till 1903. Its first location was the Municipal Technical School, whence in 1904 it was removed to a house in Westgate Street. Since the removal the number of girls has risen from 28 to 50. The endowment consists of £150 a year derived from the Louth Grammar School.

STAMFORD UNIVERSITY

The claim of Stamford to have been at one time the seat of a university has been exaggerated by the patriotism of the local historian. For two things are certain about this 'Third Academy of England' as, in imitation of a similar claim on behalf of the Inns of Court in 1639, Peck in 1727 called Stamford,¹ (i) that there never was a university there in the full sense of the word, as an organized corporate body for the promotion of instruction and research in subjects of the higher education and learning and conferring degrees or licence to teach; (ii) that whatever kind of general school of learning (*studium generale*), which is the real equivalent of the term 'University' in the Middle Ages, existed there, it was confined within narrow limits of time.

Yet there are indubitable evidences of some organized teaching in the higher faculties at Stamford in the first years of the fourteenth century. On 13 December, 1301, Edward I³ 'in consideration of his kindly affection towards the order' of the Gilbertines of Sempringham (Sempingham), 'and because we have charged the Priory of Sempringham with Wenthliana, daughter of Llewellyn, late Prince of Wales,' granted licence in mortmain³ to Master Robert Luterel

¹ *The Annals of Stamford* (1727).

² *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*

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to grant 4 messuages, 2 plough-lands (*carucatas terre*), and 12 marks rent in Ketene and Cotesmere, and a messuage, 1 plough-land, and 10 marks rent with the appurtenances in Stamford and Castreton to the prior and convent of Sempringham. Two years later, 3 November, 1303, John Dalderby,¹ bishop of Lincoln, in a letter addressed to the prior and convent, reciting

Whereas Mr. Robert Luterel has granted (*contulerit*) to you a manor which he had in the parish of S. Peter's, Stamford, by way of charity, wishing that scholars, proportionate to the augmented number of your convent, studying the scriptures and philosophy, may live in the same manor together with a secular chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of Our Lady in the same manor, commending this pious deed, though there has been a chantry founded in the said chapel for a long time past, yet to confirm the wishes of the said Mr. Robert and for the solace and quit of the students

granted special licence for them to hold the manor for the purposes aforesaid. Then follows a copy of a deed undated in which, with the consent of Philip, master of the order, the prior and convent bind themselves 'in the word of truth' to Mr. Robert Luterel, rector of Irnham,² that in consideration of the grant they will maintain three chaplains for his soul's health, one of the parish church of Irnham, one in the manor at Stamford, and one in the convent church of Sempringham, 'and we grant also that the possessions given shall be for the maintenance of scholars in proportion to the increased number of the convent, studying in the scriptures and philosophy at Stamford at proper times.'

It can hardly be denied that this is nothing less than the foundation of a university hall at Stamford, where members of the Gilbertine Order were to go and study theology and philosophy. It is on precisely the same footing as Durham Hall, at Oxford,³ part of the buildings of which are now incorporated in Trinity College, started in 1286 by the cathedral monastery of Durham before its formal foundation and incorporation as a college by Bishop Hatfield in 1380. At Durham Hall there were to be eight monks studying law and divinity, and eight secular clerks studying grammar and philosophy. We may assume that the number at Sempringham Hall contributed by the canons of Sempringham would certainly not exceed that contributed by the great convent of Durham, and that half-a-dozen at the outside would represent the number of students in it.

The establishment of a university hall at Stamford in 1303, even though for regular canons and not the secular clergy, in itself suggests that there was some sort of university teaching already going on there. It is a question how far the Benedictine Priory of St. Leonard's at Stamford, which, like Durham Hall at Oxford, a cell of Durham 'Abbey,' as the cathedral priory was called, was founded, or at all events used, as a university hall. In the Durham Bursar's Account Roll for 1299,⁴ under the heading 'Expenses of the brethren to cells,' while the expenses of one monk going to Coldingham in Scotland were 5s., and of another going twice to Lindisfarne were 9s., those of 'two fellows to Stamford' were 20s. Under 'Prior's Gifts,' the fellows at Oxford were paid 66s. 8d., and under 'Petty expenses,' 'a man carrying money to the fellows at Oxford' was paid 12d. The Oxford students were paid more because they were at this time wholly maintained by the abbey, while the Stamford priory was separately endowed. Still, there is nothing distinctively showing that the Stamford 'fellows' (a word used alternatively with brethren, and not necessarily meaning fellows of a college) were engaged in education until 1351-2, when the Almoner's Roll shows a payment of 43s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. 'in pittances made to the fellows in cloister, money given to some of them visiting their friends, and to scholars studying at Oxford and Stamford (*ac scolaribus Oxon et Stamford studentibus*) with the expenses of the Almoner in divers places belonging to his office.' In the next roll, 1352-3,⁵ appears 'To the scholars of Oxford and Stamford by order of the Prior 20s.' But 'and Stamford' is scratched out in the original. In the Hostillar's Roll in 1347-8 a gift is made 'to students at Oxford and brethren at Stamford,' thus suggesting that the brethren at Stamford were not students. It therefore would appear that the solitary entry in 1351-2 'to scholars studying at Oxford and Stamford,' followed by the scratching out of Stamford next year, was only due to carelessness on the part of the scribe in mixing up the two; except that in 1368 the accounts of Jarrow, a cell of Durham, show a payment of 20s. 4d. *studentibus Oxonie et Stamford*. There are a fair number of account-rolls of Stamford Priory itself preserved at Durham; I looked through them all and found not a single educational payment, whereas in the rolls relating to Oxford there are many. Still, the Oxford payments are chiefly for taking degrees, and it is certain that Stamford did not affect (except during the famous stampede to Stamford) to give degrees. The evidence therefore as to St. Leonard's Priory, Stamford, being intended to be or being an educational college is somewhat

¹ Reg. Dalderby, fol. 8.

² He was the younger brother of Sir Geoffrey Lutterel or Louterel, knight, lord of Irnham, for whom the famous Luttrell Psalter was made at about this date. *Monumenta Vetusta*.

³ *V.C.H. Durham*, i, 'School,' 366.

⁴ Ed. by Dr. William Fowler, Surtees Soc. Nos. 130, 497, 499.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 207.

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inconclusive; though, on the whole, being so frequently mentioned with Oxford, it rather looks as if it were to some extent so used. It was, in any case, a very small establishment, as its total endowment was under £30¹ a year, and that of Durham College, Oxford, was £122 a year; Francis Peck in 1727, followed by Canon Hensley Henson in 1885,² asserts that

the educational eminence of Stamford was mainly owing to the Carmelites who appear to have settled there in 1263, at which time the eminent Henry de Henna presided over the order as Provincial . . . These Carmelite schools formed the nucleus around which there soon gathered a university in all but name.

This Dr. Rashdall³ pronounces 'essentially misleading. There is no evidence that there were any but purely claustral schools at Stamford till 1344.' But a collection of claustral schools might to all intents and purposes approximate to a university. Dr. Rashdall himself has shown how at the beginning of the fourteenth century the friars dominated the University of Paris and nearly captured the University of Oxford itself. At Oxford the Dominican Friars had actually established a custom having the force of law that the vespers or evening disputations, which every bachelor had to hold before he could become a master or doctor in theology, should and could only be held in their church. When the university transferred them to St. Mary's the friars appealed to the pope. Though the friars were defeated, yet in 1314⁴ the victorious university had to agree that every bachelor of divinity, after completing his course on the sentences of Peter Lombard, should preach a sermon in the Dominican church before proceeding to the degree of doctor, and the Friars Preachers were allowed 'to have free schools in their house for lectures, disputations, and determinations,' and to exercise scholastic acts in their schools. The Austin Friars' schools⁵ were regularly used by the university for the disputations of bachelors of arts, which lasted for three years, and masters of arts, and later bachelors, were appointed as 'collatores' to preside over these disputations. It is true that they were not presided over by the Friars themselves.⁶ But the use of the schools for the purpose is an indication of the important part played by the friars in university life.⁷

It is quite possible that the feud which broke out between the secular clerks at Oxford and the friars⁸ might have led to some attempt to develop a studium generale at Stamford in which the Carmelite Friars and the regular religious, the canons of Sempringham and the monks of Durham and elsewhere, should be the predominant element instead of the secular clergy; but, though Sempringham Hall is evidence that there was some university movement going on at Stamford, yet there is none that it was headed by the Carmelite Friars. The statement 'Stamford now rose rapidly. . . . The names of Henry de Hanna and his successor Lidlington, of Nicholas de Stamford and John Rodington, shed the lustre of their learning in the schools where they taught,' if it means that they taught at Stamford, is an unsupported assertion. Henry de Hanna was merely the provincial or head in England of the Carmelite or White Friars, the least numerous of the four orders of friars, and a recent importation to England, he being only the second provincial. All that is known about him is derived from Leland, who mentions nothing but some sermons by him, and never suggests that he taught anywhere or acquired any eminence whatever. His successor as provincial, in 1299 or 1300, William Ludlington or Lullendun, as Leland calls him, was a teacher, for he was a D.D.; but it is expressly stated by Leland that he taught and was a D.D. (*decus theologi supremum accepit*) at Oxford. His eminence consisted in having quarrelled with the foreign head of his order, who wished to divide England into two provinces, and in being suppressed by the pope and made to do penance for it. Nicholas of Stanford (Stamford), who according to Leland was an Augustinian, and according to Bale a Cistercian (certainly not a Carmelite), was also a doctor, but of Cambridge. Lastly, John Rodington was also not a Carmelite at all, but a Franciscan, and is distinctly stated by a contemporary historian, quoted by Bale, as having attained fame at Oxford. Besides, both these last two are said to have flourished *circa* 1350, a generation too late for the so-called Stamford University.

Another piece of evidence has been alleged, namely, that a commentary on Boethius by one Master William Wetelay is described as 'compiled by a master who taught school at Stamford,

¹ *Valor. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 305.

² *Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collect.*, i, 3.

³ *Universities of Europe*, ii, 397.

⁴ *Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collect.*, ii, 270.

⁵ *Mun. Academica*, 363, 411, 416, 749.

⁶ Though Mr. Anstey interpreted the documents he edited to mean this. *Ibid.* lxiii and 801.

⁷ A writer in the *Stamfordian*, the Stamford School Magazine for 1889, gave a reference to a grant from the Close Rolls of 10 June, 44 Henry III, of oaks from the forest of Cleve to the Friars Minors of Stamford to build a school. There is no such grant in the year mentioned. Mr. J. G. Black, of the Record Office, says it seems to be founded on a misreading of a grant given on the Close Roll of the year before, 43 Henry III, m. 12, 21 Feb. of 6 oaks for timber for building their cloister ('ad claustrum suum inde perficiendum')—a very different thing.

⁸ *Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collect.* ii, 195–273.

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A.D. 1309.¹ It is argued that the description *rexit scolae* means more than teaching a grammar school, and that the book itself is a university, not a school, book. But this is a double error. First, *regere scolae* is precisely the technical term used for teaching a grammar school, and that is its primary meaning, afterwards transferred to university schools. Secondly, the book is a school, and not a university, book. The book in question, *De disciplina Scholarium*, which is wrongly ascribed to Boethius, its contents showing that it is many centuries later, is a book on the training of children from their earliest years. It is among the books given by William of Wykeham to Winchester College, and not among those given by him to New College, while the same author's commentary on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, which was a university book, was given to New College and not to Winchester. Besides, we have already identified Mr. William Weteley² as the master of Lincoln Grammar School in 1316. The inference is that Mr. Frumentilege, as he calls himself by a pun on Wheatley had in the interval between 1309 and 1316 been promoted from the mastership of Stamford to that of Lincoln Grammar School.³

At last, in 1334, we get on the firm basis of documents as to the historical 'stampede to Stamford.' Dr. Rashdall doubts⁴ whether the stampede was due to 'northern scholars worsted in their battles with the southerners, or by masters beaten in an encounter with the scholars.' There is no doubt that it was due to the former cause, as will be seen by the list of recalcitrant masters who persisted in carrying on the Stamford schools, being entirely composed of northerners, headed by William of Barnby, a fellow and bursar of Merton College,⁵ who no doubt came from Barnby-upon-Don, in Yorkshire.

The first mention of it is in a complaint by the chancellor and masters of Oxford in a letter⁶ written on Valentine's Day, probably 1334, to Queen Philippa, who was apparently acting as regent in England while King Edward III was engaged in the war in Scotland. The matter does not appear to have been regarded as of the first importance, as the complaint takes a quite secondary place in the letter, the bulk of which is taken up with complaints against cardinal de la Mota, an Italian living in Italy, who had been appointed by the pope archdeacon of Oxford, and in respect of his office claimed jurisdiction over the students, in derogation of the chancellor's rights and the university's independence. After discussing this matter at length, the letter concludes:—

And for that, lady, certain persons, who have received all their honours among us, in destruction, as far as in them lies, of our university, have gone to Stamford, and daily attract others there by their false pretences, be pleased, most noble lady, to counsel your humble daughter, that she may not be idle, and may not by her false sons be deprived of work and honour, but being maintained by you, may teach the sons of great men and others good manners and learning. Have, if it please you, regard to good and wise persons who before now, to the great honour of your kingdom, have been nourished with increase of virtue and understanding from youth to old age; and let not the town of Oxford (d'Oxenford), which belongs to my lord the king and to you, be disinherited by the honour of another.

Another letter was written in Latin to Henry of Burwash, Lord High Treasurer, bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese both Oxford and Stamford were, to the same effect. After the same complaint against cardinal de Mota, it proceeds:—

¹ Exeter Coll. MS. 28, 'compilatus per quendam magistrum qui rexit scolae Stamfordie A.D. 1309, ipso incipiente diem hunc post festum S. Martini in yeme.' Oddly enough this MS. is described as being at Merton by Peck, but it could not have been, as the book itself says it was 'bought for the scholars of Stapledon Hall.'

² New College MS. No. 264, given by William Reed bishop of Chichester, a contemporary and friend of Wykeham's. See under Lincoln Grammar School for Mr. Wheteley's hymn.

³ *Wilts Institutions*, by Sir Thomas Phillips, shows that in 1316 he was also rector of Yatesbury in Wiltshire, to which he was appointed in 1317, in succession to Hugh of Wheatley, no doubt a near relation, collated in 1304. It is probable that he was non-resident and remained at Lincoln, and that the church of Yatesbury was served by John Wheteley, appointed vicar by rector Hugh. A successor to William Wheteley in the rectory was appointed in 1330, so no doubt he died in that year.

⁴ *Univ. of Europe*, ii, 377, and App. xxii, 756. The authority he cites for the latter cause, a MS. in Bryan Twyne's collection at Corpus, says the Master Scholars' riot took place 9 April, 1330, which is four years too early. Dr. Rashdall himself points out that the year 1330 does not fit the day of the month and week, Friday before Palm Sunday, and suggests 1338. But this is four years too late. It is extremely improbable that people would secede from Stamford to Oxford because of a riot four years before, and it is impossible they could secede on account of a riot which took place four years after the secession.

⁵ This I discovered while this was going through the press, in a Merton College account roll for 1320, while looking for the history of Merton College School.

⁶ *Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collect.* i, 8, from B.M. Royal MSS. 12 D. xi, fol. 29. The letter is in French. Women were not supposed to understand Latin. Nuns were always written to by bishops in French, though monks were addressed in Latin. The Sempringham nuns were actually forbidden by the statutes of the order to talk Latin, while it was enjoined on boys in schools and young men at Oxford and Cambridge.

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Besides, most reverend father and lord, of your benevolence, we add ampler prayers that, whereas to the dissipation of our university certain degenerate sons¹ whom the said university out of dust made into men and decorated with many honours wickedly cut themselves off from their mother's body, and, not content with that, entice and induce all they can indiscriminately to forbidden places. Therefore with all devotion we beg you that for the restoration of the estate of your university, and to defeat the effort of its enemies, you will deign to show your fatherly care for it with the king and others, so that the strayed sheep, reunited to the flock, may find the sweetest and most fertile pastures, rest in the accustomed fold, and bring forth the fruit of virtue, and spare their fleeces the rod.

At the same time another letter was sent to the king asking him to write to the pope on their behalf for papal letters to enable them to obtain ecclesiastical benefices, and for help against cardinal de Mota. In the third place only they refer to the grievance of the rival university :—

But the last evil, which we think every way hurtful and pestilential, namely, the new assembly of scholars at the town of Stamford for university instructions (*pretextu scolastice discipline*), which as it is certain to result² in the loss of our school and in being a general seminary of discord for the whole kingdom, we beseech and beg you to extirpate by your royal power, so that what was begun by improvident rashness may be quickly put an end to by the royal wisdom, and be a warning to future evil-doers.

These letters had the desired effect. On 2 August, 1334, the king having returned to England, he and the council wrote from Windsor³ to the sheriff of Lincoln :—

Whereas certain masters and scholars of our university of Oxford, under colour of certain recent dissensions in the said University and other colorable pretexts, had withdrawn themselves to Stamford, and there presumed to hold school and perform scholastic acts (*studium tenere ac actus scolasticos exercere*) without licence, which if it was tolerated would redound, not only to the king's contempt and disgrace, but also to the dispersion of the University ; not wishing, therefore, that schools and studies (*scolas seu studia*) should be held in anywise elsewhere in the realm than in places where universities now are

he directs the sheriff to go to Stamford and cause proclamation to be made there and elsewhere throughout his bailiwick to inhibit everyone, on pain of forfeiture of all which they can forfeit, not to presume to hold a school or do scholastic acts in any way. At the same time a letter was sent to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford to say that all scholars who had suffered injury were to lay their complaints before a special commission of justices, and the mayor and bailiffs were to see justice done.

How far the proclamation was effective we do not know. It was certainly not wholly obeyed, as the king wrote again from Newcastle 1 November, 1334, to the sheriff saying that he understood that in spite of the royal prohibition certain masters and scholars continued to keep school and perform scholastic acts, and directed him to go again and repeat the proclamation, and if any still disobeyed to seize their books and goods and keep them until further order and certify to the king the names of the disobedient. And the king willed that swift justice should be shown to those who laid any complaint at Oxford of violence or injury before a special commission appointed for the purpose. This time it was the sheriff John of Trehampton who was disobedient. He did not go to Stamford or carry out his orders. Consequently on 7 January, 1335, the king wrote peremptorily to the sheriff and told him that he had appointed William Trussel, (who was escheator on this side Trent, had served as a justice of assize, and was afterwards chief justice) to go with him and seize the goods of the disobedient and certify their names to the king, and he wrote to Trussel to the same effect. It was apparently after this (though it may have been in the August before) that the seceders wrote to the king in French,⁴ a letter preserved in a register of the abbot of Peterborough, a fact which suggests that he was privy to it and perhaps abetted their resistance :—

The clerks living in the town of Stamford (*les clerks demerantz dans la vile de Staunford*) prayed the king that whereas by reason of many controversies, contests, and fights which have for long been and still are in Oxford by which great damages, dangers, deaths, murders, maimings, and robberies have happened, they have withdrawn from Oxford to Stamford to study and become proficient in greater quiet and peace by sufferance of the noble John earl of Warenne, the king would allow his

¹ Mr. Henson prints 'qui dicti filii degeneres,' which means nothing. 'Qui dicti' is in the MS. 'quidam.' For 'ad loca vetita; quos sibi elegerant' read 'que sibi elegerant.'

² 'Quia tam in dispendium studii nostri quam in totius regni discordiarum seminarium generale redundare presumitur.' The last word is for 'presumitur.'

³ Close R. 8 Edw. III, m. 17 d.; 'Per ipsum Regem et Concilium.'

⁴ Cott. Vesp. E. xxi, fol. 62; *Collect.* i. Mr. Henson dates this letter in 1333 and makes it issue spontaneously from the Stamfordian clerks. But its place in the MS. is between a document of 15 January, 1334-5, and one apparently late in 8 Edward III, i.e. 1334-5. Besides, it is extremely unlikely the seceders would have moved first. They had found a refuge, and until they had been attacked there was no reason for their appealing to the king to let them stay there.

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liegemen to remain there under his protection for God and for holy charity, seeing that men of all crafts (*mestiers*) of whatsoever condition they be of his allegiance can live in any lordship by leave of the king.

The king was, however, not to be softened. On 28 March he issued a commission to Trussel to seize the goods of those who still stayed at Stamford. An inquisition was held on Wednesday after St. James's Day, which is 25 July, by a united jury of town and country, and they found seventeen M.A.'s. (*magistri*), one B.A. apparently, William Bachelor, five described as *domini*, who were holders of livings in the neighbourhood, fifteen students—that is, their names are given without any title except in the case of Sir Thomas, rector of Stanhope in Durham—and 'Philipus le maunciple atte Brasenose.' The names of the masters show that they were all northerners. They were headed by Mr. William of Barnby, next came Mr. Thomas of Kendale, then Mr. Thomas of Hotoft, John of Whitwell, John of Barton, no doubt Barton-on-Humber, William of Raby in Lancashire, William of Anlaby,¹ and among the scholars Robert of Hesilbech and William of York (*Euerwyk*). The last three were all Yorkshiremen. There were a few students from Northamptonshire, Ralf of Acherche, John son of Gilbert of Foderynggay, and John son of Geoffrey of Barnake, and one Leicestershire man, John of Kyrkebie Beliers. With these exceptions they were all from north of Trent. The Stamford clergy comprised Peter rector of St. Peter's who was a master, Dominus Robert of Bourle (Burleigh no doubt) vicar of St. Andrew's, Dominus Henry vicar of All Saints beyond the bridge, Dominus Richard rector of St. George's, and Dominus John Blandolfe rector of Stokes² by Grantham. The most startling person undoubtedly was 'Philip Manciple at the Brasenoze.' This certainly seems to show that there was a University Hall of that name. The arched doorway of it of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century still stands, though moved from its old position, in the wall of what is now a girls' school nearly immediately opposite the grammar school which is the old St. Paul's Church. A few years ago Brasenose³ College at Oxford bought it and carried off its brazen nose to Oxford. The manciple was the person who bought the provisions, and as we learn from Chaucer's manciple at the Temple, generally made a good thing out of it. He would hardly be a student himself, but not only the college servants but the book-binders and parchment sellers and other dependents at Oxford were members of, and enjoyed the privileges of, the university. Anthony Wood says that there were a great many other names of dependents returned. But the original return is preserved, and there are no other names than those of the thirty-eight persons referred to above. The return of the inquisition as to books and goods seized is most disappointing. The jury, 'asked about the books, goods, and chattels of the delinquents,' 'say on their oath that they are wholly ignorant.'

And so the matter ends; and so no doubt the Stamford University ended. For two years later,⁴ Robert of Stratford [on Avon], archdeacon of Canterbury, chancellor of England and also of Oxford University, wrote⁵ to the chancellor and masters of Cambridge assuring them that in view of the good feeling which had always prevailed between the two universities he did not doubt they would

Not bestow honours on those whom they knew to be perjured and wicked conspirators for the subversion of the university. So, as Mr. William of Barnby, the principal instigator of the dangerous schism which lately took place in the said university, though he had been exalted by it to the degree of master, nourished, and promoted, yet ungratefully ignoring the wrong to gratitude he had endeavoured with all his might to upset his promotrix, inducing or rather seducing many scholars to leave it and go to Stamford, where he procured the erection of an adulterine school (*adulterinum studium*) and urgently and pertinaciously laboured to establish it there to the destruction of this university, and, as long as he could, lectured there, damnably incurring the guilt of perjury;⁶ and now, it is said, wishes to incept in decrees in your university. We warn your prudence of this, and remind you, among other things, that, if the said university of Stamford had lasted, it would have been to the disadvantage and dishonour of both universities. We ask you, as the said William is a notorious perjurer, to whom the door of dignity ought not to be open, not to admit him to the summit of honour or the status of a master, for it would redound to your shame if such a sower of discord against his

¹ Anthony Wood in his history disguises Anlaby's name and origin by calling him Aulaby, Hesilbech by calling him Hesibeth, and York by calling him Ewerwicks.

² Misprinted Scottes by Anthony Wood.

³ This, by the way, is a conclusive answer to the too-clever-by-half etymology of Brasenose Oxford from Brasinghouse = brewing-house. There is not the smallest evidence that it ever was a brewing-house, nor that brasinghouse ever meant a brewing-house. There can be no doubt that the sign of a brazen nose gave its name to the college.

⁴ The date is fixed by Robert of Stratford's chancellorship.

⁵ Royal MSS. 12 D xi, 13 (B.M.) 'Univ. Cantebr. per Robertum de Stretford, ne ibidem inciperet W. de Barneby.' This letter has been printed so as to be quite unintelligible in *Collectanea*, p. 15, with 'vobis' for 'nobis' in the sixth line, and 'preveniensi' for 'preveniatis' in the seventh line.

⁶ Because he had broken the oath of fealty to Oxford.

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chief benefactress wholly given to wicked insolence should among you ascend the height of such a degree.¹

Thus ended the Stamford schism. It is said by Camden and others that there were later university teachers at Stamford, but not a particle of evidence to that effect has yet been produced. The only permanent remembrance of this short-lived schism was the insertion in the oath taken at Oxford on 'inception' in any faculty. 'You shall swear that you will not resume lectures in such and such a faculty solemnly as in a university elsewhere in England than here and at Cambridge . . . Item you shall swear² that you will not lecture or attend lectures at Stamford, as in a university or general school or college.'

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Whatever may have been the position of Mr. William Whateley in 1309, and there is little doubt that he was neither more nor less than the master of the grammar school there, it is certain that a grammar school was flourishing in Stamford within twenty years of that date. Though Stamford is not included in the batch of schools to which masters were appointed by the Lincoln chapter during the vacancy of the chancellorship in 1329³ and continued in 1330, there must have been such an appointment, for it is recorded that when, on 30 May, 1331, the appointments of the masters were renewed for a year, using these words, *uti possideatis*, 'as you have so keep,' they decreed letters to issue to that effect, 'though the schoolmasters of Stamford and Boston were absent without excuse.'⁴

On 18 December, 1389,⁵ the chancellorship of Lincoln again being vacant, the dean and chapter of Lincoln, 'in reverence to the lord duke of York, granted to John Langham, schoolmaster of the town of Stamford (*magister scholarum ville de Stanfordia*), leave of absence from the school for a year as he is starting for a pilgrimage beyond seas, viz. to Rome, in the coming year of jubilee, on condition however that a fit teacher be set over the same school,⁶ able to supply his place in this behalf.'

There is little doubt that at Stamford, as at Boston and Louth, the school was maintained by some of the numerous gilds in the town, especially that of Corpus Christi. But its present endowment dates from 1 June, 1532,⁷ when William Ratclif, a Stamfordian, who had made his fortune as a merchant of the staple of Calais, by his last will directed his feoffees, Roger Ratclif, Henry Lacye, and others, to stand seised of certain lands 'on condition that they should find and maintain a fit secular chaplain, sufficiently learned, to celebrate and pray for the souls of the said William and others, and freely teach and instruct the art of grammar in Stamford aforesaid as long as the law allowed.' The Chantry Commissioners of 1547,⁸ under the heading of 'Stipend of a chaplain celebrating in the parish of the Blessed Mary in Stamford,' set out the foundation as above, and found the incumbent to be 'Libeus Bayard, thirty-six years of age, who not only celebrates and prays for the souls aforesaid, but also instructs boys of the said town in the art of grammar according to the intention of the founder.' He received for his salary the issues and profits of the lands amounting to £10 3s. 1d. a year gross, and £9 5s. 5d. net.

The Chantries Act, in spite of its preamble as to applying the chantry endowments to 'good and godly uses as in erecting of grammar schools,' confiscated all the school endowments, which were either chantries or annexed to colleges, except the Oxford and Cambridge colleges and Winchester and Eton. In virtue of the directions to the chaplain-schoolmaster to pray for Ratclif's soul Stamford Grammar School fell under the Act into the royal treasury. But Stamford had a friend at court in William Cecil, otherwise Sisyll, then 'William Cicill, esquire,'⁹ afterwards Lord Burghley, an old boy of Stamford Grammar School, who went thence to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1535, and was M.P. for Stamford in the Parliament begun at Westminster, 4 November, 1547, which passed the Chantries Act. Being in the employ of the Government

¹ Royal MSS. 12 D xi (B.M.). 'Inter eos ad honoris fastidium . . . nullatenus admittatis' should be 'fastigium.' But this is a mistake of the original MS. In lines 14, 15 'insensum reprobum totus datus' should be 'insolenciae resilium.' The MS. has 'rexiliium.'

² *Mun. Acad.* ii, 375. This oath was still preserved in the Laudian recension of the statutes in the seventeenth century, and was taken down to 1854.

³ See above under Boston and Grantham.

⁴ Linc. Chapter Act Book, A. 2, 24, fol. 20, 'absentibus tamen magistris scholarum de Staunford et de S. Botolpho nec se excusantibus.'

⁵ Ibid. A. 2, 28, fol. 25b.

⁶ 'Dum tamen ydoneus ipsis scholis preficiatur instructor, qui vices suas supplere poterit in hac parte.'

⁷ The date has hitherto been given as 1530, but the date given above is that assigned in the chantry certificate, evidently from the original document. P.R.O. Chan. Cert. 33, No. 119.

⁸ A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation* (1896), 133, from Chan. Cert. 33, No. 119. The original, unlike most of the certificates, is in Latin.

⁹ *Acts of P.C.* ii, 312.

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he could not add his to the other 'fre voices' which, led by those of the burgesses for Lynn and Coventry, jeopardized the Act and wrung a promise from the Protector that the chantry lands of Lynn and of the Corpus Christi Gild of Coventry should be retained by them.¹ But he no doubt manœuvred quietly for the same purpose. In the second session of the Parliament, which ended on 24 November, 1548, a private Act² was passed refounding Stamford School.

Some 30 years later Lord Burghley, by deed in 1581, increased the commons of the 24 Lady Margaret scholars of St. John's College, Cambridge, from 7*d.* to 1*s.* a week, in consideration of which he and his heirs were to possess the privilege of appointing 'one mete scoller out of the scoole of Stamford.' The school has apparently ever since the date of this Act been carried on in St. Paul's Church, Stamford; appropriated for the purpose no doubt under the private Act of 1547, which enabled the corporation to consolidate the parishes in Stamford and use the disused churches to mend bridges, or for the benefit of the poor and the public.

By deed of 13 January, 1608-9, Nicholas Lambe conveyed to Thomas Bellot and eight others, in consideration of £50, a house with garden and orchard by St. Paul's Church 'for the benefit, behoof, abode, and dwelling-house of the then late and future schoolmasters.' A stone in the wall inscribed—

DONUM THOME BELLOT
STAMFORDIE GYMNASIARCHIS
1609

recorded this gift. Bellot was Lord Burghley's secretary. The house has been thrice rebuilt, or so extensively repaired and added to as to amount to rebuilding—in 1726, when the cost was defrayed by public subscription, and in 1833 by the Rev. F. E. Gretton, who added studies and dormitories, and in 1885.

Of Richard Swan, appointed in 1611, all we know is from a letter³ written in 1625 by Samuel Hill, rector of Medbourne in Leicestershire, to Dr. Gwynn, master of St. John's, who says that Swan had consulted 'a knight in Lincolnshire, very well sene in ancient records, to understand the original donation of the schoole, thinking he had some wrong therein.' And this, according to competent legal opinion,⁴ he had. The school must have been of good standing under Swanne, as in 1613 Thomas, Lord Burghley's eldest son, first earl of Exeter, gave a yearly rent-charge to Clare Hall in Cambridge for three 'the earl of Exeter his fellows' and eight scholars, six to be called 'the earl of Exeter his scholars' and two 'the Lady Dorothy countess of Exeter her scholars.' It was provided that in election to the scholarships after the earl and countess's death, the college 'shall principally prefer such persons of the said university as formerly have been brought and instructed in the school of Stamford, if in respect of their learning and honest conversation they shall be found as fit and able as others which shall be competitors with them for the said scholarships.'

On 27 July, 1625, Mr. Lionell Lambe, M.A., was appointed head master by the alderman, Henry Rostell. He became vicar of St. Martin's, Stamford, in 1637. The next master was a noted personage in the scholastic world, William Dugard, who afterwards, when head master of the Merchant Taylors' School, set up a printing press and produced a famous scholastic work on the 'Reformed School' by John Dury, a Puritan minister. He was succeeded by Simon Humfrey or Humfreys, who in 1639 obtained a Commission of Charitable Uses, under which an inquisition was held at the 'Swanne' in Stamford on 22 August, before Sir Edward Hussey, Sir William Armyn and others, the result of which was that by a decree of 15 January, 1640, certain long leases of the school property at low rates improperly granted by various aldermen in the reign of Elizabeth were set aside and arrears ordered to be paid to the master. On his death in 1657, after some intriguing to keep out a 'high Arminian,' Mr. Hix, who had been schoolmaster of Oundle, Mr. Rayner Herman, M.A., of Pembroke, was approved on 27 October by the master of St. John's. He stayed on at the Restoration, but in 1662 retired to the living of Tinwell, where he was buried 18 October, 1668.

In 1663 Mr. Shalcross came in, but in five years only contributed one boy to St. John's. Mr. Geery came in 1668 and stayed for twenty-two years, then Mr. Smith for some eight years and Mr. Turner for twenty-two years.

¹ Acts of P. C., ii, 195. The Council directed letters patent to issue regranting the lands to Lynn and Coventry accordingly, 6 May, 1548.

² An original exemplification of this Act under the Great Seal, dated 16 May, 1549, is preserved at St. John's College. Printed by Mr. R. F. Scott, bursar, in the college magazine, *The Eagle* (Dec. 1904), xxvi, No. 135.

³ *The Eagle*, xxvi, 136, p. 26.

⁴ That of Serjeant Bantrie. Admitted Lincoln's Inn, 1575; called, 1584; treasurer, 1612; serjeant, 1614.

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In 1723 William Hannes came from the ushership of Magdalen College School, Oxford, at which college he had matriculated from Warwick, 13 July, 1697. After he had been there six years the alderman, now called mayor, sent the master of St. John's a petition signed by 83 persons for the removal of Hannes, 'whose great negligence hath reduced a flourishing school almost to nothing.' The earl of Exeter supported the petition. George Fothergill, however, an old Johnian and a barrister, wrote on his behalf. The attack on Hannes was due to this:

It has alwayes time out of mind been constantly usuall att the inauguration of the Majors (Mayors) of Stamford for the two Head Boyes of the school to make two Lattin speeches in prose or verse¹ to the Major and community assembled. Some person telling the Major (who happens to be a rope-maker and sells cheese and bacon and makes sacks and sacking and sailcloth) that he was most ignominiously and scandalously abused in the copy of verses spoke . . . and Englishing them to him in a worse sense . . . the Major grew so . . . outrageously provoked that nothing would serve him but that the master must be turned out.

The verses are preserved and show a very pretty wit both in Latin and English, but we can understand that the mayor did not like them. The charges of non-attendance were confessed as unavoidable. They were due 'to some necessary avocations, for he has lately married, and his courtship and addresses necessarily took up some time, and he lately having a living given him in Leicestershire by Sir Cloberry Noel, one of his pupils at Oxford.' But he always left an usher.

However, the law took its course. Hannes was summoned to come before the mayor on 19 May, but he refused to appear. A week afterwards evidence was taken. One boy, 'Anthony son of John Wingfield esquire,' said that he was at the school four years and prayers were never read. He spoke to the absences of Hannes even when at home and well, 'for this deponent has known him to be walking in his garden at the same time.' The exercises for four months together were never looked at, and he 'has often seen Mr. Hannes sleeping in his study in the school for an hour or two together, and sometimes while this deponent and his seat-fellows have been repeating their lessons.' Richard son of Charles Peale, rector of Edithweston, concurred. He had 'often said the same lesson for a week together without the said Mr. Hannes taking any notice thereof.' He was

ordered by his said master at one time to construe twelve chapters of Greek out of the New Testament for part of his task; that this examinant construed three of them, during which time his master was asleep, and wakeing his said master told him he had construed the whole, who said it was very well . . . Nor did Mr. Hannes give any directions to this examinant or any other boys . . . to converse in the Latin tongue either in the said school or without.

Hannes' only answer was that he was 'the most impudent boy that ever came into a school.'

The next mayor, Edward Holcott, came into office before the proceedings were complete. He told the master of St. John's that Hannes had reduced the school from (between) seventy and eighty to five. William Noel, M.P. for Stamford, and acting recorder (the marquis of Exeter being recorder), afterwards chief justice, wrote that he 'thought it necessary, having done some injury by recommending Mr. Hannes, to make some reparation by doing my utmost for his removal.' Before he could be removed, in December, 1730, Hannes died.

Dodd, 'Hannes' idle lazie usher (who) brought all the ignominy upon Mr. Hannes,' tried to get the place, and 'on offering Mrs. Mayoress 100 guineas the mayor has presented Dod,' though he had previously been to Lord Exeter to ask him to name someone, and he had suggested John Goodall, then head master of Lincoln. Goodall, however, could not make up his mind. 'If,' he said, 'the corporation of Stamford would give up the fines and what of right belongs to the school, that together with the prospect of having Lord Burghley for my scholar and the hopes of the favour of that noble family would incline me to endeavour it.' The corporation, however, would not undertake to give up the fines or renewal of leases which 'they pretend to keep for the repairs of the school or the house and for their trouble.' So after much indecision Mr. Goodall stayed at Lincoln, and Lord Burghley instead of going to Stamford School went to Winchester College, where he paid £200 a year, and where his portrait as a chubby-faced boy may still be seen.

Lord Exeter having asked the master of St. John's to examine Dod's fitness 'he thought fit to fly from his intended bargain with our mayor, not daring to stand the master's examination,' so wrote the town clerk. But then came 'a fresh chapman,' Mr. Clendon, who 'struck a bargain for 100 guineas; forty were put down and a note given for the other sixty; the mayor signed his presentation that night.' Legal action against this was taken by Lord Exeter through the deputy recorder, and a caveat put in to the bishop against his being given a licence. This

¹ Harrod, *Hist. of Stamford*, gives a copy of the verses delivered in 1686. They are turgid and tiresome in their vague eulogy.

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stopped Mr. Clendon's business. Eventually, on 23 May, Farrington Reid, a fellow of St. John's, spoken of as Dominus Reid and Sir Reid, was appointed and approved. He was son of the succentor of Lincoln and had been a pupil of Goodall's at the grammar school there. He was quite young, having entered St. John's in 1725, and became a fellow a few days before his appointment. Three years afterwards he filed a bill in Chancery to recover the fines for which Mr. Goodall had been anxious, and obtained judgement, and the corporation had to pay £632 10s. costs, an enormous sum for those days.

In 1818 a fierce attack on the school and its administration was made by Thomas Blore,¹ who maintained that the school was only intended for the poor, meaning the pauper class, and that a classical education was not intended, and that there were only sixteen boys in the school and those of the upper class, by 'a strange perversion of the bounty of the liberal founder,' and that he was sure no court of equity would directly authorize any master of St. John's 'who would prescribe instruction useless to a great majority of the real objects of this charitable foundation.' As a member of the Middle Temple and of the Society of Antiquaries, the author no doubt knew better. A very slight acquaintance with history shows of course that grammar schools were not intended for the poor in the sense in which the word was used by him as the lowest poor, but for the class who wanted grammar-school education for their children, and that in Henry VIII's reign was the same as now. It was no doubt a scandal that the then master besides his mastership, which had been raised in 1809 by increase of rents from £260 to £360 a year,² was also vicar of St. Mary's and of St. Martin's, Stamford, and as a consequence that there were only sixteen boys in the school, one of them his own son, and that 'the master's attendance does not exceed 2½ hours each day.'

In 1828 a petition was presented to Chancery to make the school elementary and to declare the mayor of Stamford sole trustee. But the petition was dismissed with costs, the court declaring the school should be conducted as a grammar school, and that the master of St. John's College was to prescribe the course of instruction.

Appointed in 1781, Richard Atlay, who was the grandfather of the late bishop of Hereford, held office for no less than fifty-one years, dying in 1832.

On his death a struggle over the power of appointment took place between Mr. Roden, the mayor, and Dr. Woods, master of St. John's. The mayor on 23 May, 1833, signed an appointment of the Rev. J. R. Major. But on 8 June the master sent the mayor a formal letter advising the appointment of the Rev. Frederic Edward Gretton of Oakham. History repeated itself. As in 1733, the deadlock was ended by the mayor going out of office. His successor, Mr. Thomas Mills, concurred in Mr. Gretton's appointment. No better man could have been found. A scholar and fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and seventh classic, he had become second master in 1827 of Oakham Grammar School. One of his pupils there, Atlay, became bishop of Hereford; another, whom he brought with him to Stamford, was Ellicott, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, who appointed his former master rector of Oddington on his retirement in 1871. While master at Stamford, Gretton held the curacy of Tickencote from 1833 to 1847, when he became vicar of St. Mary's Stamford. On coming into office he spent £1,500 on adding to the head master's house, dormitories, and dining-halls. In 1837 the annual income of the school was £578. The Rev. A. Gleadowe, nominated by the head master, was second master, receiving £100 a year salary and board and lodging estimated at £68; while there was a writing-master who received £60 a year and two guineas from each boarder. There were seventy-five boys in the school, of whom forty were boarders and thirty-five 'free' day-boys. It was conducted under rules made by Dr. Woods, master of St. John's, in 1833. Boys were only admitted between eight and twelve years old, able to read, write, and say the Lord's prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments, 'and in all respects qualified to enter upon Latin grammar.' The free boys were to leave at fifteen, except the six head-boys who might be prepared for matriculation at the universities. The course of instruction was to be 'similar to that pursued in the best grammar schools in England,' and attention was to be paid to mathematics. The commissioners said in terms of unusual warmth: 'The whole school appears to be not less impartially than efficiently conducted.'

A complete time-table is appended for six classes, the first being the highest. That for the first class was—

MONDAY.	7 a.m., Paley; 10 a.m., Thucydides, Livy, Mathematics. 3 p.m.—5, Euripides, English into Latin and Greek. At night, Latin theme.
TUESDAY.	Virgil, Rep. Thuc., Hor., Math. 3 p.m., same as Monday. Night, Latin verses.

¹ *An Account of the Public Schools, Hospitals, and other Charitable Foundations in Stamford.* Printed by T. Drakard, Stamford, 1813.

² This is arrived at by Blore estimating the house as worth £30 a year.

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WEDNESDAY.	Soph., Rep. Thuc., Livy, Math. 3 p.m., Geography, and English into Latin.
THURSDAY.	a.m., Virgil Rep. same as Tuesday. p.m., Hist., English into Latin, Alcaic verses or Greek Iambics.
FRIDAY.	Same as Wednesday.
SATURDAY.	Virg. Rep. Herodotus, Livy, Math. p.m., half-holiday.

In the lowest form Phaedrus's Fables were read five hours a week ; Latin grammar, five hours ; exercises, five hours ; geography, four ; history, four ; arithmetic, five hours ; Scripture history, one.

In 1838 Mr. Gretton published *An Introduction to Translation of English Poetry into Latin*, and in 1847 *Classical Parallels*. The school was very successful until, in 1850, in consequence of several boarders being expelled for grave immorality, its repute was tarnished. After that the school became mainly a day-school. When Mr. H. W. Eve visited it for the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1866, he found 77 day-boys all free, and three boarders, private pupils, paying 80 to 100 guineas a year. Mr. Eve pointed out that the town was rich in charities; the revenues of Browne's Hospital,¹ founded under a patent of Richard III in 1483, by William Browne, merchant of the staple of Calais and alderman of Stamford, for a master, a comptur and twelve poor, and endowed with £30 a year, were superfluously large.

On this hint the commissioners appointed under the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, acted. By five schemes under the Act, approved by Queen Victoria in Council 26 June, 1873, the endowment of the Grammar School and the Blue Coat School, with a number of small charities in the town, were consolidated with £1,500 a year from Browne's Hospital, under the title of the Stamford Endowed Schools, and three boys' schools, a Radcliffe High School, Browne's Middle School, and an Elementary School, with a Girls' Grammar School, were contemplated.

Before the scheme came into operation in July, 1871, Mr. Gretton retired on a pension of £170 a year, and enjoyed it till 27 March, 1890, when he died at the age of eighty-six. Under this scheme the old grammar school became 'Browne's Middle School,' the master's house with a 'hostel' for fifty boys being rebuilt at a cost, including the purchase of a portion of the land, which belonged to Lord Exeter, of £9,356. In 1874 it was reopened, and the numbers had risen in 1877 to 108, of whom thirty-seven were boarders. Then came a heavy fall, first to seventy-three and then to sixty-three, attributed to the early age at which boys had to leave (sixteen), and the want, therefore, of a sufficiently high standard of education. Each school meanwhile was spending more than its income.

Fortunately no attempt was made to establish a separate Radcliffe High School beyond the purchase of a site. Hence in 1880 the Charity Commissioners were again called in, and recommended an amending scheme.

Mr. Musson, the head master, retired in 1881, and Mr. A. W. Welch, an assistant master at Harrow School, succeeded, but the numbers fell to forty-five. A new scheme was eventually approved by Queen Victoria under the Endowed Schools Acts on 30 November, 1882, which consolidated into one the High School, which had never been set up, and the Middle School of the former scheme, at fees with the wide limit of £8 to £20 a year.

In 1884 the Rev. Dennis Jacob Johnson Barnard, LL.D., was appointed head master. He was at King Edward VI's School, Norwich, and scholar of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he was in the second class of the Classical Tripos, 1871. He had been five years a master at Lancaster Grammar School and seven years head master of Kibworth, Leicestershire. In 1887 there were sixty-three boys in the school, of whom sixteen were boarders. Later the school and boarding-house were full. But an outbreak of typhoid fever in 1889, owing to the water from the conduit which supplied the school being contaminated by flowing through an old graveyard, brought the numbers down. Too late for him the town entered on a great drainage scheme in 1898. In 1901 the numbers had fallen to forty-one. He retired at Easter, 1906.

Unfortunately for the schools the agricultural depression grievously affected the revenue derived from Browne's Hospital. When the scheme of 1874 was made the hospital income was £3,679. In 1884 it had fallen below £3,000, and Mr. Justice Chitty decided that the schools were not entitled to £1,500 as a first charge, but only to the surplus income not exceeding that sum after the hospital had been kept up. The result was that the schools in 1887 got only £900, and in 1900 they got barely £600.

The Girls' School, which cost £3,524, was opened in May, 1877, under Miss L. M. Munro. It steadily rose in numbers, until in 1894 it reached 116. But depression overtook this school, too, and in 1902 it had fallen to 54. Miss Munro then retired, and in 1903 Miss G. Clement, B.A., was appointed. After four terms she resigned. The present head mistress, Miss E. Prestley, B.A., then came. She has a staff of eight mistresses, and there are now 85 girls in the school.

¹ In 1870 its income had risen to over £3,000 a year.

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The endowment has meanwhile been relieved of the incubus of the elementary school, which is now supported by the county council, except for a contribution of £30 a year from the grammar school. There is every hope that a new lease of prosperity is in store for both the boys' and the girls' branches of this ancient school.

GRANTHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Grantham Grammar School, alike from the antiquity of its origin, the fame of its refoundation, the fact that it bred Isaac Newton, and its present position as the largest school in Lincolnshire, deserves far more space than the exigencies of circumstances allow it. It was one of the galaxy of grammar schools to which masters were appointed by the chapter of Lincoln in the vacancy of the chancellorship on 15 June, 1322, Walter Pigot being the then master.

Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, who may fairly be called the prime minister of Henry VII, has been hitherto credited with its foundation. As a matter of fact, he not only did not found it, as it existed two centuries before, but he did not even refound or give the bulk of its endowment. The credit of that must be given to Henry Curteys, alderman of Grantham, merchant, who died in 1479, and his son Richard. The father gave the property to charitable uses, and Richard the son gave it its particular destination to educational purposes. By his testament,¹ 18 July, 1478, Henry Curteys willed that his wife Agnes should maintain out of his rents and tenements assigned to her two fit chaplains for the term of her life, one to celebrate before the image of the blessed Mary outside the west door of the parish church, and the other before the image of St. Anne in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr. By his will of lands of the same month, he directed the feoffees of all his lands and tenements to make and deliver at the discretion of his son Richard sufficient estate and possessions to the alderman of the town for the time being and his brethren to the value of £10 a year, for the chaplains to be named by the said Richard and his heirs, and if he died without heirs then by the alderman, or in default by the dean of Lincoln. He also willed that his servant Thomas Wodcock should receive a competent exhibition for grammar until he should be fit for the university of Oxford or Cambridge, and so be maintained until he attained the dignity of the doctorate of sacred theology; and if he died then the son of some poor man in great need, at the discretion of his son, was to be maintained until that degree. Another chaplain was to be kept at Littleport, where he was born. The will was proved 2 August, 1479.

What Richard Curteys did exactly about the chantry does not appear. But the chantry certificate in 1546 gives among the six chantries in Grantham church 'Curteys Chauntrie founded by Richard bishop of Winchester and Thomas Quadring, executors of the will of Richard Curteis, with the intention that two chaplains should celebrate in the parish church there and pray for the souls of Henry and Richard Curteis and others for ever; one of whom should instruct boys both in good manners and the art of grammar in a certain fine house (*celebri domo*) built near the church.' The school had continued since its foundation according to the intention of the foundation. The instructor, whose name is left blank, was of the age of forty years, and had a salary, besides his mansion house, of £5 6s. 8d. The other incumbent, George Gibson, aged thirty-nine years, received the like stipend, and discharged the office of usher (*sub-pedagogus*) of the school.

It is quite clear from this account that it was not Bishop Fox, but the two Curteys who were the endowers of the chantry and school. The date is said to have been 1494, and the chantry to have been otherwise called St. George's chantry. But neither the licence to found it nor the foundation deed are forthcoming. Fox was, however, a benefactor of the school, for he built the school-house² and master's house, and gave an additional endowment of £6 13s. 4d. a year to the school through Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he was the indubitable founder. By deed 2 October, 1528,³ he gave the college lands in Lincolnshire and Somerset on condition of paying £6 13s. 4d. to the schoolmaster for the time being actually teaching grammar in the school-house which the said bishop hath built within the town of Grantham. The college was also to keep the school-house and mansion place in repair. The school-house and master's house still stand, the former scarcely altered, and the latter, though cut about and added to, yet preserving the picturesque look of the original. The two are connected by a cloister, thus forming three sides of a quadrangle. What looks like a contemporary picture of Bishop Fox is still preserved in the headmaster's house. Unfortunately, as Fox's endowment, though at the time it was more than a third of the whole income of the school, was worded as a fixed rent-charge, it now plays a very

¹ P. P. C. 37 Wattys.

² This is what he also did at Taunton, where also he has been credited with being the founder of a school of which he merely rebuilt the school-house, as it probably was his duty to do as lord of the castle and town as bishop of Winchester.

³ Not 1529, as in Sch. Inq. Rep.

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unimportant part in the economy of the foundation. Perhaps the most important service it did was to keep up the connection of the school with Corpus College, which has always furnished good masters to the school.

The Curteys chantry, on the other hand, was confiscated under the Chantries Act, 1548, the school being continued by warrant of 20 July, 1548,¹ the 'saide scole in Grantham shall contynewe and that the scolemaster which heretofore hath contynewed and yet remaynith there shall enjoy the rome of ussher there, and George Gyborn, ussher of the same scole shall have and enjoy the rome of ussher there, and that the same scolemaster and ussher shall have for their wages yerely £9 12s.' the net value of the lands. On 10 March, 1550-1,² however, an order was made in the Court of Augmentation for the re-foundation of the school. 'The Kinges Maeisties pleasour is that the Aldermen and burgesses. . . shall have the premysses assuryed to theym and to their successors for ever to thentente a Free Gramer Scole shalbe with thissues and proffittes of the same provided them of his maiesties ereccion. . . Draw a graunt thereof accordinglye.' The premises comprised were those of the late chantry of Holy Trinity, worth £6 18s. 8d. a year, and the late chantry of Blessed Mary worth £7 6s. 5d. a year and some obit lands in Manthorpe, Grantham, Hougheton and Spittlegate, worth 13s. 4d. a year, total £14 18s. 5d. The letters patent, in accordance with this order were not, however, passed till 28 March 1553, when the school was erected under the name of the Free Grammar School of King Edward VI for the education of boys in the Latin and Greek grammar, and the premises granted to the aldermen and burgesses, as governors, paying a fee farm rent of 16s. 8d. to the crown.

The school has always stood high in reputation and sent continuous streams of scholars to both universities. But exigencies of space forbid more detail. In 1898 the number of boys fell below fifty. But in the same year the Rev. William Rodgers Dawson, M.A. (Dublin), came as head master to Grantham and revolutionized the school, making it the largest and most prosperous in the county. By 1905 there were 300 boys, of whom 160 were day-boys, and the rest boarders, with a staff of eight assistant masters. New science buildings and class-rooms were added in a stately pile designed by Mr. John Bilson, architect of Hull, and the boarding accommodation of the head-master's house improved and enlarged. Three new boarding houses have been started and new cricket and football fields bought. Mr. Dawson removed at Easter to Brighton College, and is succeeded by Mr. W. T. Keeling, a Bradford School boy, of St. John's College, Cambridge, and late head master of the King's Grammar School, Warwick.

GREAT GRIMSBY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The history of Grimsby School begins like that of Boston with the appointment of a master by the dean and chapter of Lincoln on 13 June, 1329,³ owing to the chancellorship of the church being vacant and in their hands, when they conferred the school of Grimsby (*scolas de Grimesby*) on William of Coleston, clerk, to hold from Michaelmas, 1329, for a year. The appointments so made were renewed yearly till May, 1334. A similar appointment was made 18 May, 1390,⁴ when the 'grammar school of the town or municipality of Grimsby' (*Scole gramaticales ville sive municipii de Grymesby*) was conferred (*collate*) on Mr. John Benet, B.A., by the dean and chapter of Lincoln. Unfortunately for school history the chancellorship after this ceased to be held by Italian or French nominees of the popes and was regularly filled up, and we hear no more of the chapter's patronage of the school.

The school next appears in the reign of Edward VI in connexion with Rayner's chantry. For this licences in mortmain were granted on 5 June, 1342, and 12 September, 1342, and on 18 March, 1344-5, Edmund of Grymesby, clerk, granted to William of Shropshire of Waltham, chaplain, and his successors seven shops (*scopas*), 12 acres of land and 5 acres of meadow with their appurtenances in Grimsby, which land and meadow he had by the gift of Sir John of Grimsby, rector of Pynteworth, to hold to him and his successors according to the royal licence; that they might celebrate in St. James's church for the said Edmund and for Sir John Rayner and William Rayner his brothers, their sons and daughters and kin, and for the mayor and all the burgesses of the community of the said town while living, and for their souls when dead. To this chantry he gave the name of the Holy Trinity and ordered it to be called in the vulgar tongue, 'Rayners Chauntre.'

There is unfortunately nothing further known of this chantry, or whether the chantry priest was the grammar schoolmaster, until we come to the reign of Edward VI. When the Act for the dissolution of colleges and chantries was impending the burgesses of Grimsby by royal licence definitely converted the chantry to educational purposes. By letters patent of 12 July, 1547, the

¹ A. F. Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, 139.

³ Linc. Chap. Act. Bk. A 2, 24, fols. 14, 16, 20, 23b, 26, 29.

² Ibid. 141.

⁴ Ibid. 4, 2, 28, fol. 31.

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king, 'at the petition of Sir Edward North, chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, and to the intention that a Free Grammar School (*Libera Schola Grammaticalis*) may be established consisting of a Master teacher or pedagogue and a Subpedagogue to instruct boys and youths in the science of Grammar,' granted licence to John Bellowe, esquire, mayor, and the burgesses of the town of Grimsby to acquire lands to the value of 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.) for the school. Further, Thomas Thomlynson, chaplain of the perpetual chantry 'called Raynard's Chauntrie,' was enabled to grant to the mayor and corporation all the possessions of the chantry, which were worth £4 5s. 6d., besides 9s. 6d., reserved by way of tenth to the crown, for the school. Accordingly, on 20 September following, Thomas Thomlynson, the chaplain of the chantry, granted it and its possessions to the mayor and burgesses, they paying him £80 for it. By this wise arrangement, when the Chantries Act was passed in the Parliament opened in November, 1547, which gave all chantries to the king from Easter, 1548, this foundation escaped confiscation. The Chantry Commissioners¹ set out what they called 'S. James Chantry in Great Grimmesby, founded by one Rayner,' as having been granted to Thomlynson for the purposes specified in the letters patent.

Thomlynson apparently retired to enjoy his pension, for in the Account Roll of the borough for the fourth year of Edward VI, 1550, Henry Lord, the chamberlain, sets out the 'Chauntre rent' at £4 18s. 7d. and 'asketh allowance of £3 6s. 8d. to Edward Hartbourn, Schollmaster wages.' The next account extant is for 1557-8 and shows Harry Fotherbye, 'Skolle master of Grymysbye,' himself collecting the chantry rents and accounting for them, including 'for mendyng the Skole howis walls 4d.' and 'to a wright for mendyng the said Schooll howis 8d.', while there was spent on 'a leyd thaker' (a man to mend the lead roof or thatch) and 'for free meate and waygis for two day and a haulf, 3s.'

In the account of 1558 the chantry house is called the 'Head House.' In 1572-3 it was let for 8s. year to Henry Wilson. The school was always held in the Chantry Lane in a very ancient building close to the chantry house. This looks as if the school had always been connected with the chantry and continued to be used as such while the chantry priest's dwelling-house was let to other people. In 1558-9 Henry Fotherbie pays himself 'for teachyng the skolers in the gramer fre skolle, £4.' In 1561-2 the chamberlain's account in Latin shows paid 'for repairs about le skolhouse 17s. 8d.' and 'paid to William Calthorpe teacher of the grammar school (*preceptori scole gramatice*) beside the rent belonging to the school, £1 13s. 8d.' So that the master's salary had been increased to a more reasonable amount of £5 13s. 8d. Next year the chamberlain paid the schoolmaster (*ludimagistro*) 25s. 4d. out of the town rents, 'besides the chantry rent' and 8d. for expenses about the play (*circa ludum*), unless indeed *ludum* here simply means the school.

In 1566-7 the schoolmaster was paid £6 and 5s. 'beyond the receipts.' That year there was a large outlay in respect of the school in consequence of legal proceedings against the corporation, the occasion being a chancery suit about a rent-charge granted by Katherine Mason, widow, out of the manor of Goulceby and lands there and at Asterby and Scamblesby, by a deed of 10 October, 1551, for a schoolmaster to teach grammar and the Latin tongue at Grimsby. Among the corporation records is a bond by John Bellow of Newstead, Notts, the former mayor of Grimsby, when the chantry lands were granted to the corporation, dated 13 November, 1552, to deliver to John Dean *alias* Lawrence, bastard son of Sir Robert Lawrence, clerk, £50 and some plate in satisfaction of the goods of the late Robert Lawrence and Katherine Mayson *alias* Lawrence, his sister, and to keep John Dean at school till sixteen years of age. In the first chamberlain's account extant, that for 1550, 'mistreis Mason' was a tenant of the school, paying 8d. rent. The title of the corporation to the new gift was disputed by persons claiming as heirs-at-law of Mrs. Mason, and depositions were taken before a commission out of Chancery on 4 August, 1567, before Sir Richard Thimbleby, knight, Thomas St. Poll, and Edward Dighton, esquires. The result was to confirm the title of Grimsby to this additional endowment and half a year's 'annuity of Golcebie, £3 10s.' accordingly appears in the chamberlain's accounts for 1568-9. The master changed this year, 'Mr. Catshyn late Schoolmaster' being paid £8 and 'Mr. Shottilworth now Scholmaster' 30s. 7d. The repair of the school-house (*domus scholae*) cost 1s. Shuttleworth was paid an enhanced salary as he received £5 4s. 11d. as his wages (*vadio*) for one quarter of the year. There was still outstanding a debt of 30s. of the wages of Nicholas Catshyn the late master.

For the next two hundred years the school seems to have been kept up to the satisfaction of the townsmen of Grimsby, though the successive masters were poorly paid, while in spite of the express words of the charter, giving the whole endowment of the chantry to the school, the corporation pocketed the fines which they received at the renewals of the leases. On 26 June, 1770, they 'ordered that the Town clerk insert our advertisements 3 times in the *General Evening Post*, for a Schoolmaster in the room of Mr. John Proctor, deceased, and upon the same terms, £13 13s. 4d.' It was, of course, quite impossible for a graduate of a university at this date to subsist on

¹ Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 180, from Chan. Cert. 33, No. 58

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£13 13s. 4d. a year. No doubt they all held clerical preferments as well, as we know Fairweather did in 1695, being also vicar of Grimsby. Probably they also had boarders. Thomas Wilkinson came in answer to the advertisement, and remained till 1783, when Mr. Galland was paid for teaching for a quarter till Mr. West came on 14 July. The salary was then raised to the magnificent sum of £20, 'in consideration whereof the said James West is to teach the children of all the free burgesses reading, writing, accounts, Grammar, and the Classics when required; those who learn to read, write, and accompt to pay 2s. 6d. per quarter,' the classics of course being free. 'The school hours to be from 8 in the forenoon, and from 2 to 5 in the afternoon, from Lady Day to Michaelmas,' and 9 to 12 and 1 to 4 in the winter. 'And none to be sent to the master but such as shall be capable of reading the Psalter.' From 'the Classics when required' it is pretty clear that the school was becoming more of an elementary school than anything else. West had to give a bond in £200 to resign when called on at three months' notice.

In 1800 the corporation perpetrated the astonishing feat of selling the chief part of the endowment of the school, the chantry farm, and the lands in the common field belonging to the chantry, to Mr. Tennyson, the pluralist vicar of Grimsby, the father of Alfred Tennyson, the poet. These lands consisted of 36 acres and 4 poles. The purchase price was £525, invested in Grimsby Haven Dock securities. After the purchase the common fields were enclosed, when Tennyson received an allotment of 24a. 3r. 21p. in respect of these lands. In 1803 George Oliver, in trying for the post, sent specimens of his handwriting, and offered himself to one of the aldermen for a clerk if he did not—as he did not—get the mastership. Samuel Bucknell obtained it, and on 20 September, 1803, the conditions of appointment were embodied in an agreement to much the same effect as on the last appointment, viz., 'Latin Grammar to be taught to such as shall require it,' twenty boys to be free, the rest to pay 2s. 6d. a quarter, 10s. to be allowed for each of the free boys for pens, ink, and paper. Salary, £33, in addition to the rent-charge of £7, from Goulceby, and the house and window-tax on the school-house to be paid by the corporation. George Oliver subsequently obtained the post and illuminated his reign by writing a history of Grimsby.

In 1868, when the present Town Hall was built on a site then partly occupied by a preparatory school, started by the old corporation in 1827, the present 'Corporation Schools,' as they were called, were built at a cost of £1,392 13s. 8d. The cost was defrayed by using the purchase moneys of the chantry farm, £525, and by the sale of the old school and master's house in Chantry Lane, which produced £795 12s. The balance, £72 1s. 8d., was found out of corporation funds. The new schools, built one for boys and one for girls, were and are purely elementary, and are confined to the children of freemen. The charter, it may be remembered, provided for a grammar school open to all. Whether the rest of the chantry property, the seven shops, and the 12 acres of land can be identified is a question for the local antiquary.

The place of the grammar school has to some extent been filled by the Wintringham Higher Grade School, a higher elementary school started by the Grimsby School Board, and called after its chairman. It is a mixed school for boys and girls, and now earns grants from the Board of Education under the secondary school regulations, but it can hardly be considered a substitute for the ancient grammar school.

HORNCASTLE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Horncastle Grammar School was one of the batch to which the chapter of Lincoln assigned masters in 1329–1334, John of Beverley being the master at Horncastle. This school reappears¹ on Thursday, 30 July, 1354, when the Grammar School (*scole gramaticales*) of Horncastre (*sic*) was conferred on John of Briggeswick, clerk, and he swore to do what was incumbent on that office and to serve the school aforesaid as is proper, at the pleasure of the chapter. The school next reappears in history nearly 220 years later. On 25 June, 1571, at the petition of Edward Fynes, K.G., Queen Elizabeth by letters patent granted that there should be a school called 'the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth in the town or soke of Horncastell in the county of Lincoln of the foundation of Edward, Lord Clinton and Saye,' for the good education and instruction of boys and youths dwelling and inhabiting there and in the neighbouring parts round about. The school was to consist of a master and usher, and a body of ten governors, of whom the first were two clerics, three gentlemen and five yeomen, was incorporated to manage the possessions, a licence in mortmain for lands to the value of £40 a year being given them. No property was granted in the charter, and there is no evidence that Lord Clinton, who was named as founder, gave any endowment, though he may probably have given the site of the school on the south side of the church. The only evidence of the origin of the present endowment seems to be a conveyance by John Neale, tanner, in 1574, of lands in Sutton and Huttoft and

¹ Linc. Chap. Act Bks. A 2, 26, fol. 40b.

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Thornton, but whether he was the donor or a surviving trustee does not appear. The lands in Thornton, then worth £4 13s. 4d., were granted to Charles Dymoke of Scrivelsby, 27 September, 1698, for a fixed rent-charge of £12 a year and a fine of £110, a very good bargain at the moment, but as the land is now worth some £300 a year, a very bad one for posterity. The whole income from endowment is now about £250 a year.

In 1778 the school was rebuilt, being the present singularly plain and uninteresting building, except a class-room added later. On 5 September, 1782, the Rev. Charles Liste, master, was served with a notice to quit for neglect of duty, but after an action at law, which cost the foundation £200, he remained in office till his death, 10 April, 1818, and was succeeded by Mr., afterwards Dr., John Bainbridge Smith, who held office for nearly forty years, dying in 1854 from the effects of a railway accident. Under him the school numbered fifty to eighty boys. On 27 November, 1854, a scheme was obtained from the Court of Chancery which enabled tuition fees to be charged, with the result that in 1856 there were sixty-four boys and eleven boarders. The present headmaster, E. G. Madge, LL.D., a non-collegiate student at Cambridge, formerly a master at Watford School, Hertfordshire, was appointed in January, 1892. The school is now a mixed school for boys and girls.

ALFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Alford School, at least in its Elizabethan development, seems to have been one of those hopeless foundations intended to give at once elementary and secondary education.

Francis Spanning,¹ merchant, 'by the godly motion of Helen his wife,' by deed (18 March, 1565-6) gave £50 to six governors and four auditors, one-fifth of the income of which was to go to the poor and the rest for a schoolmaster and for the support of a free school for the teaching of young children the A B C and also to read both Latin and English. William Gubbe by deed (12 April, 1569) gave £35 more, £5 for the poor as a loan charity and the rest for the school.

By letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, 2 July, 1576, granted on Lord Burghley's petition, 'a Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth in the town or parish of Alford of the foundation of Lord Burghleigh and Thomas Cecil, knight, his son,' was erected for the education of boys and youths there, and in the neighbouring parts dwelling and abiding, with ten governors incorporated and licensed in mortmain up to £40 a year. It does not appear that either the queen or Lord Burghley gave anything to the foundation beyond their names. Spanning's and Gubbe's gifts were transferred to the incorporated governors by deed (14 December, 1585); while by will (20 June, 1583) Richard Spendley gave 20s. a year rent-charge, and by will (12 April, 1585) John Spendluffe gave lands in Strubby, Woodthorpe, Withern and Cumberworth after a life interest to the governors. These lands came into possession in 1594 under a deed of John Bennacle, Spendluffe's cousin and heir at law. Statutes made in 1598 followed the charter in making the school a grammar school pure and simple, requiring that boys should before admission be able 'to read perfectly and write legibly,' and it was not 'any part of the master's duty to teach his scholars to write but of his goodwill and gentleness.'

The Commission of Inquiry in 1837 found that from 1820 £20 a year was paid from the grammar school to a national school then established; but meanwhile the grammar school itself had been since about 1790 practically two schools, a classical school, which in 1837 numbered fifteen boys under the head master, and a sort of higher elementary school of twenty-three boys under the usher, the latter charging 2 guineas a year tuition fees. The master, the Rev. Felix Laurent, appointed in 1822, received the whole endowment, about £270 a year, and his school was free. In 1864 the Schools Inquiry Commission found thirty-five boys under the Rev. B. N. Dasent, of whom thirty learnt Latin and eight Greek. A scheme was made under the Endowed Schools Acts, 23 October, 1877. There are now under the Rev. W. Horn, of Queen's College, Oxford, appointed 1885, thirty-two children, of whom five boys are boarders, while of the day scholars seven are girls, as in 1901 girls had been granted the right of admission.

WAINFLEET GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The description of 'Waynflete' as a 'praty market, stondynge on a creke nere to the se . . . The schole that Waynflete bishop of Winchestre made and endowid with xlii. lande is the most notable thing,' is even truer now than it was in the days of Henry VIII when Leland² penned it. Already in his day ships had ceased to come up to it. Now they could not.

Bishop Waynflete had been head master of Winchester and is said to have become first head master of Eton, and was certainly provost there in 1443, when he was made bishop of

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxxii, pt. iv, 574. This gives the date as 1565 and 1568 apparently through miscalculation of the regnal years of the queen, by which the documents are dated.

² *Itinerary* (Hearne), vii, 38.

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Winchester and afterwards Lord Chancellor. He saved Eton from Edward IV, and founded schools to feed Magdalen College, Oxford, at Magdalen itself and at Wainfleet. It is said that Wainfleet school was founded in 1459.¹ But perhaps, like Magdalen College, it had to wait its full establishment till the Wars of the Roses were over. The present building was not erected till 1484, when John Gygur, Warden of Merton College, and also of Tattershall College, Lincolnshire, wrote to Waynflete² informing him that 'the house that was ordayned to have been bought for your scole and chapel at Waynflete ys don a way.' He told him that he could not get a new building 70 ft. long and 20 ft. broad for less than £30, and recommended the gateway tower of the episcopal manor of Esher as a model. The advice was taken, and the contract with Henry Alsbroke, of Tattershall, carpenter, for 'a flore with a rofe of tymber of good herte of ooke,' 70 ft. by 20 ft. 'with dores, windowes, steyses, hynches, reredoses, desks, and all other thyngs necessarye that longeth to carpentry werk for a chapell and scolehouse' of seven boys, was made 17 April, 1484, for £26 13s. 4d., and a gown cloth or 6s. 8d. for its purchase. The building was of brick, with windows on each side and a large one at the end flanked by two towers. The living rooms of the master were below and the school above.³

It is clear from the statutes of Magdalen College that William of Waynflete intended Wainfleet School to be on the same footing as Magdalen College School itself, using precisely parallel phrases for one and the other.

As the master was to be appointed and, if necessary, removed by the president, barely any entries remain of the appointments in the college records. William Richardson was admitted in 1555.⁴ The bursar's rolls record from time to time repairs to the school buildings. Thus at Bishop Cooper's visitation in 1585⁵ he was informed that the grammar schools at Wainfleet, Brackley, and Oxford, threatened ruin, and they were ordered to be repaired at once. In 1608,⁶ no less than £38 was spent 'on repair of the Founder's school at Wainfleet.'

In 1753 the rector held the mastership and no one was taught. From 1 August, 1755, to 1811, John Pickborn was master, and the school was a mixed elementary school for boys and girls. He was retired on a pension at the age of eighty. After an interval of attempts at something higher, the inhabitants asked for a commercial school, and William Holbrook, who had been master of a workhouse school, was appointed. The Schools Inquiry Commissioners found it in 1865 practically an elementary school of a bad type. By a statute of the University Commissioners of 16 June, 1881, the college was directed to spend not more than £500 a year on Wainfleet and Brackley schools, which sum was raised to £800 a year by a statute of 2 September, 1902. It was rather hard on Wainfleet, which was in effect part of the foundation of the college, thus to put it on a par with Brackley, which was only a chantry converted in 1548. But while Brackley has had some £500 a year spent on it and is flourishing, Wainfleet has never had more than £200 a year, including the repairs of the buildings. The present head master, the Rev. William Gerrish, was educated at St. Mark's Training College for Elementary Teachers, appointed in 1877, and ordained in 1891. As the school is still mixed, there are two assistant mistresses. The tuition fees are £2 to £6 a year. There are thirteen boys and five girls in the school, all under sixteen.

MOULTON SCHOOL

Moulton School was one of the earliest of Elizabethan⁷ schools, and owed its origin to the munificence of a prosperous yeoman, John Horrocks, who by will (19 September, 1560) directed that 'one Free Grammar School should be erected and kept for ever in the mansion-house in which he was then dwelling,' and the income of certain lands applied for its endowment. If the school was not established within three years after his death, the income was to go to St. John's College, Cambridge, for exhibitions. The parish register records the death of the founder on 20 September, the day following the execution of his will. The will was proved 31 May, 1561, about nine days after the death of John Horrocks's widow, but in the petition almost immediately presented by the town for licence in mortmain for the school it is stated that the school was already established and a learned man thereto appointed. In response to the petition letters patent were granted by the crown 21 June, 1561, for the establishment within the mansion of the 'late John Horrox of a free grammar school for the good education and instruction of infants and boys of our kingdom of England both in good manners and in the arts of grammar and literature.' The width of the reference is rather remarkable

¹ Richard Chandler, *Life of Waynflete* (1811), 171.

² Ibid.

³ A good view of it is given in *Vetusta Monumenta*, iii, p. vi, 1790.

⁴ *Magdalen College Register* (New Ser.), ii, 31.

⁵ Ibid. iii, 18.

⁶ Ibid. 41.

⁷ This school has been fortunate enough to preserve its muniments, copious extracts from which have been printed by the Rev. J. Russell Jackson in his *Hist. of the Moulton Endowed Schools*, to which the reader is referred for a more extensive account of this foundation.

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for the foundation of a local man. Although the school had been opened for some time, it was not until 1 August, 1562, that the feoffees formally appointed the master under the charter, 'Nicholas Belson of Moulton, within the parts of Holland, and within the county of Lincoln, gentleman.'

The first boy¹ admitted was John Jackson, son of William Jackson, one of the feoffees, and from the first there were a number of boarders as well as day scholars. Unfortunately the feoffees did not convey the property to the schoolmaster as they were directed, the result being that the school spent the greater part of the first forty years of its existence in Chancery. James Assheton, B.D., who was vicar of Moulton in 1593, on 12 May, 1599, obtained a commission from Chancery under the new Statute of Charitable Uses, and a decree of the commissioners, dated 4 October, directed the transfer of the school estate to the master, while six overseers resident in Ellowe wapentake, of whom the first three were to be the three feoffees, were appointed, the vicar of Moulton after the next avoidance being one *ex officio*. Assheton was confirmed in the mastership, and directions were given that the master should be competent to teach Greek and Latin, and that no one should be appointed who held any ecclesiastical living unless he relinquished the same. The orders for the scholars show that great stress was laid on the religious instruction of the scholars and their training in good manners and reverent behaviour, 'not onelye towards their maister, but allso towards all sortes of men'; for these purposes two monitors were appointed every week. This evidence of the 'prefect system' in full force, with two prefects of chapel, as at Winchester, in a small place like Moulton, is a curious proof of the solidarity of the school system and how entirely the country grammar schools were regarded as precisely the same kind of schools as the greater foundations and governed by similar regulations.

In the feoffees' book is a list of scholars at Christmas, 1608, one of the earliest school lists, as distinct from admission registers, in existence. Forty-five boys are mentioned, both Christian and surnames being given. They are divided into the usual six forms, but not under those names. In the first class, the highest, were only three names, Gilbert Allen, Thomas Grimald, and Anthony Worlsey. In the second class there were fourteen, and in the third eight boys, including two Asshetons, evidently the master's sons. Then followed seven 'accidentarii,' boys beginning their accidence; eleven 'Anglice legentes,' two of whom bore the same names as boys in the first and second forms, and were probably brothers, and therefore of no different rank; and lastly five 'scribentes,' presumably learning to write. This was an excellent muster-roll for so small a place as Moulton. On the burial of the master, James Smyth, M.A., 8 August, 1639, it is definitely called a public school. During the Interregnum boys were sent from it to St. John's College, Cambridge. In the next century, however, Moulton was no exception to the decadence into which a large majority of the grammar schools of England at this time fell. In 1744 there were no scholars at all, and the school-house was out of repair, so that John Chapman, whose tenure of the mastership lasted from 1722 to 1763, was directed to advertise in the London and provincial newspapers for pupils who would be 'well and carefully taught the learned languages free of all charge except 4*d.* entrance.' In 1765 a new master's house was built at a cost of £286. In 1777 there were over 60 scholars at the school, but it had sunk to practically elementary status, and the master was given permission to officiate as vicar, on condition of keeping a proper assistant. In 1782 there were 30 scholars 'making regular progress in reading, English, writing, and accounts.'

After 1814, under Samuel Elsdale, fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, the school revived, and the classics were again taught. He had² 8 boarders at £35 to £40 a year and 60 day scholars. In 1827 he died at the early age of 47, and was succeeded by the Rev. C. Moore, who maintained the number well. In 1854 the education had again become chiefly elementary. Mr. Moore, who had been absent on sick leave since 1851, resigned, and a new scheme was sanctioned by the commissioners and embodied in an Act of Parliament (19 and 20 Vict. c. 53). By this a governing body was appointed to manage the property, and the school was divided into a grammar or classical and a lower or elementary division. A new school was built for the upper or grammar scholars. The elementary pupils retained the old buildings. The Rev. Hector Nelson was the first head master under the new scheme, and in 1860 had 34 boys. He was succeeded on his resignation in 1861 by the Rev. J. W. Johnson. Mr. Eve, who visited the school in 1864, found only 23 boys, of whom fifteen learnt Greek and twenty-two Latin, and twelve of these were boarders. Two or three masters followed at short intervals, and a new scheme (20 March, 1877) was promulgated under the Endowed Schools Acts, constituting a governing body of eleven, and decreeing that the religious instruction given should be that of the Church of England. The scheme was chiefly beneficial to elementary education, the grammar school endowment being made to provide £1,250 for a new elementary school, and £80 a year for its maintenance. Provision was made for scholarships and exhibitions, but owing to the fall of income from agricultural depression they are not given. The first head master under the new scheme was the Rev. F. Hatt, B.A.

¹ Dep. in Chanc. Suit, 1602.

² Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools* (1816), ii, 839.

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(Cantab.), who in 1892 was succeeded by Mr. Alfred Stanley Hatt. There are now about 50 boys at tuition fees of £4 to £5 a year.

SPILSBY FREE SCHOOL, founded by Edward VI, by letters patent in November, 1550. Robert Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, by charter (15 August, 1611), after reciting that 'within Spilsby there had been and then was founded by some of his progenitors a free grammar school, granted an estate called 'The Almeries,' on which to build a schoolhouse. In 1906 there were 22 boys under Mr. W. M. Ellis and one assistant master. The endowment, consisting of 30 acres of land, produced £91, whilst a grant of £50 was received from the Lindsey County Council. Scholarships here are given to boys from the national schools.

Wrangle Endowed School.¹ Thomas Alenson, vicar, by will (1 August, 1555) devised divers messuages and lands for an almshouse, and the teaching of Latin and English. This was augmented by the Rev. W. Erskine. Under a scheme (26 September, 1891) a public elementary school for infants was to be maintained in Wrangle, and the residue of the income applied to scholarships and exhibitions.

Bolingbroke Grammar School was founded at some date between 1548 and 1562, for in that year John Bradley of Louth, by deed (1 May, 1562), gave in pursuance of an agreement of 20 April, to Richard Goodricke the elder and younger, for the schoolmaster for teaching scholars and youth in the free grammar school of Bolingbroke, of the foundation of John Goodricke deceased, a rent-charge of £5 a year on certain lands in Bolingbroke, the Goodrickes covenanting to provide a schoolhouse. The rent was afterwards charged in relief on other lands. It was found by inquisition in 15 James I, that William Morrell, the schoolmaster, since his house was in decay, 'doth teach the grammer schollers in the parish church of Bolingbroke.'² The commissioners directed the schoolhouse to be repaired according to the covenant. An additional endowment of £16 a year seems to have been given by John Chamberlaine in 1664. In 1822 the school was elementary, and a new school was built on the old site adjoining the churchyard. In 1840 a national school was built on a new site, and the endowment of the grammar school is now applied to it.

Laughton Free School. Roger Dalyson, precentor of Lincoln Cathedral, by will (31 May, 1566) left his lands to William Dalyson on condition that a grammar school should be set up and endowed at Laughton, and that W. Dalyson's house at the church stile should be the schoolhouse. Licence to carry out these intentions was granted to W. Dalyson by letters patent (1 June, 20 Elizabeth). The school has been elementary for over a hundred years.

Kirton-in-Lindsey Free School was founded by a decree of the Exchequer (15 June, 19 Elizabeth), the endowment being provided from certain copyhold lands held long before for the benefit of the township of Kirton. After an attempt in 1816 to revive the school by making it an elementary school, with one or two higher classes, the foundation was reconstituted by a scheme (14 September, 1878), by which the income was applied to exhibitions and scholarships tenable by elementary scholars of Kirton-in-Lindsey and certain neighbouring parishes at some school or place of higher education approved by the governors.

GAINSBOROUGH FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, now called Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, was established in pursuance of letters patent of 21 November, 1589, upon the petition of Robert Somersgale. Rules were made in 1669 which show that a schoolhouse was then in existence. But in the next century, for many years prior to 1795, the school had been discontinued. In that year the vicar of Gainsborough (Rev. D. H. Urquhart) erected a schoolhouse to be on land allotted to the treasurers under an inclosure award. Under the mastership of the Rev. James Cox, M.A., D.D., of Winchester, which followed the re-establishment of the school, it enjoyed a period of much prosperity, and four old boys took high honours at Cambridge in one year. But a later vicar quarrelled with the head master, and threw the school into Chancery. In 1867 there were only nine day-scholars and seven boarders. The endowment is only some £60 a year. A scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts was made. The Rev. John Robert Underwood Elliott, of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, was appointed head master in 1874. He has had over 70 boys. In 1901 there were 33. Thanks to new science buildings the school has now increased to 55 boys.

SPALDING GRAMMAR SCHOOL. John Blank by will (27 May, 1568), and John Gamlyn under a deed (10 December, 1587), gave lands for a grammar school, which was established by letters patent (18 May, 1588). The celebrated Dr. Bentley was master in 1681. In 1837 there were only two boys under the care of the vicar of Weston as master, assisted by another clergyman

¹ Those schools the names of which are printed in italics have either sunk into elementary schools or been converted into exhibition funds. The information is derived from the *Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry concerning Charities* in 1837, xxxii, pt. iv, and the *Schools Inquiry Report*, 1867, xvi, unless otherwise stated.

² Petty Bag Inq. 15 Jas. I.

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as under master. In 1865 there were twenty boys in attendance, and the instruction, including Latin and Greek, was fairly satisfactory. A scheme was made under the Endowed Schools Act (17 May, 1879) for this school and the Petit or Willesby School as a grammar school with fees for day scholars of £6 to £10, and for boarders not more than £50 a year. Under the Rev. E. M. Tweed, of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, appointed in 1894, there are 52 boys and 50 pupil teachers in the school.

Spalding, the Petit School. Thomas Willsby by will (July 1682) gave fifty acres of land for the foundation of a school and the support of a schoolmaster. Surplus funds were to be applied in apprenticing poor children. In 1814 the school became a national school, and is still carried on as a public elementary school, scholarships at the grammar school being available for its more promising scholars.

SLEAFORD, CARRE'S FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL. Robert Carre by a deed (1 September, 1604) gave a farm of 129 acres in Gedney for the maintenance and continuance of a free and common school in New Sleaford *in the place where it then was* or in some other convenient place in the town. The school appears to have shared in the general decadence of grammar schools during the eighteenth century. In 1828 the trustees applied to the Court of Chancery for a scheme which was established 7 April, 1830. Under an order of 4 February, 1834, the trustees were authorized to rebuild the school premises. A master was appointed by the marquis of Bristol as patron, and the school formally reopened 1 August, 1835. In 1864 there were 13 scholars in attendance. The school was revised under a scheme of 20 March, 1877, since amended 7 November, 1902. With new buildings it now has 82 boys of whom 22 were boarders under Mr. E. C. Watson, B.A. London, appointed in 1900.

Heighington Grammar School. By an unexecuted deed of 16 James I (1619) Thomas Garrett proposed to convey divers lands for the teaching of grammar and Latin in the chapel of Heighington and the reading of divine service therein. The deed was confirmed with certain variations by decree of Commissioners of Charitable Uses (7 September 1721). Teaching took place in Heighington Chapel till shortly before 1864, when a new schoolhouse was built. In 1865 the school was mainly elementary, though twenty boys were learning Latin and one Greek. By a scheme of 30 November, 1882, the school was made elementary. In 1904 the endowment produced about £150 a year, but most of this goes in poor relief; only £48 per annum being expended in scholarships, and about £54 in exhibitions.

KIRTON-IN-HOLLAND, MIDDLECOTT'S FREE SCHOOL. In 1624 Thomas Middlecott was empowered by Act of Parliament to establish a grammar school in Kirton. In 1773 the Rev. Charles Wildbore obtained the mastership on his own nomination, being succeeded by his son, also a Rev. C. Wildbore, in 1802. Appointing deputies to teach the school, they applied the greater part of the income to their personal use. In 1790 the pretence of teaching Latin had been dropped. The second C. Wildbore, at one time a parish pauper, and at another an inmate of a lunatic asylum, sold his life interests in the school estates, and in 1832 appointed as deputy master his own son, who was also vestry clerk, and against whom most serious complaints were made, both as regards moral and educational sufficiency. By a Chancery scheme of 1851 the school was again made a grammar school, while a second scheme ten years later was intended to make it fulfil the purposes of both a grammar and an elementary school. Under a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts (4 February, 1879), amended 3 February, 1898, the school is a second-grade grammar school. Mr. T. L. Hutchins, a non-collegiate student at Oxford and B.Sc. London, was appointed head master in May, 1904. There are about 40 boys.

CAISTOR FREE SCHOOL was founded as a grammar school by William Hansard by will (18 March, 1627), and the Rev. Francis Rawlinson by will (20 December, 1630). There being no master's house the school was usually held by the vicar, with the result that with an endowment of £190 a year it had by 1818 become an elementary school for boys and girls. The commissioners in 1837 found great dissatisfaction aroused by the patron's insistence on church attendance and strict conformity to the doctrines of the Establishment. In 1837 the school building was repaired, and the school was divided into an upper school, offering a mainly classical education and a lower, from which the classics were not entirely excluded, although the teaching was more general and commercial. A scheme under the Endowed Schools Act of 19 May, 1885, amended in 1893, established a representative governing body. The present master is Mr. Arthur Brooke, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, appointed 1905. In 1904 there were 7 boys in the school. Now there are over 30, of whom 10 are boarders.

Wragby, Hansard's Grammar School, was founded by William Hansard, who by will (18 March, 1627) gave yearly stipends of £30 for a master and £15 for an usher for the instruction of youth in good literature and religion, within or near the town of Wragby. Long before 1818 the school had become, in practice, elementary. In 1842 the offices of the grammar and national schoolmaster were united. In 1865 the national schoolroom was used for the boys'

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grammar and primary schools, and the old grammar school for the girls. There were then about twenty boarders, and only four of the boys were learning Latin. The school is now styled a national school.

BOURN GRAMMAR SCHOOL, founded by William Trollope by will (16 November, 1636). In 1865 the vicar of the parish was head master, but he left the working of the school to the usher. The school was in good repute, and of the thirty-five day scholars twenty-six learnt Latin, and one Greek. The school is a tumble down building at the corner of the churchyard, and the master a non-resident curate. There are no boys.

Butterwick, Pinchbeck's Free Grammar School. Anthony Pinchbeck by deed (2 November, 1665) conveyed lands as an endowment of a grammar school for Butterwick and the hundred of the same under a graduate master well able to teach Latin and Greek. In 1837 the master was a graduate of Cambridge, who taught the older boys algebra, euclid, and the oriental languages, and if their parents desired prepared them for the universities. By 1865 the master, receiving more than £200 a year and a house, delegated most of the work to an assistant at £50 a year. The only survival of a classical curriculum lay in the first elements of Latin taught to two boys. By a scheme, 23 October, 1876, under the Endowed Schools Acts, the endowment, 126 acres 1 rood 21 poles of land, producing in 1904 £280 a year, was applied to elementary education.

BRIGG GRAMMAR SCHOOL owes its foundation to Sir John Nelthorpe (bart.) by will (11 September, 1669), who wished Latin, Greek, and Hebrew to be taught in his grammar school, besides elementary subjects. There was a special provision for free boarders or 'charity boys' from Legsby and Hulsby, with a direction that the master should be removed on reaching the age of forty-five. In 1818 the school was still flourishing and preparing boys for the universities. In 1837 it was divided into two departments, an upper school for classics and a lower or commercial school. In 1865 there were 50 boys in the lower school, while ten were learning Latin and one Greek in the upper division. There were four free boarders who lived with the servants, waited at table, and performed other household duties. A new scheme was established 23 October, 1877, and a governing body of eleven persons constituted, including the lord of the manor of Scawby *ex officio*. New buildings were erected and spacious playing fields provided. Under Mr. Richmond Flowers, of Lincoln College, Oxford, the school rose to about 70 boys, of whom 30 were boarders. Afterwards the boarders fell off. In 1900, there being only 30 boys, the experiment of admitting girls was tried. In 1904 Mr. Flowers retired. In 1905 there were only 16 scholars, 10 boys and 6 girls. A new scheme for boys only is now in progress.

HOLBEACH, FARMER'S FREE SCHOOL. Although it has been stated that a grammar school was founded here in the reign of Edward III, the existing school originated in a grant of lands for educational purposes by George Farmer by deed 20 February, 22 Charles II (1670). By will (8 July, 1682), John Warsdale, yeoman, bequeathed £440 to the free school, and James Thompson by will (1 November, 1719) gave a further endowment, for some time paid to a separate schoolmaster, but before 1790 treated as an augmentation of the salary of the master of Farmer's school. By 1837 the school had become merely elementary. Under a Chancery scheme of 1845 a head master was appointed who taught classics and mathematics, the elementary school being left to an usher. In 1856 the head master resigned, and the school again became wholly elementary. The grammar school was, however, re-established by a scheme (12 May, 1874) under the Endowed Schools Acts. Latterly the number of scholars dwindled, and the school was closed in May, 1904. At this time the endowment produced about £200 a year, which is now accumulating pending a new scheme.

CORBY, READ'S FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL. Charles Read by will (proved at Canterbury, 27 June, 1671) left a rent-charge for the endowment of a school at Corby to teach Latin 'as occasion should require,' provision being also made for four free scholars as boarders. In 1815, owing to the inadequacy of the income, a fixed rent-charge, the trustees ceased to make the payments to the four boy pensioners. By rules drawn up in 1674 the 'head master must be M.A. of Oxford or Cambridge, or at the least an orthodox minister.' In 1837 the Rev. J. H. Willan, of St. John's College, Cambridge, taught 17 free scholars in reading, writing, arithmetic, and occasionally Latin. Under new rules in 1840 the master was no longer required to be a M.A. or in orders, and the school was conducted as a secondary school of a commercial type. In 1865 there were 39 day-scholars and 16 boarders. The school is now carried on under a scheme of 6 September, 1880, as amended 16 November, 1900, when it was directed that girls might be admitted to the school.

Stickney, Lovell's Free School. Founded by William Lovell who by will (proved 19 December, 1678) gave divers lands upon trust for a school and for a schoolmaster 'to teach and instruct youth fit for the university.' By an inquisition of Commissioners of Charitable Uses, 29 July, 1767, it was found that the 'school had for a long time past been greatly neglected,' and in giving directions for the future they assumed that secondary as well as primary instruction would

SCHOOLS

be given. In 1837 the commissioners found that the school was an elementary one, and such it remains.

Donington, Cowley's Endowed Schools. Thomas Cowley, by deed 11 November, 1701, and will and codicil of 1711 and 1718, gave land to build a schoolhouse and pay £20 yearly to a master to teach twenty poor children in Donington to read English and write. A decree of Commissioners of Charitable Uses, 22 April, 1726, directed that the master should be in orders, educated at Cambridge or Oxford, and ready to teach Latin and Greek. Another master was to teach English, and a mistress was to instruct twenty inhabitants of Donington to read and to spin woollen or linen. About 1780 the trustees abolished the classical school, and the spinning-school was also discontinued. In 1837 two elementary schools existed. The classical side of the foundation was restored by a scheme of the Court of Chancery, 10 December, 1858, and a period of prosperity followed under the mastership of the Rev. W. J. R. Constable, who in addition to conducting the grammar school supervised elementary schools for boys, girls, and infants. A scheme (29 June, 1896), under the Endowed Schools Acts, contained provisions for a secondary school, but these were deleted in the House of Commons on the motion of the Right Hon. H. Chaplin, the squire of Blankney. The endowment consists of about 700 acres of land, producing over £1,200 yearly, and of this the greater part is now unused; while £350 a year is applied to elementary education.

HUMBERSTONE FREE SCHOOL. For the first 114 years of its existence this foundation lived in Chancery, and its story is only one of interminable proceedings. By will (14 March, 1708), Matthew Humberstone provided for the maintenance of a curate of Humberstone, who was also to teach Latin, English, writing, and arithmetic. The boys were to be taught freely until they were fourteen, and were then only to remain on payment for further teaching in Latin and Greek to fit them for the university. The Drapers' Company of London were appointed trustees, but immediately after Humberstone's death his heir filed a bill in Chancery contesting the will, the company refused to accept the trusts, and in spite of decrees of the court the charity remained in abeyance, till at last on 23 July, 1823, a scheme was approved under which the school was opened for the first time with the Rev. Joseph Gedge, vicar of Humberstone, as master. During the period of abeyance, in spite of costs, the original endowment of £2,500 stock had grown to more than £20,000. As the outcome of a dispute as to the master's salary a further scheme was issued, 12 March, 1842. The first mastership lasted until 1849, but appears to have been regarded as almost a sinecure, and an attempt to remove the master for neglect of duty was defeated. The next master, who was also vicar, took some part in the teaching of Latin, but left the bulk of the work to two assistants. Two schemes (26 March, 1878) under the Endowed Schools Acts provided for a public elementary school at Humberstone, and a grammar school known as Humberstone's New Foundation at Clee, just outside Grimsby. The endowment, in addition to the buildings and site, consisted of £10,003 10s. 4d. consols. At the present time there are 66 boys in the school, of whom 16 are boarders, under E. W. Lovegrove, M.A., who was a scholar of New College, Oxford, and took a first-class in mathematics.

Burgh, Palmer's Free School. By a deed of release (10 May, 1726) Jane Palmer conveyed the Plum Tree Farm for the maintenance of a schoolmaster, who was to be a Protestant of the Church of England as well as 'unmarried, virtuous, honest, and well learned in Latin literature.' No schoolhouse was built, and the commissioners in 1837 stated that for some seventeen years the income of the foundation had been paid to the master of a private school who undertook to teach any children sent him by the trustees free of charge. Some time before 1865 Dr. Tozer, vicar of Burgh, built a good school for boys and girls on condition that it should be a National School and at the disposal of the trustees of Palmer's Foundation. In 1869 a sum of rather more than £40 was applied to educating six boys at the Burgh middle private school, and the residue of the income went to the National School. On 25 August, 1904, by a scheme of the Board of Education under the Charitable Trusts Acts, the income of the foundation (about £50 a year) was directed to be applied for the higher education of children from Burgh at Wainfleet Grammar School or other public secondary or technical schools.

MARKET RASEN, THE DE ASTON SCHOOL. This school was created out of ancient endowments of the ancient hospital at Spittle-in-the-Street, by scheme of the Court of Chancery, 16 January, 1858, to be called the De Aston School, after an early benefactor of the hospital. The school was first opened in 1864, and was intended to be of a commercial type, though the curriculum included Greek. In 1866 it had 39 boarders and 31 day scholars. On 3 May, 1882, a further scheme was made under the Endowed Schools Acts for the regulation of the Spital-in-the-Street Hospital, and the governing body of the De Aston Foundation was constituted of fifteen persons, including the dean and four canons of Lincoln *ex officio*, to whom an amending scheme (26 August, 1893) added two representatives of the Lindsey County Council. £50 a year is paid to Skellingthorpe Public Elementary School, and the residue of the income from the hospital

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endowments is about £260. The school has increased considerably since the appointment of Mr. C. Elliott as head master in 1901, and now numbers 72 boys, of whom 50 are boarders.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS¹

GEDNEY, GEDNEY HILL CHARITY.—Founded for the support of the Holy Trinity Church at least as early as 1441. Endowment now applied to the National School.

LONG SUTTON, PHILLIPP'S SCHOOL.—Chantry founded by will (21 April 1492) of Robert Phillipp. In the reign of Elizabeth the confiscated lands were granted to feoffees for 'godly necessary and charitable uses.' Under a scheme of 1890 the fund (£1,278 17s. 7d. consols) was to be applied by the Long Sutton Schoolboard for scholarships and the teaching of agriculture and horticulture.

WITHAM-ON-THE-HILL SCHOOL.—'The Church and School Estate' belonged to the parish as far back as 1548. The school is elementary.

AISTERBY, ACHAM'S FREE SCHOOL, founded by will of Anthony Acham of Holborn (dated 27 June, 1638, proved 9 June, 1691), is elementary.

MARKET DEEPING SCHOOL.—A deed of 1649 recites that divers rents had been applied for teaching time out of mind. The school is elementary.

HAXEY FREE SCHOOL.—On 9 July, 1654, Thomas Tankersley gave lands for the teaching of poor children, the maintenance of a schoolmaster, and the repair of a schoolhouse already built. Other benefactions followed in 1722, 1723, and 1752. The school is now elementary and called 'National' in spite of the evidence of its date of foundation.

EWERBY, PELL'S SCHOOL.—Henry Pell, in 1667, devised a cottage and rent-charge to support a school, which is and has been elementary.

BILLINGBOROUGH, JOHN TOLLER'S SCHOOL.—Founded before 1671 by John Toller. Endowment increased in October of the same year by Mary Toller.

NORTH THORESBY FREE SCHOOL.—Dr. Robert Mapletoft, dean of Ely, devised lands in 1676 for the maintenance of a fit person 'to teach scholars to read and to make them fit for the grammar school.' The income of the fund was by scheme, 21 October, 1890, applied to scholarships and exhibitions.

SOUTH CARLTON, MONSON'S FREE SCHOOL.—John Monson, who had built a free school, left by will of 24 June, 1678, £10 yearly as an endowment. The school is elementary.

GOSBERTON, ROBERT MARJORUM'S FREE SCHOOL.—Owes its origin to the will of Robert Marjorum, 23 February, 1681-2. It is now the Risegate Elementary School.

RAITHBY, LAWFORD'S FREE SCHOOL.—Founded under will (30 December, 1683) of Thomas Lawford.

HORBLING, BROWN'S SCHOOL.—Founded under will (7 February, 1691) of Edward Brown.

QUADRING, COWLEY'S SCHOOL, is an elementary school endowed by deed (11 November, 1701) of Thomas Cowley; Edward Brown, by deed of release (26 March, 1739), providing a schoolhouse. A new school was built in 1804.

BENNINGTON FREE SCHOOL.—Richard Cowell by will (20 February, 1704) devised a house and land for teaching six poor children, and again by will (31 July, 1725) William Porrill endowed a schoolmaster for Bennington and Leverton. The two charities were amalgamated in 1728.

HAGWORTHINGHAM FREE SCHOOL.—The Rev. William Dale, in 1667, bequeathed 10s. yearly 'to the school'; this sum, with another endowment, was afterwards used to support the school built or refounded by the subscriptions of certain inhabitants in 1704, which has received further benefactions and is now elementary under a scheme of 9 August, 1872.

WHAPLODE SCHOOL.—Income derived from endowment devised by Elias Wilson by will (11 November, 1704), now applied to the National School.

SCAWBY FREE SCHOOL.—A public elementary school founded under the will of Richard Nelthorpe (19 February, 1705), who devised divers lands for teaching poor children of Scawby.

OWERSBY SCHOOL.—An elementary school founded under the will (13 August, 1705) of Alexander Wrawly.

MALTBY LE MARSH, MRS. BOLLE'S FREE SCHOOL.²—A public elementary school which owes its origin to the endowment of a farm devised by Mrs. Anne Bolle, spinster, in 1705.

EPWORTH FREE SCHOOL.—Founded by subscriptions from the inhabitants in 1711.

BICKER, COWLEY'S CHARITY SCHOOL.—Founded under the will (20 August, 1711) of Thomas Cowley of Donington.

¹ Authority for the statements in this list and further details will be found in the Reports of the Charity Commissioners and Schools Inquiry Commissioners.

² *Sic in Rep. Char. Com.* xxxii, pt. iv, 587.

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BARDNEY, KITCHING'S FREE SCHOOL.—Founded under the will (10 October, 1711) of Thomas Kitching.

COWBIT FREE SCHOOL.—Founded under the will (25 February, 1712) of Thomas Andrew.

LACEBY, STANFORD'S SCHOOL.—Sarah Stanford, by deed (7 October, 1720) in pursuance of a power given by will (20 June, 1712) of Philip Stanford, directed the building of a school and the endowment of a master and a mistress.

FOLKINGHAM SCHOOL.—Founded by the will (3 August, 1713) of the Rev. Richard Brocklesby. The endowment is now applied to the National School.

KIRKBY-ON-BAIN, BROCKLESBY'S SCHOOL.—An elementary school founded under the will (3 August, 1713) of the Rev. Richard Brocklesby.

TETFORD, RICHARDSON'S SCHOOL.—Edward Richardson by will (proved 16 July, 1714) devised a cottage and 7 acres of land for teaching poor children. The income is now applied partly to the repair of the schoolmaster's house, partly to the church Sunday school.

WIGTOFT, BLISBURY'S SCHOOL.—Founded under the will (17 February, 1714–15) of William Blisbury.

MORTON-CUM-HANTHORPE FREE SCHOOL.—Now called the National School; owed its foundation to Rebekah Leaband, who in 1716 gave land for the education of poor children in Hanthorpe.

GREAT CARLTON FREE SCHOOL.—Now called the National School; founded by Sir Edward Smith by release (20 March, 1716). There was in the original rules a provision that Latin should be taught if the parents desired it.

GREAT PONTON, ARCHER'S SCHOOL.—Founded by deed (27 November, 1717) of William Archer.

BARKSTON, TOWER'S SCHOOL.—Mrs. Celina Towers by deed in 1718 gave land for teaching and apprenticing poor children.

SEDGEBROOKE SCHOOL.—Dame Margaret Thorold, by a release (24 May, 1718) to complete the intention of her husband, Sir John Thorold, conveyed certain property to trustees for educational and other purposes. Out of the income of the trust in 1901 sums of £65 each were paid to the Sedgebrooke and Syston Schools, and £80 to Marston School, and these are also public and elementary.

EAGLE, ONION'S SCHOOL.—Thomas Onion by will in 1719 gave a rent-charge of £5 yearly for teaching six poor children.

RUSKINGTON, HODGSON'S SCHOOL.—Educational endowments given by Lady Anne Hodgson (will 22 April, 1719) and Mrs. Martha Chamberlain before 1709 are now applied to the Ruskington and Rowston Elementary Schools.

EAST KIRKBY, CROFT'S FREE SCHOOL.—This school, founded by a release (16 May, 1719) of Gregory Croft, yeoman, is conducted as a public elementary school under a scheme of 24 March, 1873.

WADDINGTON SCHOOL.—Founded under the will (11 November, 1719) of James Thompson.

ROPSLEY, THOMPSON'S SCHOOL.—James Thompson by will 1719 gave a rent-charge of £6 to teach poor children in a school which he appears to have built in 1717. The present school was built in 1874, and is a National elementary school.

MIDDLE RASEN, WILKINSON'S SCHOOL.—John Wilkinson by will (13 February, 1720) devised estates for educational purposes. The fund thence derived is now under a scheme (9 August, 1872).

LAVINGTON, PARNHAM'S SCHOOL.—Mary Parnham left by will (9 September, 1721) one-third of £300 for elementary education. A school was built by subscription in 1790. It now seems to be merged in the Ingoldsby Council School.

BARTON SCHOOL.—William Long by will (18 February, 1722) left £200 for teaching poor children reading, writing, and arithmetic. Other benefactions by Richard Beck (1728) and Nicholas Fountain (about 1735) followed. The income is now applied in scholarships for Barton children at Hull Grammar School.

ULCEBY SCHOOL.—Thomas Richard devised by will in 1722 messuages and lands for a school, which was in 1847 converted into a National School.

FREISTON FREE SCHOOL.—John Holden by will (25 June, 1723) left 2 acres of land for establishing a charity school; and Benjamin Morfoot by will (21 November, 1727) left land for the schoolmaster.

SIBSEY CHARITY SCHOOL.—This school was founded by the inhabitants in 1723 to teach reading. Additional schools were subsequently opened, and in 1837 there were four schools belonging to the foundation. In 1867 Latin and mathematics were taught. They are now elementary.

FISHTOFT SCHOOL.—Founded and endowed as a charity school prior to 1724.

FLEET FREE SCHOOL.—Founded by Mary Deacon, who gave lands by a release (30 September, 1727).

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WOOTTON SCHOOL.—Endowed by John Faulding by will (30 September, 1727) and later benefactors.

SWINDERBY, DISNEY'S SCHOOL.—Founded by Daniel Disney by codicil (6 April, 1732); now called the National School.

BURTON-COGGLES, SPEIGHT'S SCHOOL.—Founded by John Speight by will (20 July, 1734). The schoolhouse was rebuilt by Sir M. J. Cholmeley, bart., about 1800.

HEMINGBY, LADY DYMOKE'S FREE SCHOOL.—Now the Hemingby Hospital Public Elementary School, owes its foundation and endowment to Mrs. Jane Dymoke by deed of release (16 June, 1736).

MARTIN-IN-TIMBERLAND, KING'S SCHOOL.—Founded by Mary King, who conveyed lands for the purpose by deed (16 March, 1753); is now called the National School.

SURFLEET SCHOOL.—An elementary school founded and endowed by Lady Ann Fraser by deed (13 October, 1764), but closed in 1877.

SPORT ANCIENT AND MODERN

FOX-HUNTING

LINCOLNSHIRE is well provided with packs of foxhounds; except in the north-west, which is given over very largely to the preservation of game, and in the south-east, where the unjumpable drains forbid the chase, very little of the county is unhunted. The territory of the Earl of Yarborough stretches from the Humber to a line drawn from Gainsborough to Louth, and up the canal to the North Sea, while the River Trent forms its western limit. The eastern side of the county is hunted by the Southwold, whose boundaries extend from those of Lord Yarborough's country to an imaginary line drawn from Wainfleet to Billingham and thence northward till the Brocklesby country is reached again. The old Burton country used to extend from Lord Yarborough's boundary to Newark, and so across to meet the Southwold at Billingham; but that portion below an imaginary line drawn across the country just below Lincoln has been hunted by the Blankney since the year 1871. Below the Blankney comes the Belvoir, whose eastern limits extend to the sea, though they practically go no further than the Forty-foot drain, beyond which lie the unhuntable Fens. The Cottesmore hunt the extreme south-westerly corner. In 1904 a small area on the east coast was lent to Mr. W. A. Ewbank, of Fulstow Hall, by the respective masters of the Brocklesby and the Southwold. There are few coverts in Mr. Ewbank's country, but a great many foxes lie out in hedgerows and stick-heaps and provide sport for the marsh farmers. The Marquess of Exeter hunts two days a week in the neighbourhood of Burghley House, Stamford, by permission of the Hon. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam, and has occasional invitation meets in the Cottesmore and Belvoir territories.

THE BROCKLESBY HUNT

The Brocklesby is one of the last of the old family packs to maintain its ancient dignity and traditions. No pack traces its history without dispersal to an earlier date than Lord Yarborough's,

and from the outset to the present day a Pelham has been master. There formerly existed at Brocklesby a record which showed that in 1713 the packs of Mr. Charles Pelham, Mr. Robert Vyner, and Sir John Tyrwhitt were united, and that a year or two later Mr. Pelham assumed sole control. The pack thus established has been in the possession of the Pelham and Anderson families ever since. The hound lists go back to 1746 without a break, and no other pack, with perhaps the exception of the Belvoir, has been so influential in the building up of the modern foxhound. There is reason to believe that Mr. Charles Pelham possessed foxhounds somewhere about 1700, and there was probably a pack in existence many years prior to that date, as the third Sir William Pelham of Brocklesby makes mention of 'horse-flesh for hounds' when referring to the distress in Lincolnshire in a letter to his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Conway, in 1623. Since 1713, the date of the union of the packs mentioned above, there have been but seven masters of the Brocklesby. The first of these, Mr. Charles Pelham, who became sole master soon after 1713, was born in 1679; he was twice married, but had no son, and the family became extinct in the male line. His sister Mary had married Francis Anderson of Manby Hall, and their grandson succeeded to the family estates and the mastership of the hounds on the death of his great-uncle in 1763. He was created Baron Yarborough in 1794. Arthur Young, who was no lover of hounds and hunting, wrote of him: 'Lord Yarborough has a pack of hounds. If he has a fall, I hope it will be into a furze bush. He is too good to hurt.' Lord Yarborough began to plant the vast and beautiful Pillar Woods, but the work was not completed till 1823. Some twelve and a half million trees were planted, as recorded on the monument called Pelham Pillar, a landmark on the wolds visible from any portion of Lord Yarborough's country. Before that time the greater part of the country was unenclosed, there being vast tracts of gorse round Brocklesby. Gradually the land was enclosed and brought to a high state of cultivation;

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the farmers became prosperous, and in many cases made considerable fortunes; the number of smartly turned-out tenant farmers who hunted with the Brocklesby exceeded that in any other country. At one time as many as sixty or seventy farmers followed hounds in scarlet, all beautifully mounted. Though the old type of fox-hunting farmer has disappeared altogether, the occupiers of the land still cordially co-operate with the owner of the pack, and there are no better puppy-walkers or keener fox-preservers than those of North Lincolnshire at the present time. The best runs enjoyed by the hunt are fully described in *The History of the Brocklesby Hounds* by George E. Collins. The first record of a good run is of one from Burnham on 26 October, 1814, hounds eventually marking their fox to ground at Elsham, the second Tom Smith writing in his diary to the effect that he 'never saw a fox so well recovered and hunted in his life.' The first Baron Yarborough lived seven years after handing over the pack to his son in 1816, and the latter, generally known as 'the Commodore' (he was first to hold that position in the Royal Yacht Squadron) was created Baron Worsley and earl of Yarborough in 1837. He died in 1846 on his celebrated yacht the Kestrel in Vigo Bay.

One of the best runs during the first earl's time was from Grainsby Healing on 2 February, 1821, the fox going away first to North Thoresby and then round to Hell Furze, whence he ran back to North Thoresby, travelling thence over the lordships of Ludborough, Fulstow, Covenham, and Yarborough towards Little Grimsby covert. Then he made a point for the sea, but bearing left-handed, was headed when leaving Covenham village on the left. Once more he was headed, and hounds checked; Smith, the huntsman, lifted them to a holloa in the village without success, but a wide cast recovered the line and hounds ran a zigzag course to Covenham Grange, where the huntsman found his horse so exhausted that he bled and left him, going on with a borrowed mount. At Fire Beacon the fox was viewed and headed not five minutes in front of hounds; but it was soon too dark to jump, and at a quarter to six Smith's borrowed horse fell and remained fast in the ditch. He then called to the few remaining members of the field to stop the hounds, who were now twenty-three miles from kennels, having covered over twenty miles of very strongly fenced country.

A memorable run took place on 22 February, 1834, when hounds got on the line of a travelling fox between Redbourne and Waddingham and killed him at Torksey, between 16 and 17 miles as the crow flies. The pack must have made a very straight point, and most of the country must have been unenclosed, as they did it in an hour and forty minutes. As hounds ran it would have been from 19 to 20 miles.

There was a good scent, and hounds carried a beautiful head. The line was over the Roman road by the toll-bar, and with Blyborough on the right nearly to Yawthorpe. Then they crossed the Gainsborough road, and, with Harpswell covert on the left, turned first to the right as if for Tiger Holt, and then to the left, with Willingham on the right, to Normanby. Thence the fox turned left-handed along the brook to Stow village, which he skirted on his left and ran by Stow Park nearly to Ingoldsby. Next came a right-handed turn towards Torksey, another short to the right along the brook, and then over it towards Marton, where the pack, running for blood, caused him to make several very short turns in order to shake them off, his last effort being to turn back through Brampton village to Torksey, where they rolled him over in the open. They killed in the Burton country 29 miles from kennels.

On 3 March, 1838, they brought off a fifty minutes' gallop without a check, and covered at least eleven miles, beating horses all the way. This was from Bradley Wood, the starting-point of so many fine runs. The line was straight across the vale and over the brook, with Irby Holme and Bowlands on the left and Swallow Vale on the right, by Beech Holt to Rothwell; thus far a six-and-a-half-mile point. The pace increased as hounds drew up to their fox, and the field had some difficulty in seeing which way they went as they turned left-handed from Rothwell towards Croxby Pond, bearing still to the left by Cuxwold Asholt and Bowlands to near Irby Holme, where hounds ran from scent to view and killed.

The second earl was master for sixteen years (1846-62). He was known as 'Yarborough the Good,' and at his death his tenants and friends erected, at a cost of over £2,000, the handsome memorial arch at the Kirmington entrance to Brocklesby Park. The third earl was a keen sportsman, and a most popular and generous landlord. During his mastership, 1862-75, with Nimrod Long as huntsman, the hunt ranked second to none in the kingdom. No expense was spared; there was a magnificent pack of hounds, as good in the field as they were handsome on the flags; and never were hunt servants better mounted. The best run during the third earl's mastership was that of 6 March, 1869. The meet was at Stainton Plantations, and proceedings opened with a twenty minutes' run from Stainton to Normanby Dales, where hounds were over-ridden and stopped. Both Claxby Wood and the Plats being tenantless, Usselby Plantations were drawn and provided the run that Nimrod Long considered the best he ever saw. There were only two checks in a run of two hours and five minutes, and hounds ran through fifteen parishes, covering not less than 24 miles. Briefly the line was:—Over the Market Rasen

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and Caistor road to the Osgodby Plantations, left-handed very fast to Middle Rasen, where a sheep-dog coursed the fox and hounds checked ; on, after a little delay, with West Rasen on the right, and Toft and Toft Newton on the left, and Pilford Bridge on the right, over the Ancholme as if for Fen Wood. A turn to the left through the parishes of Normanby, Owmby, and Saxby, and the Ancholme was recrossed with a point for Doglands Covert, before another turn took hounds, with Spridlington village on the right, nearly to Hackthorn Mill. Here a man in a gig turned the fox to the left, and he went on with Welton on the right, towards Dunholme Gorse, and by Cold Hanworth (Spridlington Thorns being close on the left) across the drain towards Faldingworth. Here he was again coursed by a sheep-dog, and turned back to the drain, hounds checking for the second time. However, he succeeded in making his point, and, with Snarford church on the right, the pack hustled him along to Faldingworth Ings, and then, leaving Shaft Wood and Wickenby Wood on the left, they ran straight for Snelland. The fox was again headed beyond the railway, and turned back to Wickenby Wood, and after being driven round the covert for a while he broke as if for Holton. But his bolt was shot, and a valiant effort to reach the covert again failed, for he never got as far as the railway. Long, riding a horse named Monarch, claims to have had the best of it all the way, and as both his whippers-in were beaten forty minutes before the finish, he killed his fox single-handed. Lord Heneage and Mr. Robert Allwood, who afterwards wrote Long letters confirming the above description, and a few others went through the run. Among the noteworthy runs at this period may be mentioned one on 4 February, 1871, of three hours and five minutes, from Wootton Gorse ; two hours and twenty minutes from the New Holland osiers on 7 February 1872 ; an eleven-mile point from Hungerhill to Lambcroft on 20 November, 1874 ; and a fine run of an hour and three-quarters from Chase Hill to Barrow osiers, when Long killed his fox single-handed with eight and a half couples of hounds, the other half having run through Houlton's Covert and Roxton Wood to Newsham. When the third earl died in 1875, the management of the hunt was undertaken by his widow, Victoria, countess of Yarborough, assisted by J. Maunsell Richardson,¹ the heir to the title being then a minor. A subscription was suggested, but the countess preferred to carry on the hunt in accord with the family traditions, at her own charge, till her son came of age. Lady Yarborough was a most brilliant horsewoman, had a thorough knowledge of hunting and all that pertained to it, and while able to hold her own with the boldest

of riders, displayed the greatest skill and tact in controlling her field. In the annals of fox-hunting no one is more worthy of a place beside 'the lady of Hatfield' than the wife of the third earl of Yarborough.

The present earl, who succeeded to the mastership in 1880, is as keen as any of his ancestors, while his tact and courtesy in the field are the admiration of all. Both in work and looks he has fully maintained the great reputation of the pack. During this mastership the hunting days were reduced from four days a week to two, but this arrangement only continued for three seasons 1895-8, and in 1898 the usual practice of hunting four days was resumed.

One of the best runs during his reign was that from Sedge Cop Gorse to Holton Beckering, on 13 February, 1892, an eight-mile point in exactly fifty minutes, ending with a kill in the open. Another fine gallop occurred on 5 March, 1894, when, late in the afternoon, hounds ran from Milner Wood to Cleethorpes sands in an hour and three-quarters, having traversed some 17 or 18 miles. The huntsman and the first whipper-in, Pittaway, and Messrs. J. Maunsell Richardson, T. Kirkby, F. Brooks, F. Hookham, T. Spencer, C. Wilson, T. Sutcliffe, J. Brooks Wood, and the writer were left at the finish. The fastest thing ever seen by Will Dale, huntsman from 1884 to 1896, was an eight-mile point (eleven as hounds ran) on 12 November, 1894, in forty minutes. This was from Kirton Covert to the Trent below Wildsworth. Only Dale and Smith, the first whipper-in, rode right through it ; and when they got to the pack, every hound was up, and they had killed and eaten their fox. This was vouched for by a terrified native, who had climbed into a tree fearful lest a like fate should befall him. Another memorable run was that of two hours and twenty minutes on 4 February, 1886, from Bradley Wood, with a kill. The 24th of January, 1887, saw a glorious half-hour's burst from Chase Hill to Great Coates Stick Heap ; the same day providing a twisting run of two hours twenty minutes from Healing Wells, all over good country with an orthodox kill at Foxhole Close. On 5 February of the same year from Aylesby Mill hounds twice made an eight-mile point. On 25 October, 1899, they killed four brace of foxes in and around Battery Marsh and Reeds Mere.

The 6th of March, 1892, is famous for a four hours' run from Battery Marsh ; the pack was stopped at Rothwell village because the horses could scarcely raise a trot. The 19th of November, 1894, saw a fine run of an hour and forty minutes from Usselby Fish Pond to Neville's Gorse in the Burton country. In 1894-5 a hundred foxes were killed before Christmas, and the season closed with a record of seventy-four brace in a hundred and ten days.

¹ The countess married Mr. Richardson in 1887.

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Lord Willoughby de Broke brought the Warwickshire hounds down for two days' hunting in the Brocklesby country at the end of season 1896, and thanks to a week's rain provided the very best of sport. Among the best performances since may be mentioned a nine-mile point from Drake's Gorse to Rothwell Gorse in fifty minutes, and a six-mile point from Irby Dale to Ravendale, both on 16 March, 1898.

Mr. J. M. Richardson also brought off a fine hunt during Jim Smith's illness, handling the young dog-pack in admirable style from Grasby Bottom to Halton Skitter. The fastest hour and fifty minutes Smith ever saw was from Pelham Pillar on 5 March, 1900. There was but one check from first to last, the fox beating hounds to ground. Only the huntsman and his first whipper-in saw the finish of the run from Normanby Dales to Spridlington on 30 November, 1900, an eleven-mile point in an hour and fifty minutes, all but the last twenty minutes being very fast.

The best thing of the season 1901-2, a very good one, was the great Bradley Wood run on 11 January, 1902. Finding in Scartho Wood hounds ran through Bradley Gears nearly to Waltham, thence close up to the Becklands and below Barnoldby to Welbeck Hill, where the fox was headed on the road; then running nearly a straight point past Laceby Cemetery close up to Aylesby, he turned right-handed nearly to Aylesby Mill, and then to the left skirting Maud Hole, through Drake's Gorse, and over the railway close to Great Coates, pointing for Sutton Thorns. Being headed by a labourer he turned parallel to the railway, and ran to Stallingborough station, where he recrossed the line, and with Stallingborough Mill on the right ran through Healing Wells, Healing Gorse, and Maud Hole to Drake's Gorse. There were several foxes in front of hounds from Healing Wells to Drake's Gorse, where the run practically terminated. It was fully fourteen miles as hounds ran; they had been going exactly an hour and a quarter, and there was never a check from first to last. Jim Smith was always nearest to his hounds, and Miss Darley was the only lady who really rode through the run; others who saw anything of it were Messrs. Percy Wormald, J. Tonge, T. Coates, C. R. Stephen, T. Sutcliffe, and C. Darley. There were two good runs during the season 1902-3, one being from Bradley Wood by way of Laceby village to Healing Gorse and back to Bradley, hounds pulling down a beaten fox in the open, near the village, after a forty minutes' race. This took place on Christmas Eve, and the other was on New Year's Eve. Hounds began by running at moderate pace from Beelsby to Hatcliffe Mill, and then they went as hard as they could for thirty-five minutes, running by Hatcliffe and

Beelsby past Irby Holme, into the vale and over the brook as if for Bradley Wood. Then they turned up past Laceby village to Maud Hole, and were in the same field with the fox as they passed that covert and ran into Drake's Gorse. After a pause there, and a run out over Healing with a fresh one, Jack Bell returned to his post in time to view the beaten fox away, and running from scent to view, hounds rolled him over near Laceby Cottagers Platts, an hour and twenty minutes from first finding. Another fox from Bradley Wood gave a fast fifty minutes to ground, to be bolted and killed after another hard chase close to Waltham village. The season 1903-4 was full of good things, the best without doubt being the Christmas Eve run from Newsham Lodge. After forty minutes' fast galloping round the woodlands, the bitches went away with one of three foxes from the Nurseries, running nearly a straight point to Welbeck Hill, thence a more irregular course over the vale to Bradley Gears, and away to Waltham, where he went to ground in a rabbit hole and was poked out with a stick. Time one hour and forty-seven minutes from finding, and an hour and five minutes from the Nurseries to the kill: eight miles without touching a covert, and a ten-mile point in all, with only two very brief checks, and the pace a cracker throughout. Lord Powis, Messrs. Newman, Stephen, Johnson, Cliff, and Topham, Mrs. Hankey, Lord Yarborough, Captains Buxton and Ponsonby, and Messrs. Webb and Bygott saw the best of it. A twisting run from Bradley to Ludborough on 7 December was the best thing in 1904-5, and very moderate sport marked the beginning of the season 1905-6, though it improved very much after Christmas.

Having regard to the great number of years the Brocklesby Hunt has been in existence there have been very few huntsmen. For nearly a hundred and fifty years the horn descended from father to son in the Smith family. The Smiths were tenants on the estate before the first Tom Smith took service and began the connexion of the family with the hunt. The precise date at which he began to carry the horn is doubtful, but it is probable that he did so at the time Mr. Pelham assumed sole control of the united packs, or soon afterwards. He resigned in 1761.

In the famous picture of the first and second Tom Smiths and the hound Wonder, which was painted by Geo. Stubbs, R.A., in 1776, and hangs at Brocklesby, he appears to be about fourscore years of age. At that time he had surrendered office to his son, who was whipper-in and huntsman for fifty-nine years, and occupied the latter post from 1761 till 1816, when he retired in favour of his son, Will Smith. Little is known of the first Tom Smith. His portrait on horseback is that of an ideal old-time huntsman with a cheery red face and white

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curly hair. The first Lord Yarborough considered him a very fine horseman, but the first Will Smith always said his own father was the better of the two. In Stubbs's picture the old man is seated on his favourite horse, Gigg, while his son is on Brilliant, a thoroughbred bought of the Duke of Grafton to carry Mrs. Pelham. The hound Wonder was bred in 1770. The second Tom Smith was but fourteen years of age when he began to whip-in to his father, and at seventy-two he was hard to beat over a country. When, on Lord Yarborough's resignation as master in 1816, he also retired, he was presented with a silver cup, on which was inscribed :—

The gift of Lord Yarborough to his huntsman, Mr. Thomas Smith, after having been more than fifty years in his service, as an acknowledgement of the indefatigable and unremitting attention to the business of his vocation, which may be recommended for a pattern to those who succeed him, and can never be surpassed, 1816.

Hound-breeding was the hobby of the second Tom Smith, and during his service at Brocklesby the pack secured a reputation second to none in the kingdom. Most of the great hound men of the day went to Brocklesby for crosses of the blood of the many celebrated hounds bred by him. Of these Ranter, of 1790, was the most noted. The earliest hunting diary in existence is in the handwriting of the first Will Smith; it gives an account of the season 1814-5, the last but one during which his father carried the horn. For twenty-nine years (1816-45) Will Smith was huntsman at Brocklesby, and he died in harness, sustaining fatal injuries in a fall over a simple fence at Barnoldby. He had the most perfect hands, and no horse was ever known to pull with him, while as a hound-breeder he easily held the foremost position among the huntsmen of his time. It was the mutual admiration which Smith of Brocklesby and Goosey of Belvoir had for each other's pack that raised their kennels to be the two best in England. Will Smith was a man of superior education, of gentlemanly manners, a first-rate sportsman, and a fine judge of hounds. An obelisk was erected to his memory at Barnoldby le Beck, on the spot where his fatal accident took place. There are few records of the second Will Smith (1845-56) and the third Tom Smith (1856-62). Philip Toccock (1862-3) was the first to break the long succession of Smiths. He came from the Surrey Union, and for many years was whipper-in at Brocklesby, in which capacity he was more successful than as a huntsman. He was followed by the second Will Smith, who served again for but one season, 1863-4. The pack had fallen off somewhat in looks and reputation when Nimrod Long was appointed huntsman in 1864, but he soon restored it. Those were, indeed, the brightest and happiest days of fox-hunting;

no expense was spared, the hounds always held their own at the Yorkshire hound-shows; the stallion hounds were in the greatest request, and no pack showed better sport in the field. Nimrod was the son of the Duke of Beaufort's famous huntsman, old Will Long, and before coming to Brocklesby he had had much experience with the Essex Union, then under the mastership of Mr. D. R. Scratton; he was a bold and fearless horseman and a fine judge of hounds. During his thirteen seasons at Brocklesby he killed 1,026 foxes in 1,322 days. When Nimrod Long first carried the horn Tom Smith, the last of the Smiths to take service at Brocklesby, and now huntsman to the Bramham Moor, was his second whipper-in. After he left, the pack again fell somewhat from its high estate, till Will Dale became huntsman in 1884, and restored it to its place in the foxhound world. The very best of sport marked Dale's career (1884-96) at Brocklesby; frequent successes were gained at Peterborough, while there was the greatest demand for Brocklesby blood from all over the kingdom. Dale was a splendid horseman; he carried the Brocklesby horn twelve seasons, hunting 1,282 days and killing 1,351 foxes, a wonderful record when the high quality of the sport is taken into consideration. Jim Smith, who succeeded Dale in 1896, had been whipping-in at Brocklesby for several years; he was no relation to the old Brocklesby Smiths, and did not come of a fox-hunting family; but he has been a great success, and has once again built up the dog-pack, which was sold to Lord Lonsdale in 1895.

It was in 1898, as already said, that Lord Yarborough resumed hunting four days a week with two packs of hounds. Good-looking and extremely uniform in size, make, and colour, the chief characteristics of the kennel, as recognized by other huntsmen, are nose and tongue, drive and close hunting qualities, stoutness and boldness. Mr. Robert Vyner, in *Notitia Venatica*, published in 1849, testifies to the important part that the Brocklesby has played in foxhound history. 'Hound-breeding,' he says, 'was at that period as scientifically pursued as sheep-breeding, and the successful perseverance of Mr. Meynell and the first Lord Yarborough will ever be deserving of the warmest gratitude from all true sportsmen, lighting up as they did what might justly be termed the dawn of science in the chase.' Elsewhere he remarks: 'The original stocks, from which the most fashionable sorts are descended, are from the pack of the Earl of Yarborough (the family of Pelham having possessed hounds of the same breed for nearly two centuries).' The hound lists have been published.¹ The duke of Richmond's Ringwood was used in 1746 and two following years, after which, with the exception of an occasional dash

¹ *The Brocklesby Hound Lists* (1746-1903). By Geo. E. Collins. (Horace Cox.)

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of Grafton blood, nothing but home-bred sires were used for many years. The first hound of note was Rattler, bred in 1752. Mr. Noel's Cottesmore blood was introduced through Tippler in 1754, and the first mention of Belvoir blood occurs in 1756, when Lord Granby's Dexter was responsible for two strong litters. Distemper first broke out in the Brocklesby kennels in 1764, when it carried off thirteen couples. The malady is supposed to have come from Russia. Mr. Meynell's Ruler, who sired several litters in 1768, was the first to introduce that famous blood. The first introduction of Milton blood came with Lord Fitzwilliam's Boxer in 1776. The great Ringwood of 1788, who combines the blood of Mr. Meynell's Grappler and Glider with that of Mr. Noel's Collier, was by Neptune from Vestal. His portrait, painted by Stubbs in 1792, is in the possession of the Earl of Yarborough. Redrose, sister to Ringwood, was the dam of Ranter (1790), who was largely used in Lord Monson's kennels and elsewhere, and proved a wonderful sire at Brocklesby till twelve years of age. Lord Monson's, Lord Fitzwilliam's, Mr. Meynell's, Sir W. Lowther's, and the Duke of Grafton's were the chief strains from outside packs till 1797, when Mr. Foljambe's blood was introduced for the first time, and practically none but these kennels were visited till the dawn of the nineteenth century. Mr. Osbaldeston's name first appears in the Kennel List in 1809, as owner of a sire called Wonder. Mr. Robert Vyner remarks in *Notitia Venatica* that there was a lot of Brocklesby blood in Mr. Osbaldeston's pack.

Will Smith dipped much more freely into Belvoir blood than his predecessors; and one of the most valuable strains in the Brocklesby pack came with Mr. Osbaldeston's Furrier (1820), who was given to Lord Yarborough in 1829. He was bred at Belvoir, and was by Saladin from Fallacy, a descendant of Lord Yarborough's Doxey, and was drafted on account of his crooked legs. He stood twenty-four inches. The two great hounds associated with the first Will Smith were Ranter of 1842, by Prodigal from Rosebud, and Rallywood of 1843, by Basilisk from the same dam. Will Smith thought a very great deal of the former, and almost his last words on his deathbed at Barnoldby were to enjoin the use of 'Ranter or his blood.' All the best strains in the Brocklesby pack go back to Ranter and Rallywood, and some of the best blood in the Duke of Rutland's, the Duke of Beaufort's, Lord Fitzhardinge's, and Lord Galway's packs may also be traced back to these two hounds. Rallywood was perhaps the most famous hound ever bred. His dam Rosebud was worked till she was ten years old, and never did wrong in her life. 'The Druid' said that Rallywood virtually made the fame of the Belvoir. He went there when nine years old, and fifty-three

couples of his puppies were sent out to walk in the second season.

Nimrod Long was a great believer in Belvoir blood, and used it freely. Belvoir Senator (1861) did much good in the kennel. The Rev. Cecil Legard classed Ambrose (a son of Belvoir Senator) with Belvoir Gambler and Dexter as the three best sires in his experience. Lord Coventry's Rambler (1873) and Belvoir Weathergaze (1876) also made their mark in the Brocklesby kennels. The mating of Milton Solomon (1881) with Winifred (1881) resulted in a grand litter of working hounds, two of whom, Smoker and Spangle (1887), won at Peterborough. Belvoir Grappler (1885) was the sire of Acrobat (1890), and Lord Galway's Harkaway (1885) of Harlequin (1890), two of the most famous hounds bred by Will Dale, while Streamer (1891), by Smoker (1887), was another. Will Dale used Lord Willoughby de Broke's Wildboy (1889) with success, and Warwickshire sires were chiefly requisitioned by Jim Smith when he took service in 1896, Acrobat and Harlequin, both put forward in 1890, and Random (1898) being the home-bred dogs most in favour. Belvoir Dexter (1895) and Stormer (1899) have been the most successful of the sires from other kennels in recent years, but Smith has chiefly relied on hounds of his own breeding. Among these Wrangler (1899) stands pre-eminent.

The first Lord Yarborough hunted the whole of the present Brocklesby and Southwold countries, part of the Burton and part of North Nottinghamshire. He used to visit both these latter districts for a month at a time to hunt the woodlands. The country now extends some fifty-five miles from east to west, and forty-five miles from north to south. It varies considerably; pasture, marshes and open drains being found near the Humber and the North Sea, while farther inland, running up to the foot of the Wolds, is a fine-scenting arable country, strongly fenced and widely ditched, requiring a bold horse and a bold rider to negotiate it. The woodlands extend round Brocklesby, nearly in the centre of the hunt, and it is only here and in the marshes that there is any extent of grass. The Wolds, with their big fields and trim plashed fences, require a stout galloping horse; and a bold jumper, one that extends himself at the wide ditches, is necessary for the low country. Wire is on the increase, but arrangements are made to take most of it down when the stock comes up into the yards. With the increase of non-hunting tenants, more difficulty is experienced in procuring the removal of wire than was formerly the case. Grimsby, Caistor, and Brigg are the best centres to hunt from, and many of the meets can be reached from Louth. There is no subscription, and capping is not practised; but subscriptions to the wire fund are expected from others than farmers and covert owners. The pack, which averages fifty couples, is kennelled at Brocklesby Park. The days of

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meeting are Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday.

The Brocklesby country has always been rich in good sportsmen and famous riders to hounds; the farmers are generally friendly to the chase, though compared with the past but few take active part in it. Mr. Thomas Brooks ('Old Tom Brooks of Croxby') was one of the best horsemen of his day; it was he who rode the famous steeplechase against Mr. Field Nicholson on 30 March, 1821. He was a fine judge of hunter or thoroughbred. He and Mr. Nicholson used to pay periodical visits to Melton, stopping at the 'George.' Another celebrity at the beginning of the nineteenth century was Captain John Henry Skipworth, one of the best men to hounds and best steeplechase riders of the day and a crack shot. He saw service in the Portuguese and Spanish Wars of Succession as a cavalry officer, and on one occasion fought a duel for the honour of his regiment.

In the old days most of the clergy were hunting men. The Rev. G. Uppleby of Barrow, the Rev. J. Allington of Croxby, and the Rev. G. Robinson of Irby were all good men to hounds. The Rev. Charles Cary Barnard, vicar of Bigby, was a very prominent member of the hunt between 1853 and 1870, and the Rev. Cecil Legard, vicar of Healing for ten years, was also very difficult to beat over a country; Mr. Legard is widely known as compiler of the Foxhound Kennel Stud Book till 1905. Colonel Tufnell, of Horkstow Hall, was another hard rider during the second quarter of the nineteenth century; he died on 18 March, 1838, having been at the Hunt Steeple Race on the 13th. Mr. C. Coates of Great Coates, who won the Hunt Steeple Race on Cannon Ball in 1836, and was at one time a great man to hounds, died two days before Colonel Tufnell. Messrs. Philip Skipworth of Aylesby and C. Uppleby of Barrow Hall, the always beautifully groomed 'Kit' Robson of Wyham, and J. Thistlewood of Lambcroft, were great fox-hunters about that time. The last-named, who was always beautifully mounted, was a very hard rider, but rather given to pressing hounds. The Nainby family of Barnoldby were always great sportsmen; perhaps the most notable was Mr. Charles Manby Nainby, who died in 1890 in his eighty-fourth year. A famous agriculturist, who farmed his own estate, a fine horseman, and a lover of every kind of field sport, there was no better representative of the British yeoman.

The late Sir John Astley was more partial to silk than scarlet, but he was a good fox-preserver and friend of hunting, a remark equally applicable to his son, the present baronet, Sir F. E. Astley-Corbett. Sir John's father-in-law, Squire Corbett, was a great fox-hunter, albeit somewhat short-sighted, and 'a bit of a character.' Other good men in the fifties and sixties were Messrs. G. Skipworth of Thorganby Hall, J. King of

North Ormsby, and Theophilus Harneise of Hawerby Hall. Mr. William Philipson of Bradley was fond of riding young horses, which were frequently very unfit, and invariably gave him a fall sooner or later. An inseparable trio in the sixties and seventies were Messrs E. Dowson of Wootton, W. Wright of Wold Newton, and F. E. Epworth of Great Coates, the wits of the hunt.

Messrs. W. Richardson, G. Nelson, and G. Marris ('the little man'), all of Limber, W. M. Casswell of North Ormsby, and J. Swallow of Horkstow, were distinguished members of the hunt at about the same period. The brothers Robert and George Walker were two of the most famous horsemen of their time, and had few if any superiors over a steeplechase course. Mr. J. Maunsell Richardson of Healing Manor was connected with the Brocklesby Hunt from his boyhood, and remained one of its shining lights till he left to reside in Rutlandshire in 1902. His great knowledge of fox-hunting and hound-breeding has been of the greatest assistance to the Brocklesby pack, while both Mr. E. P. Rawnsley and the late Lord Willoughby de Broke were greatly assisted by his advice in building up their packs. Mr. Richardson hunted the dog-hounds from 1882 to 1885, and was ever ready to carry the horn when accident or illness kept the huntsman out of the saddle. He was one of the best gentlemen riders that ever donned silk, and rode the winner of the Grand National Steeplechase in 1873 and 1874.

Messrs. H. Brooks of Keelby Grange, Neil Macvicar of Limber Hill, and G. E. Davy of Thoresway, were first fighters during the latter part of the past century, and both won innumerable races between the flags. The Marquess and Marchioness of Waterford, the present Earl of Minto, and Mr. Ernest Beltazzi were regular visitors during the sixties and seventies. Of the covert owners, Mr. R. N. Sutton-Nelthorpe of Scawby Hall (a very hard man to hounds in his day) owns the famous Bradley Wood, one of the best fox-coverts in England; while Mr. E. G. Pretymann of Riby Hall, one of the best welter weights in the hunt, owns some of the surest finds. Mr. W. Tyrwhitt Drake of Shardiloes, Mr. W. M. Wright of Wold Newton, Mr. T. Hewitt of Weelsby Hall, and Mr. Caton Haigh, are owners of important coverts, and no one loves fox-hunting more than the last-named, although he prefers to follow on foot.

THE BURTON HUNT

Though it is not possible to specify the actual date when the Burton Hunt was originally organized, there is sufficient documentary evidence amongst the family letters at Burton Hall to prove that the first Lord Monson had a pack of hounds in the old kennels at Burton in the year 1731, and that from that date these

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hounds were regularly hunted for nearly eighty years by the Monson family. Unfortunately no great care seems to have been taken to preserve the early records of the hunt. A cursory examination of the papers, however, has disclosed some points of interest. The huntsman from 1732 to 1735 (and possibly later) was Robin Cave, who was assisted by two whippers-in. In 1758 the huntsman's duties were fulfilled by one Penney, who was evidently a well-known character, as witness the following verse from an old hunting-song :

In seventeen hundred and sixty and three,
The third of December I think we agree,
At eight in the morning by most of the clocks
We rode out of Lincoln in search of a fox.
There was jolly Ned Wills and Hobart so keen,
And Lawrence in scarlet with capes (*sic*) that
were green,
With Penney and Raley, those huntsmen so stout,
Lords Bertie and Monson, and so we set out.

It would appear from the family letters that the best sport was obtained on 'the heath.' This heath, as will be seen from the old maps, included all the land on the cliff north of Lincoln to Kirton, and south as far as Corby. All the northern portion was enclosed by the end of the eighteenth century, but that to the south of the city, especially the areas nearest to it, remained open heath¹ until a later date.

The second Lord Monson appears to have been far more assiduous in his duties as master than his father, whom he succeeded in 1748. Indeed, his mother, Margaret Lady Monson, complains in a letter that 'he spends too much of his time hunting with his hounds down in Lincolnshire.' It was this Lord Monson who added to Burton Hall in 1769, mainly with the view of increasing the accommodation for his hunt breakfasts. The hounds were then removed to kennels at a greater distance from the house, and they occupied this new site until transferred at the special request of the sixth Lord Monson from Burton to Reepham by Lord Henry Bentinck between the years 1842 and 1845. From the time of the construction of the new kennels in 1771 until 1810 better care was taken of the hunt records. For this we are possibly indebted to that most capable huntsman John Evens,² who had charge of the pack during most of this period. Very fairly complete annual lists and pedigrees of hounds are still extant. Perusal of the history of the Brocklesby Hunt will show that the Burton blood was much sought at this time by the Brocklesby, Belvoir, and other celebrated hunts. To give an idea of the sport

¹ It was upon the heath to the immediate south of Lincoln that the Lincoln races were annually held for over fifty years, until transferred to the present race-course in 1771.

² The grandfather of the well-known breeder of Lincoln Reds, Mr. John Evens, who is still a tenant on the Burton estate.

enjoyed we may well quote here from one of the many old MS. note books. We read that : 'For the seven years from 1781 to 1788 377 foxes were killed.' In November 1809 the fourth Lord Monson died, leaving as his heir a son nine months old. There were in the kennels at this time 47 couples of hounds. It is probable that the prospect of so long a minority brought about the sale of the pack, for shortly afterwards, in 1810, it passed into possession of Mr. Osbaldeston. The stud in the stables was also disposed of. The sale took place on 13 January, 1810, and the 35 horses realized £3,821 6s. Although from this time the mastership of the hunt passed from the Monson family, their interest in it cannot be said to have ceased. When, in 1816, Mr. Walker desired to return to the mastership, the following clause was inserted in the agreement between him and Lady Monson :

If desired by Lady Monson Mr. Walker can be accommodated with walks for sixty (60) young hounds, and it is presumed that Mr. Walker will have no objection to the hunt being styled the Burton Hunt, and all notices of the days of hunting headed with this title.

This rule has been adhered to up to the present day, and the first meet of the season is invariably held at Burton Hall.

Mr. George Osbaldeston, who appears to have held for a brief period the mastership of the South Notts before he came to Lincolnshire, may be said to have served his real apprenticeship as a master of hounds in the Burton country; he resided at the Palace, Lincoln, where he kept up a large establishment. He showed excellent sport, hunting five days a week; once, when for five weeks he took the pack to the Wragby Woodlands, he had hounds out six days a week. So well educated were the foxes that he laid a wager with a friend that two or three would face the open directly they heard his voice. The friend took up his position, the squire went into covert and began to cheer an imaginary pack of hounds, when out bounced several foxes at different points, and he won his bet. He was assisted in hunting hounds by his friend Mr. John White. In after years he bought many hunters out of the Burton country, and the little 14.3 mare which he bought in the hunting-field after seeing her jump a big place at the end of a run, he offered to run against anything in England over four miles of country, for a thousand a side. James Wilson, who had been second whipper-in to Evens, remained as first whipper-in to Mr. Osbaldeston, who hunted the pack himself, his second whipper-in being Tom Sebright, who came from Carter, Sir Mark Sykes's huntsman, with the character of a capital horseman, and very honest, but stupid. Under Mr. Osbaldeston this 'stupidity' was soon transformed into very superior talent. Mr. Osbaldeston

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held office until 1813, when he resigned, receiving from the hunt a silver salver in token of appreciation. He always retained his regard for the blood of the Monson kennel. The 'Squire' was succeeded by the Mr. Walker already referred to. This gentleman only remained one season, in 1814 giving place to Mr. G. S. Foljambe, who in 1816 was succeeded by Mr. Assheton Smith. This famous hunting man brought with him a good many followers from the Quorn. The eight seasons he spent at Burton were marked by the best of fox-hunting, but the friends who had followed him from Leicestershire dropped away one by one to return to their old haunts, until at last Sir Harry Goodricke and Captain Baird only remained. Possibly they did not appreciate the east-country dykes. On one occasion Mr. Smith found near the kennels a fox which went away over a dyke called the Lilla. The pack and master followed, but fourteen Meltonians got a ducking, and not one of the field got over safely. Mr. Smith once jumped from a narrow bridge over the Fosdyke on to one parallel to it, because a high gate on the former was locked, and the one on the other was open. While at Burton he bought some of 'John Warde's jackasses,' very big hounds, with the nose of beagles, but no pace. Mr. Smith had at various times some of the most skilful hunt servants in England; among them Jack Shirley (who had been huntsman to Lord Sefton), Dick Burton, Joe Harrison, and Tom Wingfield. 'Jack Shirley,' says Dick Christian (*Silk and Scarlet*), 'was one of Mr. Meynell's whips; he was an *owdacious* fellow, big and stout, with a rough voice.' Mr. C. J. Apperley (*Nimrod*) says he was a fine rider over a country, and that his nerve and pluck were wonderful. He used to ride young horses at 10s. a day when he whipped-in for Mr. Smith; permission to do this was always granted provided they did not kick hounds. Tom Wingfield was very good in his casts. He had been with Mr. Meynell, and Joe Harrison had hunted the Quorn for Lord Foley. Mr. Smith hunted six days a week, and took no subscription. He rode as hard in Lincolnshire as ever he did with the Quorn, his object being always to get into the next field, with or without a fall.

Sir Richard Sutton succeeded Mr. Assheton Smith in 1824, buying the hounds and keeping on the huntsman, Jack Shirley. Shirley continued to hunt the hounds for one season, after which the new master carried the horn himself, save for a season when he was incapacitated by a broken thigh. Sir Richard's term of mastership lasted until 1842, when he left to take the Quorn. His resignation threatened a great blow to sport in the Burton country, but a new master was found in Lord Henry Bentinck, whose acceptance of office was felt to be a high compliment in view of the fact that he had at the time the option of taking the Quorn.

Lord Henry Bentinck's reign, 1842 to 1862, was a most brilliant one. As already stated, the new master early in his career transferred the hounds to new kennels at Reepham, where there were also built a covered ride and a Turkish bath capable of receiving eight horses at a time. Lord Henry hunted six days a week, and to meet his requirements he had sometimes one hundred couples of hounds on the benches and a hundred horses in the stables. He would sometimes have two packs out on the same day. He was particular to the last degree about the horses he rode; he bid £1,500 for The Colonel, winner of the Grand National, to ride as a hunter; he also gave £600 for a horse called Shropshire, and allowed the former owner £100 a year as long as he rode him. He was a fine horseman and a good huntsman, but did not often carry the horn himself, though no one better understood and appreciated hound work. He never allowed hounds to be interfered with, and any huntsman who tried lifting them was speedily discharged; indeed, he seldom kept one more than two seasons. He always made it a great point that every hound should get away from covert with the fox, and always kept well away from them until they had been some minutes at check. Lord Henry had a great opinion of Mr. Foljambe as a fox-hunter, and thought highly of his hounds, using the blood freely. He considered Mr. Foljambe, Mr. Musters, and Will Goodall the three great hound-men of the day. Lord Henry Bentinck's stallion hounds soon became famous; and Contest, Tomboy, Comus, and others were in great demand by the leading kennels. His pack was originally purchased from Lord Ducie, who hunted the V.W.H. country, but thirty couples more were secured at Mr. G. S. Foljambe's sale. The Belvoir, Brocklesby, and Grove, and occasionally Sir Richard Sutton's, were Lord Henry's favourite kennels. Two years after he gave up the Burton he sold his pack for £3,500. Dick Burton was huntsman from 1843 to 1849; his master held him the best hand at entering young hounds he ever saw. Lord Henry was a very difficult master to please. He greatly disliked seeing a whipper-in turn his head when watching a ride, affirming that no man could watch one properly who did so. He dismissed one man because he turned his head seven times in five minutes. The Burton country and hounds gained much in prestige during Lord Henry's mastership. In 1862 he retired, lending his splendid pack to his successor, Viscount Doneraile. Lord Doneraile resigned in 1865, making way for Mr. Henry Chaplin, who in 1864 had purchased the pack from Lord Henry Bentinck. Mr. Chaplin agreed to hunt the country as it had been hunted heretofore; and he continued to do so until 1871, when he found himself unable to reconcile the duties of a member of Parliament with those of a master of

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hounds hunting six days a week. Unwilling entirely to sever his connexion with the hunt, he made an arrangement under which the country was divided, and with this division the 'Old Burton' hunt passed into history. Mr. Chaplin retained the southern portion under the name of the Blankney (q.v.), and the northern half of the country, known since 1871 as the Burton, passed under the rule of Mr. F. J. S. Foljambe, son of the master of the Grove, who had as his huntsman Will Dale. Mr. Foljambe soon got together an excellent pack of hounds, bred chiefly from the Grove strains, and he hunted his country four days a week, and showed admirable sport until he retired in 1880. He was followed by Mr. W. R. Erskine Wemyss, who in his turn gave way (1882) to Mr. C. P. Shrubbs. Mr. Shrubbs held office till 1885, when Mr. Wemyss had another turn of mastership, but with a somewhat reduced country, a portion having been lent to Mr. G. Jarvis. Both Mr. Wemyss and Mr. Jarvis retired in 1888, and Mr. Thomas Wilson took over the Burton country in its entirety. He laid the foundation of his pack by purchasing Mr. Jarvis's hounds, which boasted many of the best strains of blood, the Old Burton being strongly in evidence. Mr. Wilson, who carries the horn himself, has continued to breed on these lines ever since, going back to Old Burton blood whenever possible, and breeding only from the best working bitches and best working sires. For outside crosses of blood he has turned to the Belvoir, the Brocklesby, Lord Galway's, and the Southwold. Purchasing the estate at Riseholme, he there built new kennels, after Lord Herries's plan, with accommodation for eighty couples of hounds. There are plenty of puppy walks. He has a splendid stud of well-bred horses, and to encourage hunter-breeding in his country he gives the mares to the farmers when their hunting days are over, stipulating that he is to have first refusal of the foals.

The boundaries of the hunt were as follows : From Gainsborough on the north, by way of Springthorpe, Willoughton, Snitterby, Bishops Norton, Glenthams, Toft Newton, West Rasen, and Lissington, to Hainton, on the Brocklesby borders ; and southward from Hainton, with the Southwold for neighbour, by way of Sturton, Baumber, Hemingby, Waddingworth, and Southry, to Billingham. The Belvoir boundary on the south was by way of Bloxholme, Stragglethorpe, and Barnby in the Willows to Newark. The Trent, from Gainsborough to Newark, was its western boundary. But the Blankney now hunt as far south as Sleaford, the rest of the boundary being much the same as in Lord Henry's time. A line from Kettlethorpe to Lincoln, and thence to the Southwold border, may be said to mark the division of the Burton and Blankney countries as at present. The present Burton country is some 22 miles in

extent from east to west, and 16 from north to south. It is a ditch country, for the most part plough, but carrying a rare scent, and with every variety of fence. There are a few big woodlands, the Wragby Woods being the largest.

Sidney Dale (son of Mr. Foljambe's old huntsman, Will Dale, afterwards with Lord Yarborough and the Duke of Beaufort) is first whipper-in ; he hunts hounds in the master's absence.

The Burton Hunt point-to-point meeting, after having lapsed for about fifteen years, was re-established in 1901. The course is at Walesby, over part of the old Market Rasen steeplechase course. In 1901 the programme consisted of a members' race for a cup given by Mrs. Wilson, wife of the master, and a farmers' race for £20. The second year an open race was added, and the next included a yeomanry race for a cup given by Mr. E. Larken. In 1905 the events were the farmers' race, won by Mr. J. G. Nicholson's Stella ; the open race, won by Mr. J. D. White's Noble Bentinck ; Mrs. Wilson's cup, won by Mr. W. E. Cartwright's Patience ; Try Again open race, won by Mr. E. Davy's Dogger Bank. Also a sporting match of £5 a side between Mr. J. H. Bainton's Saxon and Mr. E. Larken's Bristles, owners up, 14 st. each ; two miles. The race was run in twenty minutes, and the competitors between them took nine falls, Bristles winning alone. The course at Walesby has four 'made' fences, the others being natural. In 1906 the venue of the Burton Hunt Steeplechases was moved to a new course at Burton, three miles from Lincoln.

THE BLANKNEY HUNT

The Blankney Hunt dates from the year 1871, when the Old Burton territory was divided. Its boundaries extend from Lincoln to Leadenham, some eleven miles from north to south, and from Newark to Sleaford, about twenty miles from west to east. Kettlethorpe is the most northerly meet, Skellingthorpe and Hartsholme Hall being nearest to Lincoln ; North Clifton, Besthorpe, Collingham, and Coddington Hall the most westerly ; Gautby is on the extreme north-east ; Barnby Manor, Sleaford, and Asgarby are on the south ; while Haverholme, Digby, and Kirkby Green are fixtures on the east. The Burton hounds hunt the country on the north ; the Rufford and Lord Galway's on the west ; the Belvoir on the south ; and the Southwold on the east. When the Blankney country was created for the reasons given on a previous page, Mr. Henry Chaplin built the existing kennels at his country seat, Blankney Hall, and a committee was formed with Colonel Edward Chaplin as master. That gentleman continued in office till 1877, when Mr. Chaplin took the reins and continued

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to hunt the country four days a week till 1881, when on the death of his wife he retired from the active duties of the office. The Blankney hunt owes its foundation to Mr. Henry Chaplin. He was one of the finest welter weights of his time, a famous hound-breeder, and most popular with the farmers. Henry Dawkins, who had turned hounds for Charles Hawtin during Mr. Chaplin's mastership of the Old Burton, had become huntsman when the division took place, and showed much sport in the new country, having Charles Boxall as first whipper-in. Mr. Henry Chaplin, remaining nominally master, in 1881 made over the responsibilities of office to a committee, with Major Tempest as acting master. The northern portion of the country, as far as the Newark road, was under the new management lent to Mr. Jarvis of Doddington Hall, who hunted it with his own hounds. Major Tempest, who brought with him a high reputation as a sportsman, hunted the country from Coleby Hall for fourteen years (1881-1895), with the exception of the first two months of the season 1885-6, when Lord Lonsdale took his place, bringing with him a fine pack of hounds from the Woodland Pytchley country. Lord Lonsdale's brief connexion with the Blankney deserves mention for the fact that he also brought with him Ben Capell, who remained on as huntsman when Major Tempest resumed office in 1886 and continued in the service of the hunt till 1896. During the later years of Major Tempest's mastership, 1891-1895, the northern portion of the Blankney country, which had been formerly lent to Mr. Jarvis, was hunted by the Burton under Mr. T. Wilson. This area was resumed by the Blankney when Mr. N. C. Cockburn succeeded Major Tempest in 1895.

In 1896 Mr. Cockburn purchased the hounds from the country. Capell in that year left to take service under Sir Gilbert Greenall at Belvoir, and his place was taken by the present huntsman, George Shepherd, who had been turning hounds to Mr. E. P. Rawnsley for fifteen seasons with the Southwold and had learnt his business under that most able amateur huntsman. Mr. Cockburn's term of office was a most successful one; he planted new fox coverts and rented shootings in order to preserve foxes. In 1902 he was joined by Lord Londesborough, who had purchased Blankney Hall; and after two seasons of joint responsibility the masters retired (1904) in favour of Mr. Edgar Lubbock, brother of Lord Avebury, who purchased the pack from Mr. Cockburn on taking office, and showed capital sport during his first season; a fine run on 19 November from Wellingore Gorse to ground near Bloxholm, an hour and three-quarters, being the best. Another good gallop came off on 17 December, an hour and five minutes from Welbourn Low Fields. Arrangements have recently been made by

which Lord Charles Bentinck should take over the hounds from Mr. Lubbock and join that gentleman in the mastership.

The Blankney is a purely agricultural hunt; the holdings are large and the farmers men who have been bred and born to fox-hunting. It is for the most part a ditch country, but there are walls in places. There is light plough on the heath and the vale is mostly grass, there being very little woodland, the largest tracts being Stapleford and Haverholme. Lincoln and Sleaford, respectively on the Burton and Belvoir borders, and Newark, from which the Belvoir, Rufford, and Lord Harrington's may also be reached, are the best centres.

Among the hounds brought by Lord Lonsdale was Villager, a most valuable sire. Mr. Chaplin had used Lord Doneraile's blood, also that of the Grove and Milton, with good results. Belvoir sires, among them Rubicon, Senator, and Gambler, made their mark in the kennel, and Brocklesby blood has also been regularly used. The Blankney bitches, which were bought from Mr. Chaplin by Lord Lonsdale, were sold by him in 1887, and for the first few years of Major Tempest's second mastership the entries were largely made up of drafts from other kennels. Belvoir and Brocklesby then began to contribute once more. Shepherd has depended principally on the Belvoir for sires, but two of his own breeding, Ambrose (1898) by Belvoir Falcon (1893) and Cromer (1899) by Belvoir Dexter (1895), have done no little good in the kennel. At the Peterborough Show of 1894 the Blankney representatives were among the prize-winners.

The Blankney Hunt started a point-to-point race meeting in 1886 with two events, one for gentlemen and the other for the farmers of the hunt. The first meeting was run over a course by Coleby, and again in 1894. In 1895-6-7 the course was at Welbourn. Major Tempest, a distinguished Lincolnshire horseman, and at one time master of the hunt, on four occasions rode in the Grand National, twice getting second; his finest performance being on Captain Ball's Hall Court in 1869, The Colonel's first year. In 1873 he rode Pickles to victory in the Grand National Hunt Steeplechase. There were Blankney point-to-point meetings in 1889, 1899, and 1902 at Brant Broughton. The last meeting was held in 1903 at Scopwick.

THE SOUTHWOLD HUNT

In no part of the county are its sporting traditions better maintained than in the Southwold Hunt, and nowhere does the field include more tenant farmers. Agricultural depression has laid its hand less heavily on the Southwold country than elsewhere in the county. Some of the farms are thousands of acres in

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extent. The country extends some thirty miles from north to south, and twenty-four from east to west. The Brocklesby is its immediate northern neighbour; the Burton and Blankney adjoin on the west; to the south—really Belvoir territory—the country is not hunted; and the North Sea forms the eastern boundary. The earliest records show that the Brocklesby used to hunt it for two months in the year, from kennels at Ketsby, till 1795; and for the next five years some trencher-fed harriers hunted fox or hare impartially. Then for two years, 1820–2, Mr. Brackenbury kept a pack at Scremby, which he called the Gillingham. In 1822 the hunt became known as the Southwold, hounds being kennelled at Hundleby. The country as at present constituted has existed since 1841; prior to that date hounds had hunted two or three days a week, but enlarged boundaries adopted in 1841 have enabled the pack to hunt four days a week.

The first master of the Southwold proper was the Hon. George Pelham, brother to the first Earl of Yarborough, who took office in 1823. Before taking over the Southwold he had kept harriers at Barnoldby, and was a thorn in the flesh of old Will Smith of the Brocklesby, as his hounds were not stooped exclusively to hare. He once took out a horse-dealer's licence, and fixed to his house at Laceby a board to notify the fact. Mr. Pelham, who had been in the army in his younger days, always had a good stud of hunters and thoroughbreds, and won considerable success as a race-rider. While master of the Southwold he lived at Legbourne.

The run of 9 March, 1824, is historical. Meeting at Revesby, hounds found immediately in Horstham Wood, and after running in covert for a quarter of an hour, forced their fox away towards Scrivelsby. Then they turned left-handed over the Horncastle road, with Haltham on the left, crossed the Bain opposite Roughton, skirted the village and ran nearly to Well Syke. Turning to the right through White Hall Wood, the fox just entered High Hall Wood, ran over the Moor towards the Tower, and through Bracken Wood and Hawstead Wood. Skirting Horsington Wood, hounds then pressed on through Bucknall Wood to North Springs Wood, turned right-handed through New Park and Gautby Park, and ran through the Bramble Hill Woods nearly to Gautby village. The line thence was over Minting parish and the Horncastle and Wragby road, through Sturton, Ranby, Market Stainton, Benniworth, Donington, Biscathorpe, Gayton le Wold, and Grimblethorpe to Calcethorpe, where the hounds ran from scent to view and pulled their fox down after a run of three and a half hours, having traversed twenty-two lordships; the point was close on seventeen miles. The Southwold has had many distinguished sportsmen as masters, but

the reigns of none have been long; Lord Kintore held office for a season after Mr. Pelham retired in 1826, and Mr. Joseph Brackenbury followed for two seasons till 1829. Sir Richard Sutton was master for the season 1829–30, and was followed by Captain Freeman (1830–2), Mr. Parker (1833–5), Mr. Heanley (1835–41), Mr. Musters (1841–3), Mr. Hellier (1843–52), Mr. Henley Greaves (1852–3), and Mr. Cooke (1853–7). For nineteen years after Mr. Cooke's resignation the country was managed by a committee (1857–76). But the 'Golden Age' of the Southwold may be said to have commenced when Mr. E. P. Rawnsley succeeded Mr. Crowder in 1880, as each succeeding year saw the pack improve in work and looks, while the sport provided was excellent. Mr. Rawnsley is a splendid horseman and one of the foremost amateur huntsmen of his time; as a woodland huntsman he has no equal. Much had been done before to get a workmanlike pack together, but it was left to Mr. Rawnsley to bring things to their present state of efficiency. Realizing that a quick, active hound was the stamp required, he began with drafts from the York and Ainsty, the Burton, and the South Wilts. The first sire selected was the Belvoir Struggler, a descendant of Mr. Osbaldeston's Furrier, and eleven and a half couples by him were put forward in one entry. Most of the Southwold trace back to a bitch called Freedom (1881), which was given to Mr. Rawnsley by Lord Yarborough in 1884. The mating of this bitch with Belvoir Weathergaze ('76) produced wonderful results, Freeman being one of the litter. The pack to-day is practically made up of the blood of Belvoir Weathergaze and Southwold Freeman, each considered by the man who hunted it to be the best working foxhound he ever saw. Mr. Rawnsley also dipped freely into Quorn blood to get quickness and activity. Brocklesby Wrangler (1899) has been one of Mr. Rawnsley's favourite sires in recent years. Mr. J. St. V. Fox, Mr. Rawnsley's step-son, became joint-master in 1902. The hon. secretaryship since 1811 has always been held by a member of the Walker family, Mr. W. Walker occupying the post till 1857, another Mr. W. Walker till 1862, and Mr. E. Walker till 1871, when the present secretary, Major George Walker, took over the office. The best centres are Horncastle, in the best of the country, Spilsby, and Louth, from which last Lord Yarborough's and Mr. Ewbank's can be reached. Subscriptions are expected, but the practice of capping has not been adopted. The hounds, fifty couples, belong to the country; the kennels are at Belchford. There is a better supply of foxes now than was formerly the case, and though there is some wire in the country, practically the whole of it is removed in the hunting season. A few gorse coverts have been planted during recent years.

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MR. EWBANK'S HUNT

Mr. Ewbank's country on the east coast consists of an area of flat land partly in the Brocklesby and partly in the Southwold, which was seldom hunted by either pack, and unless a fox ran thither was practically never visited by hounds. There are no coverts except a few spinneys and 'screens'; but it is the resort of many outlying foxes, and a few litters are bred there. It is a formidable country of wide, deep-cut drains, and the fences, where such exist, are well trimmed and very stiff; there is also much timber. The only drawbacks are the occasional wide outfalls and rivers, impassable for horses. Receiving permission from the Earl of Yarborough and Mr. E. P. Rawnsley in November, 1904, Mr. W. A. Ewbank, of Fulstow Hall, near Louth, got together a few couples of hounds to provide a little sport for the farmers for whom the nearest meets of the two old-established packs lie somewhat wide. The farmers and local gentry have given him cordial support, and several of the leading masters of hounds, among them the Duke of Beaufort, the late Captain Lane Fox of the Bramham Moor, the masters of the Quorn and the Sinnington, contributed to the pack, which numbers some ten couples. Since the hunt was established there have been many really fine runs with the wild marsh foxes. Long runs are the rule, and hounds nearly always account for their fox if he remains above ground. The kennels are at the residence of the master, who hunts his hounds himself, his whippers-in being Mr. W. M. Casswell, North Ormsby Hall, and Mr. T. Mountain, Utterby. Mr. W. G. Smyth, Elkington Hall, is the hon. secretary. The country extends from Holton le Clay and Tetney to the railway from Louth to Mablethorpe; and from the railway from Holton le Clay to Louth to the sea. There is very little grass. Some wire occurs near the sea, but there is none farther inland. The hunting days depend on the fixtures of the Brocklesby and the Southwold, and meets are notified only to those owners and farmers over whose lands the hounds hunt.

THE BELVOIR HUNT

The greater part of the Belvoir¹ country lies in Lincolnshire. The northern boundaries extend from Newark by way of Leadenham and Sleaford eastward to the North Sea, but the fen country east of the railway from Sleaford to Bourne is not hunted, the wide drains and outfalls making it impassable for horsemen. The Blankney is the Belvoir's immediate neighbour on the north, and the Cottesmore marches with it on the south. There is nothing to show when the boundaries of the Old Burton and the

Belvoir were fixed, and no change seems to have taken place since the earliest records. Grantham, in the centre of the hunt, and Sleaford, on the Blankney borders, are the best Lincolnshire hunting centres for followers of the Belvoir.

The best country on the Lincolnshire side lies round Folkingham, where there is a wide extent of grass and two capital gorse coverts—Folkingham Gorse and Heathcote's Gorse; the Sapperton and Newton Woods also always hold stout foxes. There are some large woods on the southern part of the Lincolnshire country. Aswarby, Culverthorpe, Dembleby Thorns, Haydor Southards, and Rauceby, are the best coverts in the north. Round Stubton Gorse, the starting point of many a good gallop, there is another fine stretch of country.

Perhaps the best run recorded on the Lincolnshire side was that from Ancaster Gorse on 15 December, 1865, hounds going by Ingoldsby and Laughton to below Dunsby and thence to the Forty Foot Drain at Hacconby, where they killed their fox.

Among the prominent followers and fox-preservers on the Lincolnshire side are the Whichcotes of Aswarby, Mr. J. E. Welby of Allington Hall, the Gregorys of Denton, the Reeves of Leadenham, the Fanes of Fulbeck, the Nevilles of Stubton, the Turnors of Stoke Rochford, Heathcotes, Tollemaches, Thorolds of Syston, Brownlows of Belton, and the Parkers, Hutchinsons, and Hornsbys of Grantham. Mr. Hardy, the Grantham banker, was one of those who invariably got to the end of the best run; and Mr. J. Litchford of Boothby Hall, a squire of the old school and somewhat of a character, was a great authority on hunting; his knowledge of woodland hunting was exceptional. Colonel Reeve of Leadenham and the Rev. T. Heathcote of Lenton were very prominent men in their day, and Mr. Bemrose and Mr. T. Casswell were hard-riding farmers. The most noted of the Belvoir parsons was the Rev. J. Houson, rector of Brant Broughton and Great Coates. When in his seventy-fourth year he had the best of a forty minutes' run from Folkingham Gorse to Aslackby Wood, and Major Longstaffe (in his time a very good man with hounds) says at eighty years of age he could lead the Belvoir field.

THE MARQUESS OF EXETER'S HUNT

The Cottesmore claim a corner of Lincolnshire at Bourne, but the country is seldom hunted, and some of it has been lent to the Marquess of Exeter, who shows much sport. The Marquess of Exeter's pack, partly foxhounds and partly harriers, was established in 1899. It was at first a harrier-pack pure and simple, with hounds entered in the H. and B. Stud Book. In the season 1905-6 the marquess entered his hounds

¹ For history of this hunt see *V. C. H. Leic.*



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to fox, hunting that part of the Fitzwilliam country lent him by Mr. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam in the immediate neighbourhood of his residence, Burghley House, Stamford, with invitation days

in neighbouring countries. Lord Kesteven, formerly Sir John Trollope, used to hunt up to Bourne Wood, and Mr. Tailby came right up to Manton Gorse.

HARRIERS AND BEAGLES

There are now no harriers in Lincolnshire. Both the Hon. G. Pelham and Mr. W. Wright of Wold Newton kept harriers in the last century, and Major Allott has a pack of beagles kennelled at Louth, which

provides excellent sport in the neighbourhood and attracts a large field. The master hunts them himself, and the honorary whipper-in, Mr. E. H. Cartwright, carries the horn in his absence.

OTTER HOUNDS

No otter hounds are kennelled in the county, but now and then a pack pays it a visit, hunting the Bain in the Southwold country and the various brooks and becks in Lord

Yarborough's domains. In 1904 Mr. Evan Jones brought the Ynysfor hounds and killed a fine otter in the brook between Ulceby and Thornton.¹

RACING

Racing in its early days, depending as it did entirely on local support, was most popular in horse-breeding districts, and Lincolnshire therefore figured prominently with organized race meetings at a remote period. Among these was that at Stamford, which dates back to the fifteenth century. 'To fix the date of the first race meeting at Stamford is I think impossible,' writes Mr. C. O. Eaton, of Toilethorpe Hall, Stamford, in a letter revised by Captain E. C. Clayton of Cottesmore. 'It was subsequent to the bull-running which was instituted in the reign of King John by William earl Warren, the first lord of the town.' Francis Peck, in his *Annals of Stamford* (1727), writes that :

The ancient and public sports of Stamford are not many, in all but two, but too many by one. The one a sport favouring both manhood and gentry, a course of noblemen and gentlemen meeting together in mirth, peace, and amity, for the exercise of their swift running horses, kept for the race every Thursday in March. The prize they run for is a silver and gilt cup and cover, to the value of seven or eight pounds provided by the care of the Alderman for the time being, but the money is raised out of the interest of a stock formerly made up by the nobility and gentry, who are neighbours or well-wishers to the town.

Whether these March races took place on the existing racecourse or on Wittering Heath there is no means of knowing. The present grand stand was built in 1766, and formerly races were run on Wittering Heath ; in all probability the March races, run on the Thursday before Mid-Lent Sunday, for a plate of £10 value provided by the town, were held there. The

fifth of the 'Articles' or rules under which the matches were run is singular :

If anye of the matched horses or their riders chaunce to fall in anye of the foure heats, the rest of the riders shall staye in theire places, where they were at the time of the fall, until the rider so fallen, have his foote in the stirroppe againe.

Harrod, the historian of Stamford, says :

In October, 1679, horse-racing articles are mentioned. The old course, four miles in length, was discarded in 1715 or 1716, and the new one laid out in 1716 saw the last meeting on Thursday and Friday, 20 and 21 July, 1873.

Mr. C. O. Eaton says :

I have no records till 1734, in which year on the 11th, 12th, and 13th June, a plate of £50 was run for, and won in the three heats—twice round the course—by Mr. Pitt's bay horse Liberty, which beat five others ; on the 12th by Mr. Weaver's Sober John in three heats, four miles ; on the 13th by Mr. Curzon's roan colt by Cade in four two-mile heats, beating 11 others.

In 1755 similar prizes were offered, the winners being Mr. Sisson, Captain Vernon, and the Duke of Ancaster. In 1808 there were three days' racing. The Town Plate of £50, the winner to be sold for 150 guineas, was the principal race ; it was twice round, about two and three-quarter miles. There was also a sweepstake of 20 guineas

¹ In compiling the history of fox-hunting in Lincolnshire, acknowledgements are due to Lord Monson, Mr. Cuthbert Bradley, Mr. G. S. Lowe, Mr. T. Wilson, M.F.H., Mr. E. P. Rawnsley, M.F.H., Mr. T. F. Dale, and Mr. J. Maunsell Richardson.

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each for three-year-olds, once round and a distance (240 yards). The sport continued to be much of the same character. The first meeting witnessed by Mr. Eaton was that of 1837, when he believes the two best horses ran that were ever on the course. One was Redshank, by Sandbeck, the property of Mr. Bird; this horse gained immortality as the sire of Ellen Horne. The other celebrity was Lord Exeter's Troilus, a beautiful horse by Priam, winner of the Derby, his dam Green Mantle winning the Oaks; he was sent after his racing career as a stallion to Ireland. The chief local supporter of the meeting was Lord Exeter, who generally had twenty-six horses in training at Newmarket; the Stamford course was situated in his park. The late Lord Kesteven, then Sir John Trollope, sometimes ran a horse; Sir Gilbert Heathcote, owner of Amato, winner of the Derby in 1838, was also a consistent supporter of the races, though as he resided at the Durdans, Epsom, seldom attended them.

In 1839 the number of days' racing was reduced to two, and in 1841 the date was altered to October, probably in the hope of attracting a superior class of horse, for the ground, having a shallow covering of soil, was hard in July. The course was oval in shape, with a wood in the middle; the Cup course, three times round, was exactly 4 miles. There was a very good straight mile which was generally used for two-year-old races. The grand stand erected in 1766 was built of stone: it was 40 ft. by 18 ft. on the outside walls, and had three floors. The time for holding the races was fixed by the Jockey Club co-operating with the marquess of Exeter. The only races except plates were the Burghley Stakes and the Gold Cup—£100—which latter was instituted in 1799. The first winner of the Cup was Mr. J. Heathcote's Water, and among subsequent winners were the Duke of Rutland, the Marquess of Exeter, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir H. Nelthorpe, and General Grosvenor. The old meeting was abandoned in 1873, but the present Marquess of Exeter has organized two or three steeplechase meetings under National Hunt rules in connexion with his harrier hunt, which was established at Burghley House kennels in 1899. The new course lies over a grass country in the Vale of Tinwell; among the four events of which the programme consist, one is the Stamford Town Stakes. 'The Druid' gives many interesting personal narratives connected with the old Stamford meetings.

The racing history of Lincoln is of great antiquity. The earliest authentic record occurs in the Lincoln Corporation's papers;¹ it is an entry dated 12 February, 1597, sanctioning the mayor's 'charges for a scaffold at the horse-race,' the 'scaffold' being a temporary stand for spectators. King James visited Lincoln in 1617, and

on Thursday—in March—there was a great horse-race on the heath for a cup, where his Majesty was present; and stood on a scaffold the city had caused to be set up, and withal caused the race a quarter of a mile long to be railed and corded with ropes and stoops on both sides, whereby the people were kept out, and the horses which ran were seen far. On Friday there was a great hunting, and a race by the horses which rid the scent for a golden snaffle, and a race by three Irishmen and an Englishman, all which his Majesty did behold. The Englishman won the race.

It is also recorded on 5 March, 1635, that

The Mayor and aldermen shall have the liberty to deal with those gentlemen that desire allowance for a cup to be run for with horses on the scath on the south side of the city, and to agree on such articles as they shall think meet.

Another entry in the proceedings of the Lincoln Corporation,² dated 24 July, 1669, shows that endeavour was made by that body to establish the town race-meeting on a permanent basis. The scheme is broadly sketched in the resolution recorded:

Whereas divers persons of honour and quality out of their kindness and respect to this city and for the benefit and advantage of the citizens and inhabitants thereof, have a desire that one or more horse-races may be set up annually for ever upon the heath in the parishes of Harmston and Colby, under such articles as shall be thought fit by the trustees, viz. Lady Dorothy Stanhope, the earl of Lindsey, Henry earl of Ogle, John earl of Exeter, George Visc Castleton, Bennett Lord Sherrard, John Lord Roos, Sir John Monson the elder, bart., and Sir Robert Carr, bart., and that lands may be purchased and settled on them and their heirs; and that in case a constant rent of £24 per an. or more be raised, and that one third part may be employed for a lesser plate to be run for by hunting horses, and the other two parts be for the providing a greater plate, not to be run for the same day, and that no horse above six years old be admitted to run for either; and they are desirous to know what money will be given by this city; it is agreed that £20 be for this end advanced.

In June, 1800, there is mention 'that annual gifts sometimes of plate and sometimes of money, rising from £20 to £50 [are made] towards the horse-races.'

At the beginning of the century racing was vigorously carried on at nearly all the cathedral towns in the kingdom; probably because they were also the county towns. The fact remains that of the modern enclosures, some of the best are those which are held beneath the shade of abbey or minster, and the category includes Lincoln.³ Lincoln in 1899 adopted the style of the modern racing club or company. The course, situated about a mile from the town, is one of the best in England. It is on sound old turf, and is 1 mile 6 furlongs round, much the same shape as that of Doncaster Town Moor. There is a straight mile—with a slight elbow in

² Ibid. p. 106.

³ Charles Richardson, *The English Turf*.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, pt. 8, p. 75.

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it—on which the Lincolnshire Handicap is run, and on portions whereof the Brocklesby and other short races are decided. The round course has a straight run of nearly half a mile, and the turn at the junction of the two courses is somewhat abrupt. The last of the finish is downhill and narrows somewhat awkwardly. Lincoln has now three meetings during the season, one of three days in the spring, which (unless Easter is unusually early) is the first fixture of the racing season; the June meeting (two days) dates from 1900; and the late autumn meeting (two days) is generally held in the week following the Newmarket Houghton. This last, though it brings out large fields, does not rank so highly as the spring meeting. Take away the Lincolnshire Handicap and the Brocklesby from the Lincoln Spring Meeting and little would remain but plating events. The present secretary of the Lincoln Meeting, Mr. Charles Brook, who has been on the Race Committee since 1880, and chairman for many years, writes:—

The moving spirit of Lincoln Races in the 'forties and 'fifties until his death in 1862 was my father Mr. W. H. Brook, who raced in partnership with the late Revd. John King of Ashby de la Launde; the horses ran in my Father's name—Manganese, grand dam of Apology, won the One Thousand Guineas, and many other races. My brother Thomas Brook was Chairman until his death in 1880; in his time—the 'seventies—the straight mile was made: the leading betting men of the day (Steel, Nicholls, and others) subscribing £500, so that they might have a fair run for the Lincolnshire Handicap. Maidment had won it several times, partly, it was thought, by his bold riding round the turn. Mr. W. Ford, who had been clerk of the course and manager of the races for more than thirty years, succeeded as chairman in 1880, when his son Mr. W. J. Ford became clerk of the course and has remained so up to the present time. In 1896 the Committee was formed into a Limited Liability Company as the Lincoln Race Committee Ltd. with myself as chairman. In 1897 large new stands were erected in Tattersall's ring and the five shilling ring: of so excellent a type were these they have served as patterns for most stands erected in the country since. The circular race course is held upon lease from the corporation of Lincoln; the first half of the straight mile is the absolute property of the Race Committee. Personally I can remember seeing Kingston, Maid of Masham, Fisherman, Saunterer, Caller Ou, Lord Lyon, Manganese, Warlock, and many other notable horses run on Lincoln Race Course.

Habitués of the turf—owners, trainers, jockeys, bookmakers, backers alike—begin their year at Lincoln in March, and go on from there to Liverpool. On the first day of the meeting the Batthyany Stakes Handicap is the chief attraction, and on the second day the Brocklesby Trial Plate always produces a big field. This is a five-furlong handicap, in which the runners are for the most part horses against which candidates for the Brocklesby Stakes have been tried, and the race is a most useful one. The Lincolnshire

Handicap is the race of the meeting, and though the class is on the whole not quite so good as that to be found in the City and Suburban or Jubilee Stakes, the race always brings out some of the best milers in training, and is seldom won by a bad horse. Very few three-year-olds are entered. The best performance the Lincolnshire Handicap has known is that of Clorane, who won in 1896, carrying 9 st. 4 lb. in a field of eighteen. No other horse has ever been successful with 9 st. in the saddle.¹ This Lincolnshire Handicap was first run in August, 1849. As a spring handicap it first had place on the programme of 1853. The Brocklesby Stakes, founded in 1842, was, until 1858, run at the autumn meeting: it has reached over £1,000 in value. Many good horses have won the stake. The Bard, Donovan, Semolina, and Minting Queen are among good ones who made their début at Lincoln. Kyoto, who won the race after the great frost in 1895, was a mere pony at the time. At the autumn fixture the Great Tom Stakes, a handicap on a straight mile, and the Lincoln Autumn Handicap of a mile and a half are the chief events. Large fields are the rule at each of the fixtures. Amongst Lincolnshire celebrities who have won the handicap must be mentioned Mr. Henry Chaplin's Guy Darrell in 1872. In 1905 and 1906 there were fifty-one subscribers to the Lincoln Handicap. Mr. W. E. Elsey, who trains near Lincoln, in 1905 headed the list of winning trainers; and his apprentice Elijah Wheatley was head of the winning jockeys.

The Brocklesby Hunt Union Club was established at Caistor in November, 1835. The minute book shows that the club started with a roll of fifty-four members. Mr. Thomas Brooks ('Old Tom Brooks of Croxby') was its first chairman, and Mr. W. Torr, junior, of Aylesby, its hon. secretary and treasurer. The first 'steeple race' took place the same year, from Riby Slingsmere, and was followed, in accordance with invariable custom, by a dinner, generally held at the George Inn, Caistor. Members who failed to attend were fined 3s. each, which went to the wine fund. The conditions of the early races were as follows: A sweepstake of £5 each, with £50 added from the club funds. Open to all England. Weights: four years old, 11 st.; five years old, 11 st. 9 lb.; six years old and aged, 12 st.; mares allowed 2 lb. Distance, 4 miles across a country. The owner of the second horse to receive 10 sovereigns. To be ridden by gentlemen, or farmers, or members of a fox-hunting or racing club. Messrs. R. Nainby, Thomas Brooks, and Theophilus Harneiss were the first stewards, and Mr. Thomas Borman was judge. Old Will Smith, the Brocklesby huntsman, used to start the race with a twang of his horn. Mr. Lionel Holmes won the first race on a mare belonging to Mr. Hargreaves. He took

¹ Charles Richardson, *The English Turf*.

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a toss, but remounting the mare as she rose to her feet again, lost little time. Flying Billy, the property of 'the squire of Limber,' who ran against Touchstone for the Doncaster Cup, fell at the last fence. Mr. Coates's Cannon Ball, ridden by Mr. Grantham, won in 1836, jumping a sheep-fold in a corner at the last fence but one. The course was parallel to the Barton Street, from Barnoldby to Riby cross-roads, the same as that over which were run the point-to-point races of 1892.

In 1837 there were fifteen nominations, of which thirteen faced the starter, and the judge placed the following: 1st, Mr. G. Skipworth's Antelope; 2nd, Captain J. Skipworth on Mr. H. Whitworth's Bumpkin; 3rd, Mr. R. Nainby's Moses; and 4th, Mr. Richardson on Mr. Thomas Whichcote's Longwaist. Mr. G. Skipworth fell all his length into the winning field, but was first past the post after all. 'After the race,' says the minute book, 'a party of seventy-one gentlemen dined with the Stewards at the Granby Inn, Grimsby, Mr. Richard Nainby in the chair.' An old grey horse called Valentine won in 1838, the course being over Clixby, Grasby, and Owmbly lordships. He had done service in a harvest wagon, and had, moreover, been lame; but Mr. W. G. Loft patched him up, and riding with the greatest care, won in a field of twenty-one starters; Mr. Cook's Transport, ridden by Mr. Riby Nicholson, was second. According to the 'Druid' Ormsby won the next year, Peter Simple being second; but Will Smith, in his diary, says that Mr. Carnley won on Old Mr. Fry. Gay Lad, who had run in 1839 and 1840, made a third and successful bid for it in 1841. He owed his win to the quickness of his rider, Captain Skipworth, who noticed that the winning wagon had been moved, and pulled round in order to go the right side of the flag. The owner of Croxby (by Velocipede) had to refund; this cost the club £140. There were no better chasers in England than Peter Simple and Gay Lad, though some declared they were not the equal of Lottery. Mr. Loft won on Creeper in 1842, with Mr. C. Nainby second, and Mr. Baxter third. Then Mr. Charles Nainby won for three years in succession on his father's horses, Crocus, Newcastle Tommy, and Northallerton Tommy. Crocus's race was the last one attended by the second Earl of Yarborough. Newcastle Tommy and Northallerton Tommy were sold for £200 each; £30 would have bought the latter a few months before the race, but a storm prevented him from crossing the Humber to Beverley Fair. Captain Skipworth won on the hard-pulling Dubious in 1846, and Mr. Lamplough on Holderness the next year took the stakes out of the district for the first time with Salvation; Mr. Oldacre won on the last two occasions races were held, with his own mare Jenny Lind and Mr. Richard Nainby's Rachel. In 1839 the added money from the club funds was increased to £60, and in 1840 to £75; in 1839 winners of the steeple

races (matches excepted) had to carry 7 lb. extra, while in 1840 the race was confined to maiden horses. This restriction was dropped in 1841 and re-introduced in 1842, after which date it was maintained. A second race had been added to the programme the previous year, namely, a sweepstake of £7 each with £15 added, open to horses of all ages, to carry 14 st., the distance 4 miles across country. This was Mr. Charles Nainby's first race, and he won on Mr. Tom Brooks's Hang 'Em in a field of five runners. Cure All, who won the Liverpool Grand National in 1845, and was bred, owned, trained, and also ridden in the great race by Mr. W. G. Loft, does not appear to have run in any of the Brocklesby chases. On 24 March, 1867, Mr. H. Chaplin's Snowstorm won the Open Race, and Mr. W. Richardson's Peter Lord Yarborough's Cup.

The Brocklesby Hunt course is arranged and the trimming of the fences supervised by a sub-committee. The five races include Lady Yarborough's Cup, the Curraghmore Stakes, the Scawby Stakes, and the Brocklesby Open Steeplechase. 'The Druid' credits Mr. Tom Brooks with having ridden the winner of the first steeplechase ever run in Lincolnshire; but Mr. George Collins, in his *History of the Brocklesby Hunt*, states that his father-in-law

formerly knew an old Mr. Draper of Wickenby, who frequently used to refer to a steeple race between Mr. Tom Cartwright and Mr. Tom Clitheroe that took place some years before 1821, the course being from Wragby Church to Wickenby Church. Mr. Brooks's great race with Mr. Nicholson took place on 30 March, 1821, and was from Stourton Church to Wickenby Church, a distance of eleven miles.

Mr. Field Nicholson rode in the first Hunt Steeple Race in 1836, when Captain Becher fell over a gate. To quote again the same authority, 'Mr. W. Marris of Limber, owner of the grey Peter Simple, also bred Half Cast, winner of the Grand National in 1859, Green in the saddle.' Half Cast was by Morgan Rattler. Mr. Edmund Davy was the owner of Gay Lad, winner of a great many steeplechases with Captain Jack Skipworth generally in the saddle. He was subsequently sold to Mr. John Elmore, the price being £1,000, with another £500 if he won the Grand National—a large sum in those days—and this Gay Lad did in 1842.

On 27 March, 1873, Mr. J. Maunsell Richardson won the Grand National at Liverpool on Captain Machell's Disturbance, a great day for North Lincolnshire; and the following year he won again on Reugny. Mr. Richardson is one of the finest horsemen of his age.

Mr. Robert Walker, another well-known Lincolnshire sportsman, won the Grand Sefton Steeplechase at Liverpool on Keystone in 1870, and three years in succession, 1869, 1870, and 1871, the National Handicap Steeplechase at the Eglinton Hunt Meeting on Mr. Henry Chaplin's Snowstorm. In 1884 he won a hunt steeplechase

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on the four-year-old Heirloom over the Grand National course, being then in his fifty-eighth year and riding 10 st. 4 lb.

Three first-flight men with the Brocklesby and brilliant men between the flags were Messrs. H. Brooks, Neil MacVicar, and G. E. Davy. Mr. Brooks won thirteen races at Brocklesby, riding the winner of each of the five races in 1884. Mr. Neil MacVicar of Limber Hill rode under the name of 'Mr. Bolwyn,' and between 1874 and 1886 had 210 mounts, winning forty-eight times and being second on forty-five occasions. Mr. G. E. Davy, who used to live at Thoresway, was another good man over regulation fences, winning a great number of races under National Hunt rules. One of his best horses was Sultan, who won for Mr. Cyril Flower, M.P., the first House of Commons point-to-point race, under the name of Home Rule, but was disqualified.

The Belvoir Hunt meeting originated in 1885, its chief promoter being Mr. W. L. Burdett Coutts and the gentlemen hunting from Grantham. The course is over two miles of undulating hunting country between Ingoldsby and Lenton villages, across which winds a brook. The going is all grass ridge and furrow, riding well except when the ground is very wet, and the fences are natural hunting fences. Situated ten miles from a town and seven from a station the meeting has a charm of its own, resembling a point-to-point gathering. Four events originally constituted the card, but latterly these have been increased to six, and include two for farmers, a red coat race, a united Belvoir and Blankney Hunt race, the Grantham Steeplechase, and, richest race of the meeting, the Tally-ho Steeplechase, value 60 sovereigns, to which Major Paynter has always contributed 25 sovereigns. The gathering on the hill-side below Lenton Spire consists of Belvoir, Blankney, and Cottesmore followers, with the country residents of the district. Mr. R. Burrows is clerk of the scales, and the making of the course from its commencement has been superintended by Mr. Thomas A. R. Heathcote. The duties of hon. secretary have been ably filled by Mr. Francis Crawley, Major Amcotts, Mr. Thomas A. R. Heathcote, and Mr. E. W. Griffith.

One of the best supporters of the meeting is Mr. Edgar Lubbock, the present master of the Blankney; on six or seven occasions he has steered his own horse to victory in the red coat race. Probably the most distinguished horseman at this meeting was the late Captain 'Bay' Middleton. A horse called Gamecock, which eventually carried the royal colours as a chaser for the Prince of Wales, ran at an early Belvoir meeting when the property of a farmer. Clawson, a Grand National candidate, won a race on this course for Mr. A. Jolland; and old Arran, owned and trained by Mr. Frank Godson, who had a useful string of chasers at Temple Bruer by Lincoln, scored one of his numerous successes

at this meeting. A point-to-point was attempted on only one occasion, namely, in 1889. Amongst well-known riders who have ridden winners at this meeting may be mentioned Captain Cecil Grenfell, Mr. F. A. Soames, Mr. Greville Clayton, Lord Edward Manners, Mr. V. Hemery, Mr. Chandos de Paravicini, Mr. W. Gale, and Mr. A. Burdett Coutts, who won the first red coat race instituted.

The first races of the Market Rasen Union Hunt Steeplechases as now constituted were run on 9 April, 1883. Previously, however, a meeting was held at the village of Walesby, but no records can be found. The accounts in 1883 are credited with a balance of £37 3s. 11d. from the old meeting; the modern meeting occupies one day; four races were run in 1883, five in 1890, and six in 1892; but since 1894 five events have formed the card. These are a £40 Selling Hurdle Race, a £30 2-mile Maiden Steeplechase, a £30 Selling Steeplechase, a £36 Town Steeplechase of 3 miles, and the Town Hurdle Race of £30.

The course, situated on the Caistor Road by Market Rasen, is egg-shaped, a good proportion being grass, and all the fences are natural.

The most distinguished horse competing at this meeting was a 15-hand grey named Hamlet by Strathconan—Lace, belonging to Mr. H. Botterill of Tathwell Hall, Louth. Hamlet won the Committee's Steeplechase in the years 1888 and 1889, also the principal races in the local steeplechases, and ran unplaced in the Grand National. He had a wonderful stride, and won many races in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, beating a prominent Grand National horse in the Slow and Sure Steeplechase at Derby. Ridden by Mr. Leonard Botterill, he won in all seventeen steeplechases. Hamlet was eventually sold to go to Germany. Ballot Box, another Grand National horse, competed here.

The Southwold Hunt Steeplechase meeting was established in 1871, and has been held at Louth and Horncastle in alternate years. The old Louth steeplechase course was a very severe one, the Hallington Brook, which had to be jumped twice in each race, being very formidable. In 1890 the Louth committee changed from this course to one more modern, near Brackenborough, about a mile from Louth Railway Station, and there the steeplechases are now run. This course is one of the best in the country; it is all grass, except one small field, and every fence is a fair one; it is 1½ miles round. The meeting is very popular, well-known members of the hunt acting as officials. There are five steeplechases run at the meeting, and Mr. J. St. Vigor Fox now gives a silver cup to the winner of the Southwold Hunt Plate. Many good horses have won over this course at different times, among them Hamlet. Another good horse which commenced his career on this course was Highland, by The Lambkin out

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of Lowland Maid; he made his first appearance in 1894, and won the Southwold Hunt Steeplechase with Mr. Jack Sharp in the saddle. Afterwards he won several flat races, and was trained under racing rules. In 1895 Highland won seven handicaps. He also was the property of Mr. Richard Botterill of Tathwell Hall, Louth. In recent years Mr. William Chatterton of Hallington has been a successful owner at this meeting, one of the best of the many useful horses he has run being Flourman, winner of the Keddington Plate, 1905.

Races were held at Caistor and Grimsby during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but were abandoned many years ago. On 4 April, 1826, Mr. George Pelham rode Mr. Davy's brown mare Shepherdess at Caistor races. At the same meeting Mr. Tom Brooks won the first race on his Weeper, Sir Tatton Sykes being second on Mr. Ferriby's Skinflint. The races were run in heats. The remains of an old racecourse still exist in Grimthorpe Park by Bourne, where a former Lord Willoughby used to train his horses.

Lincolnshire has claims to distinction as a horse-breeding county. Among the best-known breeders of blood stock are Lord Kesteven at Casewick Park, Mr. R. C. Vyner at Gauthby, Mr. Taylor Sharpe at Baumber Park, the grand-

father of the present Marquess of Exeter at Burghley by Stamford. The most famous record is that of Blankney in the palmy days of Mr. Henry Chaplin. The name recalls that of Hermit, the most remarkable horse connected with the history of Lincolnshire. Hermit, a chestnut, was bought as a yearling in 1864 from Mr. Blenkiron by Mr. Henry Chaplin; he stood 15 h. 3 in., very lengthy and blood-like, with excellent substance; he won the sensational 'snow-storm Derby' of 1867 from a field of twenty-nine, his price being 100 to 15 against. In 1870 Hermit was put to the stud at Blankney Hall at 20 guineas. His fee in 1886 was 250 guineas. The most distinguished of his progeny were Holy Friar, St. Agatha, Trappist, Charon, Monachus, Lancaster, Industry, L'Eclair, Ambergris, Rylstone, Devotee, Out of Bounds, Peter, The Abbot, St. Hilda, Angelina, St. Louis, Thebais, Tristan, Wandering Nun, Shotover, St. Blaise, St. Marguerite, Queen Adelaide, Lonely, and St. Alvere. In 1879 1,400 guineas was given for Shotover, a filly by Hermit, who won the Derby in 1882. In 1880 at the Blankney sale another filly by the same sire fetched 3,600 guineas, the total amount realized for fourteen yearlings being 14,200 guineas, an aggregate which gave the highest average then recorded. Other noted sires at the Blankney stud were Galopin and Friar's Balsam.

POLO

Polo was introduced into Lincolnshire in 1888. The first game with four a side was played by hunting farmers in a field close to Lenton spire overlooking the Belvoir Hunt Steeplechase course. After some preliminary play matches were arranged as an attraction at the Folkingham Flower Shows in 1892 and 1893. The sides were arranged by Mr. Cuthbert Bradley and Mr. Thomas A. R. Heathcote; and in one of these games a well-known player, Mr. W. J. Hornsby, made his first appearance on a polo ground. In 1894 greater things were attempted at Grantham on the occasion of a Whit Monday sports gathering. The result of this game was the establishment of a polo club at Barrowby, two miles from Grantham, with Mr. W. J. Hornsby as captain. It had but a short existence, owing to expense and the difficulties of gathering players in a wide and scattered district. A new club

rose from its ashes in 1894 at Burghley Park, and the surviving members of the Grantham Club trained their ponies every Friday to the rendezvous. Stamford proved a much better centre, and the game has flourished there ever since. The club plays on a full-size boarded ground, provided by the president, the Marquess of Exeter. The first captain of the club was Captain the Hon. A. F. Greville, of Lady Anne's House, Stamford. Since the club was instituted its hon. secretary has been Mr. Blundell Williams. The members' roll bears thirty-six names. Matches are arranged in August and September with Holderness, Warwickshire, Market Harborough, and private teams.

In 1906 a club was started at Lafford, Mr. Chandos de Paravicini was the president, Dr. G. D. Thompson the hon. secretary. There are over a dozen playing members.

SHOOTING

The sport obtainable in the different parts of the county varies with the character of the land. The immense wold fields with low-cut hedges and little cover provide scant accommodation for breeding partridges, and leave the sitting birds

exposed in peculiar degree. The hare is easily seen, and her run found by the poacher. On the low-lying land where the fields are small, with big and often ill-kept hedges, the partridge breeds abundantly. Where there is plenty of heather

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and bracken, and where the keeper is active in the performance of his duties, the partridge flourishes and affords plenty of sport. In the fens and marshes the native bird does not thrive, but the 'Frenchman' appears hardy enough to withstand the more trying conditions of life there prevailing. Lincolnshire is, comparatively speaking, a well-wooded county, and provides excellent pheasant shooting. In some parts there are nice little coverts, conveniently situated not far from one another, and this enables the keeper to place his guns in such a position as to ensure the birds 'going well.' Then again there are some fine large woods, the thorough shooting of which involves much careful management. There are also in North Lincolnshire some very long woods which extend for miles, but nevertheless are easy to control, and provide excellent sport. Big bags are obtained on the shootings round such centres as Lincoln, Grantham, Brigg, and elsewhere. The woods for the most part consist of oak, ash, hazel, and blackthorn, with undergrowth of bracken and fern. Every few years certain parts of the woods are cut down, entirely altering the beats.

The principal game birds of Lincolnshire are partridges (English and French), pheasants, woodcock, snipe, wild duck, teal, widgeon, green and golden plover, wood-pigeons, and hares and rabbits; in rough weather large flocks of wild geese and occasionally swans are seen. Not many years ago grouse and black-game were shot in parts of the county. The late Rev. W. Southwell, rector of Rothwell near Caistor, possessed a stuffed grey-hen he had shot at Nettleton in the sixties or seventies. A hybrid between a blackcock and a hen-pheasant was shot on Bromby Common, near Scunthorpe, about 1885. Grouse and black-game, however, have now been exterminated. Large quantities of wild duck are always to be seen in the Fens and along the coast, and on certain lakes and sequestered ponds near Brigg the duck breed. They are less numerous near the Humber than they used to be. Still, a mallard and his mate can generally be got in the Blow-wells and stream near Great Coates by Grimsby. Snipe and jack snipe are numerous also in these parts. There is a large preserve at Great Carlton near Louth, where a good bag of duck is made yearly. The green plover occurs in large quantities and affords good sport, but perhaps not so good as the golden plover, which feed in great numbers on the marshes. These birds have certain flights, and the experienced observer discovering them can obtain good bags. The old-fashioned green pheasant (*P. colchicus*) is very rare in Lincolnshire now. Some preservers have procured a certain number and distributed them among their shoots, and an example is occasionally seen; but the ring-necked variety (*P. torquatus*) predominates. The principal shoots round Lincoln are those at Gautby (Mr. Robert Vyner), Sudbrooke, Hatton,

and Canwick (Mr. Montague Waldo-Sibthorp), Panton (Mr. Turnor), Norton Place (Sir H. Cholmeley), Haverholme (Lady Winchilsea), Nocton (Mr. Hodgson), Doddington (Mr. Jarvis), and a little further off, Tattershall (Lord Fortescue). Mr. Sibthorp's shooting extends over 10,000 acres, and produces game of all sorts. His largest bags are usually at Hatton and Sudbrooke. Both pheasants and hare have been driven out of the coverts below Canwick, despite its propinquity to the city. As a rule Mr. Sibthorp gets over a thousand pheasants on his best days at Hatton and Sudbrooke. For example, in 1889 and 1898 at Hatton he got 1,103 and 1,020 respectively; and at Sudbrooke in 1890, 1,072, and in 1905, 1,003. In 1904-5 his total bag was 16,763 head, of which 5,500 were rabbits; in 1905-6 the bag actually shot was 11,289, namely, 2,117 partridges, 5,663 pheasants, 775 hares, 2,583 rabbits, 45 woodcock, and 106 various. About 90 brace is a good day's bag of partridges. On most of the other shoots mentioned, from 1,000 to 1,500 pheasants are obtained in one day on the best beats. The record bag of partridges in Lincolnshire—303 brace—was made at Tattershall near Boston in 1896, when leased by Mr. Alfred Shuttleworth. The guns were Lord Yarborough, Major Shuttleworth, Sir Hugh Cholmeley, Mr. R. H. R. Rimington-Wilson, Mr. T. S. Pearson-Gregory, and Colonel Mason. As a rule 100 hares are killed on most of the above shoots in a day. At Doddington, before driving came into vogue, two guns got 98½ brace of partridges. On none of these shoots are woodcock common, the largest number killed in one day being fourteen. A large quantity of rabbits are usually shot at Gautby, but on most shoots they are kept down in deference to the interests of the tenants. The principal shoots in the Grantham district are on lands owned by Sir J. Thorold, Lord Brownlow, Lord Ancaster, Mr. E. C. Turnor, Sir Hugh Cholmeley, Sir C. Wells, and Mr. Pearson-Gregory at Harlaxton. The partridge bags in most cases have greatly increased during the last few years, special care having been taken to foster the game. In the opinion of some, driving has been instrumental in producing this result. A large number of pheasants are also reared. Mr. T. S. Pearson-Gregory's bags of partridges have been heavy, especially taking into account the acreage of his property and the fact that it lies in the midst of a great hunting country where foxes abound. In the season 1904-5 on 1,500 acres he killed 176½ brace, 100 brace, and 119½ brace on three consecutive days; and in 1905-6, though the weather was not conducive to large bags, 91½, 110½, and 126 brace in three days. Good bags have been obtained at Tumby, Sir Henry Hawley's place. The owner has killed six or seven hundred brace of partridges in a season, and nearly 2,000 pheasants; and in one season he got 7,124 head of game. Colonel

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Ruston, who has the shooting at Norton Place, kills many partridges. In four days of the season 1905-6 he averaged over 100 brace a day. The Blankney shoot, in five consecutive days, yielded over 100 brace each day. There are several good shooting properties in the neighbourhood of Brigg. These are Elsham (Sir F. E. Astley-Corbett, bart.), Wrawby, Kettleby, and Roxby (Mr. Cary Elwes), Manby (Lord Yarborough), Appleby (Lord St. Oswald), Normanby (Sir Berkeley Sheffield, bart.), Scawby (Mr. R. N. Sutton-Nelthorpe), Walcot (Mr. Goulton-Constable). Elsham has some lovely woods of great variety, some low-lying, others on the hillside where the birds come high and well. In old Sir John's time, before the trees were felled, a good shot was needed to get the tall rocketers in 'Deep Dales'; the 'Strip' also affords sporting shots. Pheasants do well at Elsham and good bags have been obtained, but no special records have been kept. The writer has helped to shoot close upon 1,000 in a day. Partridges and hares do well on the Wolds and in the Carrs, and afford good sport. Some time back, in response to complaints made by the tenants, 500 hares were shot. Sir Francis always maintains a good head of hares for the Brigg Coursing Meeting. Years ago when the Carrs lay under water a large number of wild duck and geese were shot. The former still haunt the 'Decoy' and the Pond. Woodcock breed at Elsham. On Wrawby and Kettleby shootings good bags have been obtained. The Roxby Woods and partridge ground also provide excellent sport. The year 1905 was better than many; 747 pheasants were killed in one day, and 222 partridges in another. Mr. Cary Elwes believes in driving partridges, and he tells the writer that ten years ago when partridges were walked up the total number killed during the season was 165, the largest bag for one day being thirty-four; whereas the total number killed in 1905-6 was 1,139, and the largest bag in one day 222. Leaving the birds undisturbed, exchanging eggs amongst different nests, care on the part of the keepers, and the maintenance of the best relations between landlords and tenants and labourers, have brought about this satisfactory result. Mr. Cary Elwes does not get more than thirty or forty woodcock in a season, but his father killed ten in one day to his own gun. The Manby shooting, situated in the parishes of Broughton and Castlethorpe near Brigg, has for some years been rented by Mr. Arthur Soames. Pheasants, hares, and woodcock have been shot in abundance. The principal beats are 'Rose Cottage,' 'Heron Lodge,' and the 'Home Beat.' In 1900-1 Mr. Soames shot 603 partridges, 6,648 pheasants, 484 hares, 90 woodcock, and sundries. In 1901-2 666 partridges, 7,156 pheasants, 654 hares, 47 woodcock, &c. In 1905-6, 765 partridges, 6,399 pheasants, 816 hares, 56 woodcock, &c. Some of his best days are as follows:—1899, 17 December, 1,017

pheasants; 8 December, 986; 1902, 9 and 10 January, 738 and 711 pheasants respectively; 1904, 1 December, 1,069 (second time over); 1906, 11 January, 801 (second time over). These figures show the quality of the shooting. Woodcock breed regularly at Manby. In 1903 in one day twenty-four were bagged. In 1904 eighty-one 'cock were killed, and in 1900-1 ninety. Some years ago a white woodcock frequented the woods. The head keeper, Metcalfe, once discovered it sitting. In due course the brood of three appeared, but they did not resemble their white parent. The old Manby game books do not contain any mention of very large bags compared with the shoots of the present day. They used frequently to get 200 pheasants a day. There was generally a fair number of woodcock. For instance, in the seasons 1857-8 111 were bagged; 1858-9, 129; 1862-3, 192; 1863-4, 125; and the old keeper relates that sixty were shot in one day in 1853, Lord Henry Bentinck and old Sir Richard Sutton being of the party. Quails were frequently shot in these times. The late Colonel Morland Hutton and his father in 1854 shot forty-four woodcock in one day between them. The Earl of Yarborough does not now rear pheasants in his Brocklesby woods, but when he did the sport was excellent. Occasionally he has a day amongst the wild birds, of which there are a great number, despite the careful preservation of foxes. Just across the road from Manby is the Scawby shoot, owned by Mr. R. N. Sutton-Nelthorpe, but for some years rented by Mr. Joseph Cliff, who has other shooting of his own adjoining. The old Scawby game books do not show any great days in the old time when Sir John Nelthorpe and Rev. Robert Sutton, Mr. Nelthorpe's father, shot the land, but they often got from 100 to 200. The woods are of the same character as those at Manby; the partridge shooting is excellent, and hares abound. The 'Twigmore' beat yields very varied sport, for besides pheasants, hares, and woodcock, wild duck, wigeon and teal are killed. Mr. Sutton-Nelthorpe has a stuffed specimen of a cross between a cock-pheasant and a grey-hen, which was killed in the eighties. He has also some very interesting specimens of birds and vermin killed on his estate, viz., sundry buzzards, common and rough-legged; peregrine falcon, a female osprey, a pole-cat, a red kite, &c. In 1871 his father sometimes tried a kite, but with poor success. Within the last forty years blackcock and grey-hen have been seen or shot in the vicinity of Twigmore.

Adjoining the Manby shoot on the north is that of Appleby, owned and shot by Lord St. Oswald. The woods and partridge ground provide excellent sport. Lord St. Oswald's largest bag of pheasants in one day was 1,160, and in one season 3,620. Under special care the partridges have increased considerably. The present owner remembers being told when he

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was a boy that his father and three others shot 1,000 brace of birds in ten days with muzzle-loading guns over dogs. Woodcock breed in these woods, and sixty have been killed in a season. Normanby, Sir Berkeley Sheffield's place, is noted for some big shoots. Burton Wood, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, gives good sport and tests the shooters' capacity. One day 1,867 pheasants were killed. It is grand partridge land, 415 having been shot one day; hares also abound. Woodcock breed here. Sir Berkeley Sheffield's neighbour, Mr. J. Goulton Constable of Walcot, has plenty of pheasants, partridges, and rabbits, with an occasional duck.

Hungarian partridges have been turned down in various parts of Lincolnshire with varied success. One gentleman who tried the experiment says that his stock much increased after their introduction, but the majority failed to discover any improvement. Mr. Soames, for example, turned down seventy-five brace of Hungarian partridges one year, but no perceptible increase of birds followed. French partridges have notably increased since their introduction into Suffolk many years ago. They are numerous south of the Humber, and are spreading into Yorkshire. As a rule in bad seasons they thrive, while the grey partridges suffer. They are universally popular for driving purposes, but otherwise are not liked. One noble lord introduced them on his shooting and they spread all over it. Large numbers of woodcock arrive on the coast generally about the end of October and beginning of November, and being as a rule in a very exhausted condition many are knocked on the head before they can recover and find safety inland. The appearance of a grey-back or Norway crow is a sure indication of the early arrival of woodcock. Woodcock Sunday¹ is proverbial and generally to be relied on.

The changing of partridge eggs from nest to nest and from shoot to shoot has notably im-

proved the stamina of the birds, and is almost a universal practice nowadays. A good deal of disease has been noticed among the pheasants during the last few years. Some game preservers attribute it to 'staled' ground, caused by continuous rearing on the same area; others to parasites derived from the hens used to hatch the eggs. A great authority on birds and their ailments states that the disease is pneumo-enteritis, generally caused by herding birds together in large numbers, but may be acquired in a contagious form by foul drinking-water. The disease was not a serious matter till hand-rearing came into vogue. It has been greatly fostered by the modern system of poultry breeding and rearing. The old disease of gapes still attacks pheasants and partridges.

The introduction of the 10s. gun-licence made a great difference to the hare, and in many parts she is seldom seen.

Wood-pigeon or stock-dove provide good sport. They are seen in immense numbers at certain seasons. Mr. Sutton-Nelthorpe some years ago with the help of a large number of neighbours bagged 500 stock-doves in a day. The birds do much harm to roots and young seeds.

The principal enemies of game in Lincolnshire are the weasel, stoat, pole-cat (foumart), fox, carrion-crow, jay, magpie, hawk, and rook. The fox wreaks havoc where there are large fields and low hedges. But there are many shoots on which large bags are got and where hounds always find a fox. The badger, which abounds in some parts of the county, is thought by some to be destructive, but is a very harmless beast in reality. Fifty years ago it was the custom in a celebrated shoot to have cards printed as now, but with this addition: 'No. of shots fired; claims; killed.' It is hardly necessary to add that as a rule the 'claims' exceeded the 'kills.'

WILD FOWLING

From the earliest times this county has been famous for the number and variety of wild-fowl which resort to it. Low flat shores and immense tracts of fenland combine to offer the most favourable feeding-ground and *habitat* for the migratory water-fowl which visit the east coast of Britain in winter. It seems certain that this dead-level tract of black peaty soil was, in times far remote, as heavily timbered as it is now bare of wood. Oldfield, in his *History of Wainfleet*, says:—

From the numerous remains of trees which are found buried at a considerable depth below the present surface of the Fenland, it is evident that in pre-

historic times this must have been a well-wooded country.

All writers of one hundred years ago or more were in agreement respecting the great number and variety of fowl then frequenting this part of the country.

Dr. Fuller² says of Lincolnshire that it may be termed

the aviary of England, for the wild-fowl thereof being remarkable for their (1) plenty, which is so great that sometimes in the month of August 3,000 mallards and other birds of that kind have been caught at one draught (as 'tis here said); (2) variety, there being scarce names enough for the several kinds; (3) deli-

¹ The 21st Sunday after Trinity.

² Circa 1660.

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ciousness, wild-fowl being more dainty than some, because of their continual motion. But particularly, this shire affords two sorts of birds, most admirable meat, viz. : knutes and dotterells. The Knute is a delicious bird, brought here out of Denmark, at the charge and for the use of King Knut or Kanutus when he was received King of England. As it has a royal name, so it is esteemed royal dainties, and no country almost hath them but this . . . To these we may add, not only such as are of great value in other countries, as teal, quail, woodcocks, pheasants, partridges, etc., but such as are of so delicate and agreeable flesh, that the nicest palates always covet them, as puits and godwits.

Camden¹ says :—

At certain seasons of the year, not to mention fish, amazing flights of fowl are found all over this part of the country, not the common ones which are in great esteem in other places, such as teal, quails, woodcocks, pheasants, partridges, &c., but such as have no Latin names, the delicacies of the table and the food of heroes, fit for the palates of the great—puittes, godwittes, knots, which I take to mean Canutes birds, for they are supposed to come hither from Denmark; dotterell, so-called from their extravagant dotishness, which occasions these imitative birds to be caught by candle-light; if the fowler only puts out his arm, they put out a wing, and if his leg, they do the same; in short, whatever the fowler does, the bird does the same till the net is drawn over it. . . . The fen, called the West Fen, is the place where the Ruffs and Reeves resort in greatest numbers; and many other sorts of water-fowl, which do not require the shelter of reeds and rushes, migrate hither to breed, for this fen is bare, having been imperfectly drained by narrow canals which intersect it for many miles. The birds inhabiting the different fens are very numerous. Besides the common wild-duck, wild-geese, garganies, pochards, shovellers, and teals breed here. Pewit-gulls and black tern abound, and a few of the great terns or tickets are seen among them; the great-crested grebes, called gaunts, are found in the East Fen, the lesser crested, the black and dusky, and the little grebe, cootes, water hens, spotted water hens, water rails, ruffs, red-shanks, lapwings or wipes, red-breasted godwits and whimbrels, are inhabitants of these fens. The godwits breed near Washingborough. The whimbrels only appear for about a fortnight in May, near Spalding, and then quit the country. Opposite to Fosdyke Wash, during summer, are vast numbers of avosettas, called there yelpers, from their cry as they hover over the sportsman's head, like lapwings. Knots are taken in nets along the shores near Fosdyke in great numbers, during winter, but disappear in spring.

The knute or knot is still plentiful on the extensive sand and mudbanks of the Wash, and is taken in considerable numbers by the flight-netters of the district.

Pennant, in 1768, refers to Lincolnshire as 'the great magazine of wild-fowl in this kingdom.'

The market value of fen birds in early days is given, in the 'Northumberland Household Book,' under date 1512:

¹ *Brit.* 1695.

Lapwings, knots, and dotterells, 1*d.* each; sea-gulls, plovers, woodcocks, and red-shanks, 1½*d.* each; pigeons, terns, and snipes, 3 for 1*d.*; stints, 6 for 1*d.*; ruffs, reeves, and partridges, 2*d.* each; bitterns and curlews, 1½*d.* each.

The fenmen found in this abundance of water-fowl a means of subsistence; the 'Fen Slodger,' as he was called, took toll of the birds in every possible way; fowling was his trade and almost his sole means of livelihood; and being then practically unrestrained by law, the Fen Slodgers at certain seasons used to muster in great force, and have their yearly drive of the young ducks before they took wing. A wide tract of marsh would be beaten and the birds driven into a net. Frequently as many as 2,000 birds were taken in this way at one time. According to Fuller, this number was sometimes exceeded, for in writing of Crowland he says :—

Their greatest gain is from the fish and wild ducks that they catch, where are so many, that in August they can drive into a single net 3,000 ducks; they call these pools their cornfields, for there is no corn grown within five miles.

These old-time fowling methods, together with the large number of decoys in use in the county in former times, brought about the enactment of laws for the better protection and preservation of wild-fowl. The reign of Henry VIII saw the passage of

An Act² agenst the Destruccon of Wylde-fowl at such time as the seid olde fowle be mowted and not replenysshed with fethers to flye, nor the yonge fowle fully fethered perfctly to flye,

the close time fixed being between 'the last day of Maye and the last day of August.' It is, however, one thing to pass protective measures of the sort, and quite another to compel their observance in remote country districts, and this enactment apparently failed to effect all that was desired. In the time of Queen Anne an Act³ was passed making it an offence to take birds at unseasonable times, the penalty being 5*s.* for every bird so taken; clauses of this Act were re-enacted⁴ in the tenth year of the reign of George II, the time allowed for taking birds being from the end of October to February.

Wild-fowling and fishing were the fenman's chief support, but he added to his income by gathering the reeds that grew abundantly in the fens; these were used for thatching before tiles and slates came into use. This work was profitable, as Camden says that a stack of reeds well harvested was worth from £200 to £300. These facts explain the determined resistance offered by the inhabitants to schemes for the drainage and enclosure of the fenlands. When the drainage was effected some concession was made, for we read that under the 'Lynn Law'

² 25 Hen. VIII, cap. xi.

³ 9 Ann. c. 27, § 5.

⁴ 10 Geo. II, c. 32, § x.

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the decoy pools or 'meeres' were exempt from the drainage plans. These decoys, so important in those days, are well described by Sir R. Payne Gallwey,¹ who, remarking that this county was truly the home of decoys, gives a list of no fewer than thirty-eight, only one of which is now worked—that at Ashby.² The decoys of Lincolnshire were chiefly found in the east and south, notably between Sleaford and Crowland, and from Wainfleet to Boston. A line drawn from Sutton St. Mary near Cross Key's Wash, via Crowland, Market Deeping, Bourne, Folk-ingham, Sleaford, Tattershall, Spilsby, and Wainfleet, to the sea at the latter place, would enclose the large majority of the Lincolnshire decoys. The principal fens, beginning north, near Wainfleet, were the East and West Fens, on the eastern side of which the Friskney, Wainfleet, and Wrangle decoys were situated—Wildmore Fen, Holland Fen (22,000 acres); the Kyme Fens, Sempringham Fen, Pinchbeck Fens, Bourne Fen, Deeping Fen (15,000 acres); Cowbit and Whaplode Fens; besides these were the great marshes of Gedney, Holbeach, and Moulton, situated between Spalding and the sea. The fens which reached from Tattershall to Lincoln were drained at the close of the eighteenth century, and twenty to thirty square miles of country were enclosed in consequence. In 1808 it was calculated that near 200,000 acres of fen had by drainage been brought under cultivation in Lincolnshire. It was about this time that most of the decoys were abandoned.

Previous to the last extensive drainage in 1810, Wildmore and Holland Fens were often under water throughout the winter to a depth of from 3 ft. to 6 ft. The late Mr. Pedley³ says that the fenmen were good shots, and fre-

quently used a horse for stalking the wild-fowl; others used 'Shouts,' or 'Shallops,' of which numbers might be seen drifting like logs of wood, and only betraying the occupation of their owners by the discharge of guns. In summer subsiding waters left a crop of coarse grass, which offered nest sites to the wild birds. Pennant says the Lincolnshire decoys were commonly let at from £5 to £20 a year, and that they contributed principally to supply the markets of London. Amazing numbers of birds were taken; in only ten decoys in the neighbourhood of Wainfleet the takes amounted to 31,200, principally wild duck, wigeon, and teal. Further, Pennant remarked:

It is also to be observed, that in the above particular, wigeon and teal are reckoned as but one, and consequently fell but at half the price of the ducks. This quantity makes them so cheap on the spot, that we have been assured several decoy men would be glad to contract for years to deliver their ducks at Boston for tenpence the couple. The account of the numbers here mentioned relates only to those that were sent to the capital.

From the large number of decoys existing in Lincolnshire in olden times, and the quantities of wild-fowl taken in a season, it is evident the fowler's occupation in those days was a busy, and probably also a lucrative one. Records have been kept at the famous Ashby Decoy, the only one now worked in the county, from the first winter it was started, in 1833-4, down to that of 1867-8, each day's capture being noted; this shows an average take per annum of 2,741 head. The largest number captured at a single drive during late seasons at Ashby was 113 wild duck; and on the same day 248 ducks were caught altogether. In thirty-five seasons the total sums up to nearly 100,000 wild-fowl, viz.:—Wild duck, 48,664; teal, 44,568; wigeon, 2,019; shoveller, 285; pintail, 278; gadwall, 22.

Throughout the winter months along the Friskney and Wainfleet 'flats,' and at other places on the broad stretches of saline marsh bordering the Wash, may be seen great lengths of netting, 6 ft. high, and from 100 yards to a quarter of a mile long, suspended between poles, the distance between the lines of net being sometimes only 100 yards. These are the 'Flightnets,' which for generations have been used to take wild-fowl; they are made of fine twine, with meshes from 5 in. to 7 in. square. The bird-netters usually make good catches on wild, moonless nights—the 'November darks,' as they are tersely called, being especially favourable, many migrant fowl arriving at that time of the year. When the tide ebbs, and as early as possible, before the birds hanging in the nets can be attacked by gulls or crows, the fowler comes to clear them. Many species of shore bird and other fowl are taken in flight-nets, viz.: Wigeon, curlew, knots, plover,

¹ *The Book of Duck Decoys*, 1886.

² A decoy is made by enclosing one and a half to three or four acres of water in some secluded place and planting it round with trees; it is planned in the form of a star, having four or six 'arms,' each arm being made by digging cuts in the land, curving as they branch outwards from the centre of the star; these cuts are covered in by light arches of wood covered over with netting, and gradually tapering towards their extremities, at which is placed a tunnel net, to be taken off when the ducks are driven into it. These cuts and over-arching nets are termed 'pipes,' and on each side of a pipe are screens of reeds to shelter the decoy man, who, when decoying fowl, walks on the outer curve or bend of the pipe; divisions are made in the reed screens on that side for his dog to pass over, and also for him to appear at the right moment, when driving the fowl higher up the pipe towards the tunnel net at the end. Referring to the 'feeding' method in decoying, Pennant says: 'The decoy ducks are fed with hemp-seed, which is flung over the skreens in small quantities, to bring them forwards into the pipes, and to allure the wild-fowl to follow, as this seed is so light as to float.'

³ *Fens and Floods of Mid-Lincolnshire*.

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stints, and larks. A flock of geese or ducks in flight may burst the net or break it down, though at times geese are taken despite their strength and weight. Large birds captured in the nets are sold at 2s. apiece, and the small, or 'half-birds,' as they are called, fetch from 6d. to 6s. a dozen, dealers reckoning four of them as a couple.

Of the principal species of wild-fowl known to resort to this county within comparatively modern times, or still found there in proper season, may be mentioned the Whooper and the Bewick swans—more especially during the prevalence of hard weather accompanied by easterly winds. The Polish and Mute swans are said to have been seen in the county. Naturalists hesitate to accept the latter as truly feral examples, having regard to the number of these birds kept in a state of semi-domestication. Nevertheless they may well be wild birds, since the Mute swan occurs in southern Sweden and northern Germany, whence so many of our migrants come.

Several kinds of wild geese have formerly existed or are now found in the county. Yarrell states in his *History of British Birds*, published in 1843, that in former days the Grey lag was common in the fens throughout the whole year; these were driven away by drainage and cultivation, and have long since ceased to breed there. The remaining varieties of wild geese frequently or rarely seen are the Bean, Pink-footed, White-fronted, Bernicle, Brent, Canadian, and Egyptian Goose. Of these the commonest species at the present day is undoubtedly the pink-footed. One strong gathering of these birds has long made the islands and mud banks of the Upper Humber its winter quarters. The writer has had in view at one time at least 4,000 birds—their number, however, fluctuates year by year, varying, no doubt, in accordance with the character of the breeding season in the north whence they come to us, the nature of the weather, and possibly the direction of the wind at the migration season; as also with the abundance or scarcity of suitable food. Pink-footed geese are inordinately fond of grain, especially barley, and may be seen gleaning the great barley stubbles on the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire wolds—the first-mentioned range of hills being their chief feeding ground. It has been noticed that the vanguard of the migratory flights arrives in the Humber district with unfailing regularity about 25 September; the main body comes towards the middle of October and stays till about March, the laggards departing towards the end of the latter month or the beginning of April. Next, in respect of number, comes the brent goose, a marine species that seldom or never strays away from salt water. Brents, or black geese as the fishermen and punt-gunners of the coast term these birds, are found on the Wash and in smaller quantity upon the lower

Humber. The bernicle goose is also to be seen on rare occasions in both of these districts. In Lincolnshire the bean goose and the white-fronted goose are usually found feeding upon the inland marsh grasses. As a rule only small gaggles of either species are seen, and their visits are not by any means frequent. As both Canadian and Egyptian geese are kept in semi-domestication in England and Scotland it is always doubtful whether the rare examples of these birds that have been found in Lincolnshire were really wild or had merely escaped from some ornamental water. For instance, the large Canadian goose is kept by the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Park, North Norfolk, and these birds occasionally visit the Wash.

Of the ducks now found or known to have formerly existed in Lincolnshire may be enumerated:—The sheldrake, which is fairly common along the coast and in the Wash, and breeds in some numbers in the rabbit burrows in the sand dunes stretching northwards from Gibraltar Point; the common wild duck, still widely dispersed throughout the county, more especially in the fen district and along the inland and saline marshes of the lengthy coast-line. In Lincolnshire the number of native-bred wild ducks seems to have increased since the passing of the Wild Birds' Protection Act of 1880; but nesting as they do on unpreserved lands, they are the prey of fox, stoat, rat, carrion-crow, rook, and other natural foes. The shoveller, garganey, and teal also breed in the county. The last is the most numerous of the three, the garganey being the rarest. It is probable that the gadwall nests in the county, and although the writer cannot point to any sufficiently authenticated instance, he has met with this bird when shooting in August. Of ducks not known to nest in Lincolnshire, but resorting thither in winter, may be mentioned:—Wigeon, numerous on the Wash and fairly plentiful in the Humber district; pintail, pochard, tufted duck, scaup duck, long-tailed duck (rare); golden-eye; common scoter; velvet scoter (rare); and eider-duck, also rather rare.

The wading birds of general interest to wild-fowler or naturalist are:—The curlew, whimbrel or half-curlew (curlew jack it is called in south Lincolnshire), golden plover, grey plover, lapwing, ringed plover, knot, oyster-catcher or 'Seapie,' turnstone, bar-tailed godwit, black-tailed godwit, greenshank, common redshank, ruff and reeve, grey phalarope, sanderling, dunlin, &c. There are also woodcock and the three snipe—the great, common, and jack snipe. In early days the great bustard, little bustard (a casual visitor), and bittern belonged, more or less, to this county.

In spite of the changes brought about by long years of drainage and cultivation which, together with increased population, has altered the whole aspect of the fen district, gradually reducing the

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number of birds, there are still many places in Lincolnshire where wild-fowl are fairly plentiful, and both shore-shooters and punt-gunners in the Wash and at various points round the coast still ply their trade, though recent mild winters have not been favourable to its successful prosecution. The shore-shooter has great opportunities on the flat shores of the Wash, especially in the vicinity of Gibraltar Point near Wainfleet, and along the Friskney flats; as also at Freiston Shore and the Kirton-Skeldyke and Fosdyke marshes. On the northern coast, in the estuary of the Humber, the shoulder-gunner and the punt-gunner often obtain good sport, for wild ducks, wigeon,

curlew, and plover are tolerably plentiful. Grey geese, as before remarked, come every autumn to the upper Humber, and at points on both the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire shores these birds are constantly seen, though few, comparatively, are shot. In all districts of Lincolnshire, however, as in other parts of the country, the wild-fowler is now more dependent upon the advent of migratory fowl than was the case one hundred years ago. The reclamation of land and the advancing tide of civilization have driven away many species that formerly remained practically the whole year round.

COURSING

The large enclosures and low fences of Lincolnshire are peculiarly favourable to coursing, and the sport has flourished in the county for a long period. The first meeting of which record¹ exists is that of Louth, some 30 miles from Lincoln. In the year 1806 Mr. George Chaplin, residing at Tathwell, 'being an amateur of coursing, and keeping greyhounds,' agreed to furnish the ground required for a coursing meeting by a number of gentlemen who proposed to form a club, to be called the Louth Coursing Society. Mr. Chaplin held the deputations of his relations' manors of Hangham, Tathwell, Raithby, and Hallington, all connected and lying round his residence, also the deputation of Withcall, the property of Lord Gwydyr, extending over 3,000 acres and unenclosed save by a boundary fence. At first two meetings were held annually, but subsequently one was abandoned, the other taking place on the third Monday in November. The ground was principally arable land, the fields being very spacious, extending from 100 to 300 acres, and what few fences occurred consisted of posts and rails or sheep hurdles. The Withcall ground was the most extensive, and there the cup courses were run. The *Coursing Manual* adds that 'The sport in general is excellent, and the hares are stout and in abundance.' The coursing days were Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The prizes were:—A cup worth fifty sovereigns, with £10 to the second dog, and three sweepstakes of four brace of dogs each, and two sovereigns each nomination. Amongst the forty members of this club were the Rev. Francis Best; Messrs. Charles, George, and Richard Chaplin; Colonel Elmhirst, Sir Charles Kent, Sir B. Grayham, Earl of Marlborough, Messrs. G. F. Heneage, M.P., Hassell, Hoskins, and Bartholomew. After some years a change was made and coursing took place on three consecutive days instead of on alternate days as originally arranged. On 24, 25, and 26 November, 1840,

a sixty-four dog stakes called the Great St. Leger was run in addition to the Cup and Sovereign Stakes for 16 greyhounds, the Derby and the Oaks and the Withcall All Aged Stakes. Soon after this date or early in the fifties the club must have ceased to exist, as no meetings are recorded. Several smaller meetings, however, such as Wainfleet, Eastville, &c., were held in the neighbourhood.

The Sleaford meeting, established in 1885, is held on the Bristol estate close to the town of Sleaford, and on land principally in the occupation of Mr. Fred Ward. After that of 1900 it fell into abeyance, but was revived, a successful meeting having been held in 1905. Previous to the establishment of the Sleaford Club some very successful meetings were held on the Blankney estate by permission of Mr. H. Chaplin and his tenants. The latter were revived in 1904 under the name of the Blankney, Boothby, and Navenby meeting. The first fixture proved somewhat disappointing owing to the scarcity of entries. The second held on 13 and 14 November, 1905, was a great success, full entries being received for four sixteen-dog stakes and three smaller ones. A feature of this meeting was the abundance of hares. When all the courses had been run, hares enough were seen to have run the meeting right through again. Cups and trophies were presented to the winners of the three principal stakes in addition to the prize money.

There was a capital entry for the Sleaford revived meeting held on 10 and 11 October, 1905, the last meeting being in 1900. Mr. F. Ward and his son took the management of the drives, the coursing being held on lands occupied by them, hares ran quite in their old form and afforded excellent trials. Cups and other trophies were also added to four of the stakes, and all the trials were run off by one o'clock on the second day. Mr. G. R. Lee of Sleaford, in a letter to the writer says, 'I think, speaking without prejudice, the best meetings we ever had in Lincolnshire

¹ Goodlake, *Coursers' Manual*, 1828.

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were held at Spalding, good management, good hares, good entries, and big attendances. They, too, have had a year or two's rest, and are holding a revival this year (1906) late in October. The land is all that could be desired, and the owners, Messrs. J. Ward, S. and G. Freir, W. Banks, and T. Mawby, vie with each other in promoting the sport.' Forty years ago the Heckington Fen meeting was inaugurated by Mr. B. Smith, and ran over the famous 'Six Hundreds' estate.' For several seasons it was well patronized. Five years ago a very successful attempt was made to revive this old meeting, which lasted for two seasons. Messrs. G. Godson and J. Greetham provided the land and hares. There has, however, been no meeting for the last three years.

Ewerby, after four or five successful meetings, was given up owing to the objections of the late Lord Winchilsea. Several other smaller meetings existed at this time during the lapse of the Sleaford meeting, that of Billinsborough taking place over the lands which had served the Sleaford coursers on the Marquess of Bristol's estate.

The first Brigg meeting probably occurred in

the late 'sixties; it flourished during the subsequent decade and was much frequented by coursers from Northumberland. The fixture fell into abeyance for a time, but was revived in 1892, when after a postponement—compelled by frost—a very successful meeting was held on 14–15 December over the lands of Mr. Astley Corbett, who had strictly preserved the hares over his carrs. Sir John Astley, as in former days, took the chair at the draw on the night previous to the coursing. The Brigg meeting was under the patronage and by permission of the late Sir John Astley, Lady Astley, who was a fine horsewoman, also taking great interest in the sport.

Another meeting, long since abandoned, was that of Barton on Humber: this was an important fixture in the early 'forties, providing three days' sport on the estate of Mr. Charles Winn of Appleby. The chief event was the St. Leger Stakes, which in the season 1840–41 brought an entry of 38 dogs, Captain Daintrees' famous King Cob proving the winner. The ground and hares were equal to any in the kingdom.

ANGLING

The principal rivers in the county other than the Humber are the Trent and Welland. Others of fair size are the Witham, Nene, Ancholme, Bain, and Glen; there are smaller streams such as the Lud, Lymn, Eau, Rase, and Slea, and various natural brooks. An old rhyme says:—

Ankolme eels and Witham pike,
In all England are nane syke.

In the Trent the tidal bore rushes up the river with great force, and many boating fatalities have been caused by it from Gainsborough downwards. Salmon ascend the Trent, Ouse, and their tributaries to spawn; but it is almost notorious that a salmon has never been caught in the Trent with the fly; the fish is occasionally taken with a spinning bait, generally artificial; and sometimes with worm. An old professional angler, Charlie Hudson of Dunham, who for thirty years or more fished for carp-bream and barbel at Dunham Dubbs, caught fourteen salmon in the Trent with worm during his angling career, which closed with his death in 1889. Angling in the Ancholme only begins at the navigable portion at Bishop Bridge. The waters of this river, which are somewhat sluggish, contain trout, tench, perch, roach, bream (common and white), rudd, dace, king carp, gudgeon, eels, bleak, tommy ruffe, flounder, and burbot or eel pout. Bishop Bridge, Brandywath, Sandhills, Engine House (all above Brigg), Coal Dyke End, Appleby Carrs, Horkstow Bridge, and Ferriby Sluice, are favourite places

for anglers, to whom licences are granted on payment. Stringent regulations as to fishing are in force. There are many miles of spawning ground in the tributary streams. The commissioners have re-stocked the river annually since 1888, from which time till 1905, 27,500 trout, 2,163 king carp, 9,662 tench, and 2,825 rudd have been turned into it. Large quantities of roach and bream taken from the commissioners' own drains (which may not be fished) have also been turned in. Tench and rudd have given the best results. The Ancholme is a fine angling river, and all species of fish attain a good size. Very good catches of bream were made during the summer of 1905, individual baskets of 30 lb. and 40 lb. being taken. Eleven members of Wilson's Coopers' Angling Club of Hull killed 113 lb. in a match; top weight 24 lb. Worksop's Tradesmen's Club, twenty-six members, in four hours, 130 lb.; top weight over 21 lb. Hand-in-Hand Club, Hull, top weight 19 lb. in one match and 10 lb. in another. Boston may be called the metropolis of the angler for coarse fish. Five or six years ago 6,000 people from Sheffield were expected at Boston to spend the week-end. Foremost stands the Witham, which gives excellent sport throughout the twenty-one miles from Bardney to Boston. Roach and tench abound, and some of the finest bream in England are taken here. In 1901 one weighing 7½ lb. was caught, and bream scaling 6 lb. have been fairly common during the last two or three years; many catches of from 2 to

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3 stones per day by one rod have been made during the same period. Heavy catches of roach are constantly made, and occasionally a fish of 2 lb. is taken. Tench are fairly plentiful and are sometimes taken up to $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb., but he who lands one of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb. is fortunate. Rudd are not plentiful, but during the 1905 season two weighing respectively 3 lb. 6 oz. and 3 lb. 2 oz. were killed. Dace are very scarce in this length of the river. Pike are plentiful and large; several of 16 lb. and 17 lb. have been captured within recent years, and fish of 20 lb. are recorded. The South Forty Foot drain is one of the many watercourses made to drain the fens. The principal fish are roach, perch, tench, pike, and bream, the last being more generally found within a couple of miles of Boston. Roach are abundant, catches of from 1 to 2 stones being fairly common. Pike also were plentiful at one time, but now a fish of 10 lb. or 12 lb. is considered a good one. The North Forty Foot drain is much narrower and shallower than the 'South,' which it joins at Boston. Good-sized roach and tench are caught, and also a few nice pike. In the small Gill Syke drain, a Boston angler once caught 52 lb. weight of pike in four hours. The Hob Hole drain for the first two or three miles of its course is very shallow and somewhat weedy, but from its confluence with Bell-water at Midville to the Pumping Engine Station at Old Leake (two-and-a-half to three miles) it contains a great quantity of bream, roach, and perch. Pike and tench are fairly numerous. On 22 January, 1902, the writer caught at the junction of Bell-water and Hob Hole two well-conditioned tench of $2\frac{3}{4}$ lb. and $2\frac{1}{4}$ lb., and a fellow-angler one of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. The largest pike captured in 'Hob Hole' of recent years weighed about 16 lb. Many good bags of bream are made, but in size they compare unfavourably with the Witham bream. Of late years great damage was done by the admission of salt water through defective doors at the lower end; many fish were killed, and others were driven to the upper reaches. The doors have since been repaired. The remarks on fishing in the Hob Hole drain for the most part apply also to the Bell-water drain, which starts five miles away at Thorpe Culvert. For about a mile from its junction with the Hob Hole drain the fishing is very good. When the pumping engine at Old Leake is working, the depth both of this drain and Hob Hole is lowered, and it is then almost useless to fish for anything but perch, as the water runs so rapidly. A well-scoured cock-spur worm floated under the bridge near the Duke of Wellington Inn will generally secure a good basket of perch, which run up to $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. The Mount Pleasant drain flows from Mount Pleasant village to Cowbridge (two miles from Boston); it abounds with roach, and there are some bream. Though the water

is fished heavily throughout the season it invariably gives good sport with roach. Miles of small and shallow drains serve as spawning grounds for the fish in Mount Pleasant. The East Fen catchwater drain affords, in some respects, marvellous fishing. Very shallow—varying from 15 in. to 2 ft.—it abounds with fine roach, large bream and tench, and contains a few good-sized pike and enormous eels. Opposite Dovecote Farm the writer has taken $2\frac{1}{2}$ stones weight of bream, roach, and tench, in one day's angling, and twenty-one roach weighing 20 lb. were once caught at the Iron Bridge. The tench, though not real golden tench, are very golden in colour, and run from 2 lb. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb. A short distance from 'The Poplars,' below Stickford, there is a stanch over which another drain runs, and below the stanch are a great quantity of fine dace. East Fen catchwater drain joins the West Fen catchwater drain nearly two miles to the north-north-west of Sibsey church; the combined drains thence flowing southwards are not worth attention from anglers. Salmon, trout, and grayling are entirely absent from the waters about Boston. In the spring, sea trout come up the Witham as far as the Grand Sluice at Boston, but are seldom caught.

The Lymn, popularly known as the Steeping river, for some miles below its source is strictly preserved, and trout are numerous. In the reaches above Partney Mill the stream widens and forms the mill-dam. From above the mill, nearly as far as the rifle butts, are a few trout, which, however, seldom rise to the fly. There are great quantities of fine dace, gudgeon, numerous but generally small, and a few fair-sized roach. The mill-pit is preserved, as also is the stream nearly as far as Halton Hologate. After passing under the railway line (Spilsby and Firsby branch) the stream becomes straighter and more resembles a drain. In these lower reaches, particularly at the bridges, roach abound in great numbers, and there are also a few dace and gudgeon. During the winter months pike, from 2 lb. to 6 lb., resort to the deep scours under the bridges. In the winter of 1901-2 the writer and a fellow-angler caught with live bait on two days nine and twenty-two pike respectively. The two largest weighed $5\frac{3}{4}$ lb. and 5 lb. The roach at the bridges named run to a great size, but it is useless to fish there except on the day after a heavy rain has caused a rapid rise of the river. Numbers of 1 lb. roach are taken in a catch weighing 2 or 3 stones; in the winter of 1903-4, at Clough Bridge, eight roach weighing 11 lb. 12 oz. were taken. At Thorpe Culvert, opposite the inn, there is a pool containing both pike and roach, in which the writer has caught 3 stones of roach in one day. On the far side of the Steeping river at Thorpe Culvert large dace and fair-sized perch are caught. Below Wainfleet the river widens and deepens; in July, August, and September

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the reaches there are fished almost entirely to the exclusion of the parts above Thorpe Culvert. Pike up to 12 lb. have been caught occasionally, but they are rare. Three or four years ago a large disused brick-pit near Thorpe Culvert station was pumped out, and many perch up to 4 lb. in weight and eels of 7 lb. and 8 lb. were secured.

The angling waters near Lincoln are (1) Upper (river) Witham, from Witham village to Brayford water in the city; (2) Lower Witham, Brayford to Tattershall Bridge; (3) Old Witham, from the Stanch (Fiskerton pumping-engine) to Bardney Railway Bridge; (4) the Fosdyke Canal, from the Trent at Torksey to Brayford; (5) Sincil drain, from the Witham near Boultham to Bardney Railway Bridge; (6) North Delph drain, from Lincoln to Fiskerton pumping-engine; (7) the Barlings river, from Rand to the old River Witham. The fishing rights of all these, which contain roach, bream, pike, perch, and eels, also a few rudd, are leased to the Lincoln Angling Association. Nos. 1, 3, and 7 contain chub and dace; in Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 6 there are a few dace; Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 contain tench; No. 7 a few trout; Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 7, gudgeon in small numbers. There is a trout stream at Scopwick owned by Lord Londesborough. There are also several private lakes and large sheets of water in the near neighbourhood of Lincoln.

The Lud contains a great number of trout, but a pound fish is exceptional until the mill-dam at the entrance to Hubbards Hills is reached; there they are occasionally caught up to 2 lb. The deep lower dam near Bridge Street also holds fine trout. The riparian owners hold the fishing rights. Of late years there has been a good deal of poaching in Hubbards Hills Valley. It is feared most of the coarse fish at the Louth end of the Louth and Tetney Canal have been killed by the washings of casks used in a weed-killing business, or by the drainage from Louth. Nowadays, anglers seldom fish before they reach Alvingham; before the pollution of the water the ponds below Ticklepenny Lock furnished the best roach and gudgeon fishing in the canal. The writer several times secured baskets of roach up to 2 stones in weight, and from forty to eighty fine gudgeon in addition. Of recent years the commissioners have added bream and king carp. The latter have grown rapidly. A trout stream also runs from Legbourne, about three miles from Louth, to Carlton. The Louth Angling Association has the fishing rights just below Legbourne. At Carlton the fishing is very good, the rights being in the hands of the riparian owners. In the neighbourhood of Louth there are several large sheets of water in private grounds; these contain tench, roach, bream, pike, and perch.

About the year 1904 the Market Rasen Angling Club for coarse fishing was formed. The Market Rasen Angling Association was formed

in 1888 to preserve and improve the trout in the River Rase, and to stock with trout any suitable waters that could be acquired. The River Rase holds a fair number of trout, and large quantities of dace and gudgeon, also eels; below West Rasen mill occasional pike and perch occur. The right of fishing in the Rase, except in the parish of Tealby, belongs to the Angling Association. Among other waters in the district are Willingham Ponds, owned by Captain Barne; these used to contain perch and very large quantities of roach up to $\frac{3}{4}$ lb., but when the Angling Association acquired these ponds the coarse fish were cleared out. The trout fishing is very good, the stock being artificially maintained. Tealby Lakes, owned by Mr. E. T. D'Eyncourt, of Bayons Manor, Tealby, contain fine carp, large quantities of silver bream, roach, and perch. In the upper four miles or so of the Rase are excellent spawning grounds, but below Market Rasen the deep agricultural draining, put in some years ago, spoiled the gravel beds. Trout therefore spawn only in the upper part. Dace and gudgeon breed freely. Re-stocking is carried out by the Association in the Rase and the Willingham ponds, many thousand trout having been turned in during the past few years. The common indigenous trout does best in the stream, but for the ponds it is difficult to say which species is the most suitable. Loch Levens do not thrive. Trout have been taken from the Rase up to 4 lb. A fario of $5\frac{1}{4}$ lb. was killed at Stainton le Vale by Mr. A. J. Tillett, and trout of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb. and 3 lb. 3 oz. have been killed with minnow. Scores of trout from 1 lb. to 2 lb. have been taken. The best day's catch of trout recorded is sixty-three, all on the cow-dung fly. The mayfly has not been seen in the district for some years. The best roach caught in the district weighed $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. The best catch of roach with one fly—thirty-seven in one hour. Some prosecutions a few years ago practically stamped out poaching in the Market Rasen district. A few herons at West Rasen are the worst fish foes; an otter was killed at Willingham four years ago.

The Bain, on which Horncastle stands, is an ideal trout stream, especially in the $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the town, which is preserved by the Horncastle Angling Association. There are trout only below the rifle butts, principally fario and Loch Leven. Thanks to the abundant food—caddis, fresh-water shrimps, and snails—the fish attain a large size; one trout just under $6\frac{1}{2}$ lb., three over $4\frac{1}{2}$, and scores over 3 lb., have been taken. Formerly there were grayling, but these have entirely disappeared. In the lower reaches there are large chub, some splendid dace, and numerous gudgeon. Fly and artificial minnow are the only permissible trout lures. For many miles north of Horncastle the angling rights are in the hands of private owners. The fish are principally trout, though coarse fish, chiefly dace,

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occur here and there. Numerous becks and rivulets run into the main stream, and these constitute splendid breeding-places. The Bain in its course from Horncastle to Coningsby was, in past times, cut in no less than five places to make it navigable: the first cut being about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Horncastle. Up to eight or nine years ago the ponds between the locks were full of coarse fish, principally pike, perch, roach and gudgeon, but the water is now too low for angling, most of the lock doors having fallen to ruin; and of late years the waters have been frequently run off and hundreds of thousands of fish destroyed. The lower reaches of Haltham and Kirkby-on-Bain are leased by Sheffield anglers; there are still good fish in these parts, but not a tithe of the number in old times. At Coningsby mill-pit are a few large bream. Between Coningsby and Tattershall the writer has caught chub up to 3 lb., but there are many much heavier. The roach frequently weigh from $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. to 1 lb.; before the navigation became derelict a catch of 10 lb. to 20 lb. of roach was often made in the evening, and the capture of a dozen or more pike in an afternoon was not uncommon. Quite recently an angler caught twenty-one chub, the smallest weighing 1 lb. The Association carried on pisciculture for years, but the enterprise proved only partly successful and was given up; yearlings are now purchased, and during the 1905 season 800 were placed in the river.

Revesby Reservoir contains roach, bream, perch, pike, and eels. It is supplied from a small spring rising at Asgarby, three miles away, and in its course gathers surface water from the foot of the Wold Hills. The reservoir consists of two lakes of thirty-eight and four acres respectively, connected only by a six-inch overflow pipe. The largest fish recorded is a 24-lb. pike, caught by the Hon. Mrs. Edward Stanhope. Several pike weighing 15 lb. and upwards have been killed. At Holbeck Hall, the residence and property of Mr. F. S. Heywood, are two lakes of about five or six acres, fed by a spring. The lakes were cleaned out a few years since and stocked with rainbow trout, which have thriven remarkably well. It is not unusual to catch them of from 4 lb. to 5 lb. in weight. The fishing is private.

The Freshney, which rises in a deep hollow beside the Barton Street, and flows into the old dock at Grimsby, provides sport with the fly. Its flow for three miles above Laceby is not infrequently broken for a year or more, depending as it does to a great extent on the winter rainfall. In normal years, about April, it breaks out through many fissures; and in some seasons, at the spring-head, Welbeck, the water forms a pond of 20 or 25 yds. across, in which trout rise, whilst in other seasons it is perfectly dry. The stream above Laceby is only worth fishing in very wet seasons, when abundant water brings the trout up from below the village. In years gone by the

writer has made many heavy bags of trout in this portion, the best weighing from 1 lb. up to nearly 2 lb.; he has known them caught (by tickling) up to 4 lb. From the boundary of the late Mr. W. R. Marshall's property downwards, the fishing rights are held by the Freshney Fishing Club. Its numerous gravel beds make it a very fine breeding river, but there was great destruction of trout during 1905, when the river was cleaned out. Sixteen or eighteen years ago 5,000 Loch Leven yearlings were placed in the stream, but they are now indistinguishable from the indigenous trout. In a dry season particularly, a great quantity of the larger trout find their way down to the various docks at Grimsby. They are occasionally caught weighing from 2 lb. to 5 lb. by anglers for smelts and whiting, which abound in the docks during August and September. Below Laceby, down to the Great Central Railway, a distance of about three miles, trout up to 2 lb. 5 oz. have been caught with the fly, but this is exceptional. Under the railway bridge, where worm-fishing is permitted, a trout of 3 lb. 5 oz., and another of 4 lb. have been caught within the last two years. An old angler (now dead), resident at Laceby, once caught with worm $55\frac{1}{2}$ brace of trout in a large bend in the stream near the wood below the hunting bridge. This was before the formation of the Freshney Fishing Club. The natural mayfly is not known on the stream. For many years in the lower reaches there were a great many roach, some of nearly 2 lb. Another trout stream near Grimsby is the Waithe Beck. The Rev. M. G. Watkins, formerly a rector of Barnoldby le Beck, has described this brook in his work, *In the Country* (1883). Trout up to 3 lb. have been caught in the Waithe; but dry seasons and the depredations of otters have greatly reduced the number of trout. Within the last few years several thousands of yearlings and fry have been turned into it, but the results as regards fry are not encouraging. The riparian owners hold the fishing rights. In the lower reaches of the stream there are fine dace weighing up to 14 oz., some roach, and many very large gudgeon. A stream which rises near Keelby, about eight miles from Grimsby, flowing thence past Stallingborough to the Humber, contains a few trout in the deep water above the sheep wash near Little London, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Grimsby. Another trout stream, rising in one of the Earl of Yarborough's woods near the Great Central Railway line between Habrough and Brocklesby stations, still contains some fine trout near East Halton. The stream is sluggish and quite unsuitable for fly-fishing. There are some gudgeon in the stream about Thornton Abbey. The last seven miles of the Louth and Tetney canal provide excellent coarse fishing, particularly with roach, which have been caught up to 1 lb. 12 oz. A perch, weighing $3\frac{1}{4}$ lb., was once caught there. Perch of from 2 lb.

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upwards are caught in this length of the canal. Tench, bream, and king carp have been added of recent years; eels abound, also gudgeon, and a few small pike. The favourite resorts in this length of the canal are Austen Fen, Firebeacon, Fulstow Bridge, Fulstow Drain End, and Thoresby Bridge. By the roadside, on the way from North Thoresby station to Thoresby Bridge, are the pits known as 'Butts Ponds'—the one farthest from the road contains very large king carp; the other two, pike, tench, roach, perch, and eels. The writer, with a friend, a few years ago caught in the smallest pond, in two days, sixty-one tench of good size. The fishing is now reserved by the owner. On the Earl of Yarborough's Brocklesby estate are some very fine sheets of water, 'Lambert Hill' in particular, containing large carp. Newsham Lake contains fine roach and very large pike. The best fishing, however, is in Croxby Pond, ten miles from Grimsby. It is about half a mile long, and from 80 to 100 yds. wide, and the depth seldom reaches 2 ft. It contains trout, tench, perch and enormous carp, certainly up to 30 lb. in weight. In recent years they have been caught up to 20 lb. Mr. Overbeck, of Grimsby, four or five years ago hooked one at 11 a.m., and played it until 4.30 p.m., when he lost it; he has caught in one day's fishing there three carp totalling over 42 lb., the largest 17 lb. 8 oz.

At New Holland, on the Great Central line from Grimsby, are several brick-pits—one or two communicate with the Humber by drain or delph up which the tide flows at high water; sea trout up to 2½ lb. in weight have been caught in these brick-pits—one season a fine salmon remained there for several months. At Thoresway near Croxby are 'Black Springs' and the Manor Farm reservoir. The fish in Black Springs are reputed the very best for 'Sport, Colour, Condition and the Pot.'

The Slea joins the Witham at Chapel Hill about twelve miles above Boston. During the years 1903-4-5 trout of great size were caught on the mayfly, viz.: 9 lb., 7¾ lb., 6 lb. and several of 5 lb., the general run of fish, however, except when the mayfly is 'out,' is quite normal. Five years ago the writer fishing the water known as the Papers Mills, just outside the town, took with the fly in a few hours twenty brace of trout, none over 10 oz. From the Haverholm Lock to Cobbler's Lock some excellent dace fishing can be had, and from Cobbler's Lock to its junction with the Witham the roach and pike fishing is very good. Two anglers in February, 1905, killed in one day ten pike of the aggregate weight of 77 lb., the largest being 10½ lb. In this stretch, roach of from 1¼ lb. to 2 lb. are frequently taken, and a bag of 16 lb. to 20 lb. in weight is not uncommon. From a little above South Kyme to the Witham, a distance of seven or eight miles, the fishing is practically free. Ashby de la

Launde pond, about seven miles from Sleaford, belonging to Captain Reeve-King, contains some large carp; the weight of the largest caught is 9 lb.

In the neighbourhood of Stamford the Welland contains pike, perch, roach, bream, chub, tench, and dace. Pike up to 17 lb. have been caught, and bream up to 7 lb., the principal bait for the latter being worm. Standing on the town bridge early on a spring morning the river appears a black mass of moving bream. Through the town of Stamford itself, and for nearly a mile below, the fishing in the Welland is entirely free. In the neighbourhood of Tallington the Earl of Lindsay has the fishing rights. Permits are sparingly granted. The Guash (local 'Wash') rises in Rutland and joins the Welland at Newstead, about half a mile below Stamford. It contains trout and grayling, the latter having been introduced about 1895. It is a lovely little stream flowing over gravel. Trout up to 4 lb. 10 oz. have recently been taken, and grayling up to 1½ lb. The Stamford Angling Association holds the fishing rights for about eight miles on the Welland and six miles (in Rutland and Lincolnshire) on the Guash, from the Marquess of Exeter, and re-stocks this stream with trout and grayling. The first lot of 5,000 grayling fry have done so well that further supplies are unnecessary. In 1904 one member took twenty-four brace of trout and ninety-three grayling during the season. The Fishery Club of Spalding has the fishing rights over the North Drove, the South Drove, and the Counter Drain. All these discharge into a basin at Podge Hole, about two miles from Spalding, and drain portions of Deeping St. Nicholas and Bourne. The River Glen (about six miles) drains Pinchbeck Fen and enters the Welland at Surfleet reservoir. Pike, bream (silver), tench, perch, roach, eels, and dace are the principal fish. The Vernatt's drain contains some very fine dace. On 14 March, 1905, two pike were caught by Mr. H. J. Dennis of Spalding, weighing respectively 20 lb. 2 oz. and 12 lb. 6 oz. In an angling competition on 27 October, 1904, a catch of roach weighing 53 lb. 8 oz. secured first prize, and roach weighing 46 lb. 14 oz. the second. An eel weighing 6 lb. 4 oz. is preserved by Mr. Seymour, its captor. The Welland at Market Deeping contains large quantities of fish of nearly all kinds except barbel, grayling, and carp. A few trout are brought down by floods from the Guash, which joins the Welland near Uffington; one of 6 lb. was taken in March, 1905. From West Deeping, the Lincolnshire side down to Mr. Thorpe's mill belongs to various owners. Below Mr. Thorpe's preserved fishing the right of angling through Market Deeping and Deeping St. James down to Kenulph's Stone, a distance of about six miles, was purchased about thirty years ago from the crown by nine gentlemen, who threw it

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open to the public on payment of small fees. It is no uncommon occurrence to take a stone weight of roach and dace with the fly. Numbers of pike are also killed. In the third week of November, 1905, one of 16 lb. was captured. On one day in October, 1904, an angler made a basket of 4 stone, two or three of the fish exceeding 10 lb. The very good fishing in the New River at Crowland running into the Welland (with its tributary drains) is preserved by an angling society. There is very little poaching in any portion of the Welland. In the upper parts of the Glen river at Manthorpe, Wilsthorpe, and Braceborough, the fishing rights of which are held by a private syndicate, there are a few nice trout. From Wilsthorpe to Gutheram, the fishing is leased by the Bourne Angling Association from Mr. T. M. Baxter, of Bourne, who leases it as far as the Bourne Eau. This river and the Glen are well stocked with pike, perch, roach, and dace. Pike up to 10 and 12 lb. are frequently taken, and perch and roach (the latter occasionally) up to 2 lb. Early in the sixteenth century Queen Elizabeth granted to one Presgrave the right of fishing in the Glen 'from the Ancient Stone which separates the parishes of Thurlby and Bourne to Gutheram Cote' and in the Bourne Eau 'from St. Peter's Pool to the Glen.' This right remained in the Presgrave family until about 1895, when it was sold to Mr. T. M. Baxter. The Forty Foot Drain¹ is exceedingly well stocked with pike, tench, bream, perch, roach and rudd. Pike up to 10 and 12 lb. are frequently killed, and tench of 3 and 4 lb. are now and again taken.

Grimsthorpe Lake (about forty acres), belonging to the Earl of Ancaster, contains splendid pike and tench. In March, 1903, an angler landed sixteen pike, nine of which weighed $87\frac{1}{2}$ lb., the heaviest being $15\frac{1}{2}$ and $14\frac{1}{2}$ lb. His companion caught twelve, eight of which weighed over 70 lb. In March, 1905, the two heaviest of a bag of seven weighed $18\frac{1}{2}$ lb. and 12 lb. respectively. In September, 1904, in one day's fishing four tench weighing 4 lb., $3\frac{3}{4}$ lb., $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb. and $3\frac{1}{4}$ lb. were taken. Wytham Lake, the property of Mr. W. L. Fenwick, covers about two acres. It is well stocked with pike and other coarse fish. Two years ago a carp of 29 lb. was found stranded on the side of the lake. The same season a Bourne angler landed a 19-lb. pike. Holywell Lake (three or four acres) belonging to Colonel C. Birch-Reynardson is well stocked with magnificent trout. The Mere, Deeping St. James, consisting of some old disused gravel-pits, covers twenty acres or more. The pits are very deep and well stocked with most kinds of coarse fish. Pike up to 30 lb. have been taken.

¹ This is another section of the Forty Foot Drain already referred to.

The River Witham about Grantham contains very fine trout, roach, and dace, most of the fishing being strictly preserved by the landowners. In a dry summer the river may be crossed practically dryshod in places; in the bends, however, are deep holes, and there and under the banks the fish lie. Large dace are killed chiefly—roach, occasionally over 1 lb., chub, and pike, not very large, are also taken. The artificial fly is not used, but roach and dace are killed with natural fly early in the season. The best of the chub were practically cleared out by netting, before this practice was stopped in 1905. The Grantham and Nottingham canal is well stocked with bream, tench, roach, rudd, perch, eels, and pike. The Grantham Angling Association leases about six miles of the water, and has for several years restocked the canal. Denton reservoir, four miles from Grantham, is one of its feeders. Formerly a favourite angling resort, this has been closed since 1904 owing to the scarcity of water. Pike close upon 30 lb. in weight have been caught in the reservoir, which also contains the usual coarse fish. Syston Lake, at Syston Park, and Denton Fishpond at Denton Park, private waters preserved by the owners, contain fine coarse fish.

The larger of the two lakes at Well Vale, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Alford, in a beautiful wooded valley, contains fair pike; there are also roach, perch, eels, and tench. In the Withern Eau there are numbers of trout, which at Belleau run a good size; there used to be a good head of grayling, but these are now few. Below Claythorpe, however, to Withern, about three miles, grayling are plentiful, as also are trout; the former have been caught up to 3 lb.; the average is from 1 lb. to $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb. The Withern Mill pit is the best portion of the stream for grayling; it also holds a few small pike, a few trout up to 4 lb. in weight and very large roach. The writer once landed in five days thirty-four grayling, none under 1 lb., and some weighed $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb.; he has also several times secured in a single day's fishing 3 stones of fine roach. It is exceptional now for grayling to be caught below the bridge, although in former years they were occasionally taken two and a half miles lower down. The Withern Eau and the Guash are the only streams in Lincolnshire that now hold grayling.

The Idle and Trent are the only natural waters in the Isle of Axholme. The Idle contains pike, perch, and roach in that portion of its course, but it is a difficult river to fish, being fast and generally very clear. The fishing rights are held by a Sheffield Angling Association. Most of the drain-heads where they join the Trent are fishable at full tide; bream are the fish generally caught. Mr. Slater of Newark, spinning for salmon in the water known as 'the Gully' at Averham Weir, two miles above Newark, played for three and a half hours a

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sturgeon which he had foul hooked. The heaviest sturgeon caught in the Newark district weighed 20 stones; it was taken by fishermen when 'drawing' for salmon. A few years afterwards another was caught in a mill-dam almost in the heart of Newark. The last sturgeon seen locally in the Trent was shot near Muskham bridge while swimming in low water. The largest barbel captured of late years in the Trent weighed 14½ lb. 'The Folly,' the 'Tawn'

and the 'Middle River' contain perch, pike, and roach, but being overgrown with weeds they are not worthy the angler's attention. On Keadby Canal the sloop traffic disturbs the fishing. There are coarse fish, principally roach, neither large nor numerous. Some Sheffield anglers, two or three times a year, hold their contests there, and these occasions see a line of 'pegged down' anglers extending a distance of two to three miles along the bank.

GOLF

Golf in Lincolnshire dates from the early nineties, the moment of the 'Great Golf Revival', as it has been termed. In this county of wold and dale, fen, marsh, moor and seashore, the golf courses lie amid very varied surroundings. The earlier clubs played the game in parks and on commons, but the sand-dunes of the coast were soon appropriated, and with increased membership and means, the stronger clubs have moved from indifferent to more suitable localities.

The first club established in the county was the Burghley Park, formed at Stamford in October, 1890, principally on the initiative of Mr. Hubert Eaton; a nine-hole course being laid out by permission of the Marquess of Exeter in the High or Deer Park of Burghley House (actually situated in Northamptonshire). The course is on good turf, of capital length, with good greens, but the comparative lack of hazards induced a move in 1892 to the pasture lands outside the park on the Wothorpe road, where there were hedges, &c. This course proving unsuitable, another move was made after a season or two to the Waterloo Plain in the Middle Park at Burghley. Difficulties in connexion with grass-cutting, however, caused the club to return in 1900 to its original course in the Deer Park. The membership is about seventy.

The Belton Park Club was instituted in November, 1890. The Rev. W. A. Purey Cust, assisted by Mr. F. W. Thompson, was its chief promoter. Lord Brownlow became president, and a course was laid out in Belton Park, round the villa. This was soon abandoned in favour of the present nine-hole course, which has been laid out with an eye to the beauties of its surroundings. It is on sandy soil with fine close turf; the greens are excellent and the hazards numerous. A stream through the park is crossed four times. There is a capital club-house and the members number 108. The Ladies' Club, playing over the same course, has a membership of 100. Belton Park is the head quarters of the Lincolnshire Ladies' County Club and many of the inter-county matches are played here.

The most influential club in the county is that of Lincoln, instituted in February, 1891. Among the gentlemen who organized it were Messrs. A. H. Leslie Melville, M. R. Waldo-Sibthorp, Robert Swan, W. T. Toynbee, Rev. W. N. Usher, and

Mr. A. Shuttleworth. The last-named was elected president, and has been a munificent patron of the club. A nine-hole course was laid out by Willie Park on the Carholme Common, and a club-room was lent by the Race Committee. In 1894 David Ayton, the St. Andrews professional, was engaged and the course altered and improved. In 1896 a club-house was built, the course lengthened and further improved. The club was strengthened in 1901 by the adhesion of the members of the South Park club who had abandoned their course. Two years later new links were adopted at Torksey, ten miles from Lincoln and midway between Lincoln, Retford, and Gainsborough. Seventy acres of perfect golfing country were leased and a nine-hole course was laid out by J. H. Taylor. Mr. A. Shuttleworth gave £1,000 towards the new course and club-house. Some £2,500 has been expended up to the present (1906), when the question of making a further nine holes is under consideration. The course is upon what in geological language is called 'ancient blown sand'; it is long and testing with fine large greens; the hazards are principally large natural sand-bunkers and whins. A professional tournament was played at the opening in 1904, the scores being J. H. Taylor, 74, 75; J. Braid, 75, 78. The club has made remarkable progress since its move to Torksey. The membership is 250.

The Woodhall Spa Club was established in March, 1891, Dr. C. J. Williams and Mr. E. W. Stokoe being the chief promoters. The first course was on pasture land south of Woodhall Spa, but in 1895 a very pleasant nine-hole course was laid out, principally on the Spa Company's land among the pine-woods. A club-house was built in 1897, but five years later increased membership compelled a further move, and more suitable ground was sought. Mr. T. P. Stokoe, who had had practically the whole management of the club for some years, undertook the matter, and with the assistance of Harry Vardon, he supervised the formation of a new course on a fine stretch of sandy and heathery moor belonging to Mr. S. V. Hotchkiss, who furnished most of the funds required. A course of eighteen holes was laid out with great skill, and is now one of the most charming in the country. The hazards are

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sand-bunkers, heather-whins, and thin screens of young fir trees. The holes vary in length from 133 to 530 yards, and play is possible at all seasons. The new course was formally opened by Lord Willoughby d'Eresby on 30 June, 1905, when an open meeting was held and two professional tournaments played. The leading scores were as follows:—First day, H. Vardon, 69, J. Braid, 73; J. H. Taylor, 73, T. Williamson, 75. Second day, J. H. Taylor, 68, 72 = 140, J. Braid, 72, 68 = 140; H. Vardon, 76, 72 = 148, J. White, 82, 85 = 167.

Clevedon House Social Club is run in connexion with the golf club, which has 175 members.

The Lincoln South Park Club was formed in October, 1893, principally on the initiative of Mr. A. C. Newsum, Rev. H. J. Watney, and Mr. J. H. Davies. The original course on the south common was laid out by Mr. C. Pym. As the membership grew, alterations and improvements were constantly made, and a club-house was built in 1897. Successful spring and autumn meetings were held, and a challenge cup open to the country attracted large entries. The course was difficult to keep in order, owing to the nature of the soil and the damage done to the greens by horses and cattle, and in 1901 the members, numbering eighty, decided to close the links and amalgamate with the Lincoln Club.

The Sempringham Abbey Club was established in 1893. Messrs. B. Smith, T. Caswell, Lieut.-Col. de Burton and Mr. A. G. Fletcher were mainly instrumental in forming the club, and the Earl of Ancaster became president. The nine-hole course was laid out on undulating pasture land and embraced the site of what was formerly the Gilbertine monastery of Sempringham. In 1904 the club was dissolved, most of the seventy members joining the new Blankney Park Club.

The Seacroft, originally the Skegness Club, was instituted in April, 1899. A nine-hole course was laid out on the sand-hills one mile south of Skegness, on ground belonging to Mr. Massingberd Mundy. Mr. R. H. Ferguson practically managed the club in its early days. In a professional tournament at the opening, J. H. Taylor made a record of 75, which stood for some seasons. The Old Vine Hotel was the head quarters of the club, and the members included a number of fine players in Messrs. Ferguson, T. G. B. Thomas, Lawrence Roper, and Dr. Carruthers. The Skegness, Lincoln, and Belton Park clubs were associated with the East Midland Golf Union, and Messrs. Ferguson, W. L. de B. Thorold, Rev. H. R. N. Ellison, and Mr. T. G. B. Thomas played in the East Midland team which defeated the Yorkshire team at Bulwell in 1898. Mr. Ferguson also won the championship of the union over the Nottingham course. In 1900 the club was reorganized as a limited company, and the name altered to the Seacroft Golf Club. Messrs. F. Acton of Nottingham and T. Eastwood of

Derby were the principal promoters. Further ground was secured and a fine eighteen-hole course laid out by Willie Fernie. A club-house was built in 1904, and the course was rearranged and improved in 1905. It is a first-class seaside course of excellent length and sporting quality, with fine greens. Members number 400.

The Grantham Club owes its inception to Mr. A. E. Park, who learnt his golf as a boy at Musselburgh, where he won Lord Hope's medal. In association with Messrs. J. Lockhart, B. Beeson, A. J. Godfrey, and A. Shaw, he founded the club in September, 1894, and laid out a sporting nine-hole course on the Harrowby Hill, south-east of the town. The membership soon rose to seventy. The course was rearranged from time to time until, in 1903, the fields below the hills were abandoned and a much improved course was laid out by T. Williamson on the undulating ground above. The turf is short and the hazards are stone walls, quarries, and whins. There is a small club-house.

The Grimsby and Cleethorpes Club dates from October, 1894. Messrs. H. K. Bloomer, J. F. Wintringham, J. Barker, and Dr. O. M. Booth were the chief promoters. The course was laid out on a fine stretch of turf, close to the sea, south of Cleethorpes. The turf is of true sea-side character and the nine holes are well arranged and of good length. The greens are excellent, and the hazards sand-bunkers. At the time of writing (1906) the club has arranged with Lord Carrington for the lease of an extensive adjoining stretch of fine golfing ground in the direction of Humberston, with the object of laying out an eighteen-hole course. The members, who number 170, have a good club-house.

The Thonock Park Club was the third Lincolnshire club instituted in 1894. The course is situated in Sir Hickman Bacon's park, a mile and a half from Gainsborough; Sir H. Bacon and Mr. P. A. Gamble were the founders of the club. Willie Fernie of Troon remodelled the links in 1899, and the nine holes are prettily situated in the finely-wooded and undulating park land. The turf is good though the soil is rather heavy, the greens are excellent, and hazards are sufficiently numerous. There are seventy members.

A small club was formed at Brigg in 1897. The course was on pasture land, but play was impossible in the summer, and the members after a few seasons abandoned the ground and now play with the Elsham Park Club.

The Barton-on-Humber Club was formed in 1899. The first course was laid out near the 'Blow Wells,' but was of indifferent character. The present nine-hole course is between the Far Ings and the Humber. The turf is fair and the hazards principally hedges and dykes. The membership is twenty.

The Louth Club, instituted in 1900, was formed by Messrs. W. Allison, junr., E. H.

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Cartwright, R. A. Fowler, and S. W. Marsden. The nine-hole course lies on pasture land on the farm of Mr. E. H. Cartwright at Keddington Grange. The soil is heavy, but the greens are good, and at their best in April and May. The membership is seventy, and there is a small club-house. Another club established in 1900 was that of Holbeach. Dr. A. H. Atkin was the chief promoter. The nine-hole course, on pasture land close to the station, is not available for play during the summer months. The membership is about thirty. The Boston Club, also formed in 1900, was organized by Mr. F. P. Curtis, who became the first captain. The course, of nine holes, on the east of the town, is rather short but well provided with hazards. The membership has grown to sixty. There is no play in the summer months. The Spilsby and District Golf Club was established in 1901 by General Richardson, Mr. P. Robinson, and Mr. H. Trinder. A sporting nine-hole course was laid out by the river side at Partney, and the membership soon rose to forty. The principal hazards are whin bushes; the greens are good. The third seaside course in the county, that of the Sutton-on-Sea Club, was opened in 1904. It was laid out by Tom Williamson, the Nottinghamshire Club's professional, on the sandhills a quarter of a mile from the town. There are nine holes of sporting character and the hazards are numerous. The membership now numbers 150. The Elsham Club, which took the place of the earlier established Brigg Club, was instituted in 1904 on the initiative of Rev. G. Lewthwaite. The nine-hole course is in Elsham Park, the property of Sir F. E. Astley Corbett, who has been a good friend to the club. The turf is good, with excellent greens, and the hazards are principally whins. There are sixty members. The Blankney Park Club, formed in 1904, owes its existence to Lord Londesborough, who had the course laid out by Archie Earl, the Lincoln Club's professional, in the park surrounding Blankney Hall. The Gaudin brothers, Snowball and Earl, played the match at the opening; the best score was 77 by Snowball. The nine-hole course is of good length on capital turf, though the soil is very heavy; good use is made of the hazards and the greens are well kept. The membership is about sixty. The Sleaford Club is the most recently founded Lincolnshire golf club. It was instituted in April, 1905, through the efforts of Dr. Ewan. The course of nine holes lies amid beautiful surroundings at Rauceby, on the property of General Sir Mildmay Willson, two miles from Sleaford. The soil is sandy and the turf good. Hazards, principally sand-bunkers, are numerous. There are about 100 members, who possess a capital club-house.

Home and home county matches were played by the Union in 1904 against the Nottinghamshire Union of Golf Clubs. The first encounter

was on the Seacroft links, where Lincolnshire won by fifteen matches to five. The return at Hollinwell was won by Nottinghamshire by thirteen matches to six. The following players represented the Lincolnshire Union in one or both matches:—Mr. R. H. Ferguson (Seacroft), Mr. A. Wallace (Lincoln), Dr. J. Matthews Duncan (Grimsby), Rev. H. R. N. Ellison (Lincoln), Mr. B. C. Thompson (Belton Park), Mr. H. K. Bloomer (Grimsby), Mr. A. H. James (Woodhall), Dr. O. M. Booth (Grimsby), Mr. J. F. Wintringham (Grimsby), Mr. W. J. Cannon (Lincoln), Major Archdale (Elsham), Mr. A. Thorpe (Elsham), Mr. R. Rothwell (Grantham), and Mr. H. T. Cannon (Lincoln). Others who may be reckoned county players are:—Messrs. G. H. and H. G. Nevile (Oxford University team 1900), Mr. F. C. Carr (Grimsby), Mr. Stuart McRae (Belton Park), Mr. W. E. Thompson (Belton Park), Mr. F. Clements (Belton Park), Mr. S. Shaw (Grantham), Mr. T. P. Stokoe (Woodhall Spa), Rev. J. A. Beazley (Louth), Mr. W. P. Costobadie (Woodhall Spa), Mr. R. Cartwright (Louth), Rev. C. H. Lenton (Lincoln), Mr. S. H. Lowe (Lincoln), Mr. P. Frankish (Lincoln), and Rev. H. J. Watney (Lincoln).

The Lincolnshire Union of Golf Clubs was founded in February, 1900, on the initiative of the writer. Thirteen of the leading clubs in the county became affiliated to the Union, and the first championship meeting, extending over a week, was held on the green of the Lincoln Club in April of that year. The gathering was very successful, and has become the most important annual golfing event in the county. In 1901 the venue was Belton Park, and the meeting has since been held at Woodhall Spa, Cleethorpes (twice), Seacroft, and on the course of the Lincoln Club at Torksey. The principal events are the Ladies' Championship, the Men's Championship, and the Club Team Championship, and the record of the winners of the championship medals is as follows:—

Ladies' Championship: 1900, Miss Mary Wilson (Belton Park); 1901, Miss Mary Wilson (Belton Park); 1902, Miss Gwyn (Woodhall Spa); 1903, Miss Nevile (Belton Park and Lincoln); 1904, Miss E. C. Nevile (Belton Park and Lincoln); 1905, Mrs. S. Thomson (Lincoln); 1906, Miss E. Wilson (Belton Park).

Men's Championship:—1900, Mr. A. E. Park (Lincoln); 1901, Mr. Stuart McRae (Belton Park); 1902, Mr. G. H. Nevile (Woodhall Spa); 1903, Mr. F. Carr (Grimsby); 1904, Rev. H. R. N. Ellison (Lincoln); 1905, Mr. A. Wallace (Lincoln); 1906, Dr. J. Matthews Duncan (Grimsby).

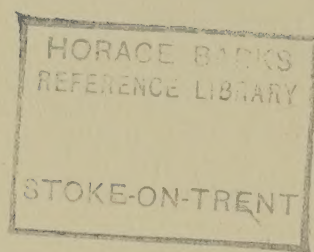
Team Championship:—1900, Lincoln; 1901, Lincoln; 1902, Woodhall Spa; 1903, Lincoln; 1904, Grimsby and Cleethorpes; 1905, Grimsby and Cleethorpes; 1906, Lincoln.

A HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE

ATHLETICS

The most important athletic gathering in the county is that held annually on the last Saturday in August, under the auspices of the Lincoln City Football Club. This meeting has been established for nearly thirty years; in point of entries it holds a position almost unique among athletic meetings. In the year 1903 for six open events there were 354 entries; in 1904 388 entries were received for the same competitions, and in 1905 the number had increased to 416. These figures represent the numbers of candidates in the foot-racing events alone. Adding the entries for the cycling and local races the grand total for the three years is 2,523. In 1905 the enormous entry necessitated the running of the twelve events in seventy-seven heats. The races then took place on a turf track $342\frac{1}{2}$ yards to the lap, yet the racing was so well managed that the twelve events occupied only three hours and fifty-one minutes. A still older sports meeting—for it has been in existence for thirty-two years—and one which in Lincolnshire takes a very high position, and is always well supported, is that conjointly held by the local cricket and athletic clubs on the August Bank-holiday at Spalding. All the events at this meeting are handicaps,

but the large entries invariably include the names of many of the best-known athletes. At Lincoln on Whit Monday, in recent years, an athletic meeting has been arranged by the committee in connexion with the Unionist Demonstration. Other meetings in the county are those of Washingborough, generally held at the end of July or the beginning of August; Grimsby, where the proceeds are devoted to charitable purposes; Sleaford, organized by some friendly societies; Saltfleet, where, although the meeting is under the management of a horse-show committee, open athletic events are included in the programme; Scunthorpe, also under horse-show committee management, with open foot-races; Cleethorpe, of relatively recent origin; Heckington, a meeting annually promoted by two old athletes; Saxilby; and Woodhall Spa. Small meetings of less importance are held at various villages, and a few gatherings which are not under the laws of the Amateur Athletic Association. Meetings of the unregistered class, however, are rapidly dying out, and, while athletic meetings in Lincolnshire are numerous and important, there are not many athletic clubs, and these, with a few exceptions, have but a small membership.



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